

FRONTISPIECE TO MAYNARD'S JOSEPHUS.



JOSEPHUS recording the ANTIQUITIES and WARS of the JEWS, at whose feet are the Emblems that characterize him as a Warrior as well as an Historian. In this arduous Task he is assisted by the HISTORIC MUSE who holds in one hand the MIRROR of TRUTH which reflects its rays on the MOSAIC WRITINGS, and with the other points to Ages past. The Statues of TITUS and his father VESPASIAN the Roman Emperor. AARON and his Brother MOSES the great Lawgiver trampling on IDOLATRY. In the distance the Roman Army destroying the City of JERUSALEM, over which are THUNDER and LIGHTNING to denote its being through the Vengeance of Heaven, and behind the SETTING SUN signifying the total destruction of the JEWISH EMPIRE.

T H E
WHOLE GENUINE AND COMPLETE
W O R K S
O F
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,
THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC
JEWISH HISTORIAN,
AND
CELEBRATED WARRIOR.

CONTAINING

- I. The Antiquities of the Jews, in Twenty Books; with their Wars, memorable Transactions, remarkable Occurrences, their various Turns of Glory and Misery, Prosperity and Adversity, from the Creation of the World.
- II. The Wars of the Jews with the Romans, from their Commencement to the final Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in the Reign of Vespasian. In Seven Books.
- III. The Book of Josephus against Apion, in Defence of the Jewish Antiquities. In Two Parts.
- IV. The Martyrdoms of the Maccabees.
- V. The Embassy of Philo, from the Jews of Alexandria, to the Emperor Caius Caligula.
- VI. The Life of Flavius Josephus, written by himself.
- VII. The Testimonies of Josephus concerning Our Blessed Saviour, St. John the Baptist, &c. clearly vindicated.

Translated from the Original in the Greek Language,

And diligently revised and compared with the Writings of cotemporary Authors, of different Nations, on the Subject.
All tending to prove the Authenticity of the Work.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

VARIOUS USEFUL INDEXES,
Particularly of the COUNTRIES, CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES, SEAS, RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, LAKES, &c.
which are related in the HISTORY.

A L S O A

CONTINUATION
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE JEWS,
From JOSEPHUS down to the present Time,
INCLUDING A PERIOD OF MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS.

CONTAINING

An Account of their Dispersion into the various Parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; their different Persecutions, Transactions, various Occurrences, and present State throughout the known World.

W I T H

A great Variety of other interesting and authentic Particulars, collected from various valuable Works, recording the principal Transactions of the Jews since the Time of JOSEPHUS.

By **GEORGE HENRY MAYNARD, LL. D.**

Illustrated with **MARGINAL REFERENCES**, and **NOTES**, Historical, Biographical, Classical, Critical, Geographical, and Explanatory,

By the Rev. **EDWARD KIMPTON,**
Vicar of ROGATE, in SUSSEX, and Morning Preacher at St. MATTHEW'S, BETHNAL-GREEN,
And Author of the Compleat **UNIVERSAL HISTORY** of the HOLY BIBLE.

Embellished with upwards of Sixty beautiful Engravings, taken from original Drawings of Messrs. Metz, Stobard, and Corbould, Members of the Royal Academy, and other eminent Artists; and engraved by Grignion, Collier, Heath, Tooke, Taylor, &c.

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HIS MAJESTY'S ROYAL LICENCE and AUTHORITY
for the Publication of Dr. Maynard's Complete
Translation of the Whole Works of JOSEPHUS.

G E O R G E R.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting. Whereas t. Cooke, of Pater-noster Row, in our City of London, Citizen and Bookseller, hath, by his Petition, humbly represented unto us, That he hath been at great Pains and Expence in employing George Henry Maynard, L.L.D. to translate and write a New and Elegant Book, intituled, "*The Whole Works of Flavius Josephus, the celebrated Jewish Historian. Containing, First, the Antiquities of the Jews, in Twenty Books, with their Wars, memorable Transactions, authentic and remarkable Occurrences, their various Turns of Glory and Misery, of Prosperity and Adversity, &c. from the Creation of the World. Second, the Wars of the Jews with the Romans, from their Commencement to the final Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in the reign of Vespasian, in Seven Books. Third, the Book of Josephus against Apion, in Defence of the Jewish Antiquities, in Two Parts. Fourth, Martyrdoms of the Maccabees. Fifth, the Embassy of Philo, from the Jews of Alexandria, to the Emperor Caius Caligula. Sixth, the Life of Flavius Josephus, written by himself. Seventh, The Testimonies of Josephus concerning our Blessed Saviour, John the Baptist, &c. clearly vindicated. To which will be first added, a Continuation of the History of the Jews, from Josephus down to the present Time, including a Period of more than One Thousand Seven Hundred Years. Containing an Account of their Dispersion into the various Parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, their different Persecutions, Transactions, various Occurrences, and present State throughout the known World: with copious Indexes, Tables of the Jewish Coins, Weights, Measures, &c.*"—That the Petitioner has likewise employed the Rev. Edward Kimpton, Vicar of Rogate, in Sussex, to write Notes, Historical, Clesical, Critical, Geographical, and Explanatory; together with Marginal References. And further, in engaging the most able Artists to design and engrave a more beautiful set of Copper Plates than was ever given in a Work of the like Kind in the English Language.

Which Work the Petitioner humbly apprehends will tend, in a very high Degree, to promote useful Knowledge, and be of great Benefit to our Subjects in general: Wherefore the Petitioner most humbly solicits Our Royal Licence and Protection, to Himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Assigns, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending the said Work, for the Term of Fourteen Years, so far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made and provided. We being willing to give all due Encouragement to this Undertaking, are graciously pleased to condescend to the Petitioner's Request: and we do therefore, by these Presents, as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made and provided, grant unto him, the said t. Cooke, his Heirs, Executors, and Assigns, Our Royal Licence and Authority, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending the said Work, for the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof, strictly forbidding all our Subjects, within our Kingdoms or Dominions, to reprint, or abridge the same, either in the like, or in any Size or Manner whatever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the said Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent or Approbation of the said t. Cooke, his Heirs, Executors, and Assigns, under their Hands and Seals, first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril. Whereof the Commissioners and other Officers of our Customs, the Master, Wardens, and Company of Stationers, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be rendered to our Pleasure herein declared. Given at our Court at St. James's.

By his Majesty's Command,

S Y D N E Y.

The TRANSLATOR'S ADDRESS to the READER.

TO those who are curious in searching into *ancient history*, whatever concerns so remarkable a people as the Jews must be extremely *interesting* as well as *entertaining*; and perhaps many people, who would not look for their history in the Sacred Writings, might be irresistibly inclined to hear what a learned man of their own nation, who was a soldier, a priest, and a politician, has delivered down to us concerning their origin and most remarkable transactions. Josephus was not only a man of learning, but likewise well acquainted with the subject he treats of, and seems to have had almost as much connexion with the Roman people as with his own: for, at twenty-six years of age, he went to Rome, lived there, and became intimately acquainted with Nicanor, (who was afterwards a colonel in Vespasian's army,) and also with Aliturus, one of Nero's favourites. By him he was likewise introduced to Poppæa, the empress, from whom he received many honours.

Our Historian, therefore, cannot fail to give us much useful information as well as entertainment, when he treats of the manners and conduct of that enlightened and warlike people the Romans, by whom he was much respected and esteemed. When he returned to Jerusalem the war between the Jews and Romans was just breaking out, and he then appeared in defence of his countrymen, not only as a very able politician, but as an indefatigable and valiant commander: for being, at thirty years of age, appointed one of the governors of Galilee, he bravely resisted the Romans as long as courage and wisdom could avail any thing against them. But, alas! they were sent as the tremendous scourge of Providence to an abandoned, ungrateful people: they fought under the banner of an avenging God, and literally fulfilled Our Saviour's prophecy, when they planted the Roman eagle in the heart of Judæa; "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the Eagles be gathered together."—*Luke xvii. 37.*

Josephus was happily spared from the dreadful destruction justly denounced against his countrymen: nor, indeed, can we wonder at God's kind preservation of him, if we consider attentively many circumstances in his Life and Writings, which seem strongly to indicate a liberal way of thinking, a mind strongly biased in favour of truth wherever he found it, and far above the obstinate prejudices of Judaism.

His Sacred History, though nearly correspondent to the account of Moses, is enriched with much Rabbinical learning, and adorned with many eloquent and nervous speeches, highly expressive of the sentiments of those ancient men of renown who make so fair a figure in the historic page: but when he comes to relate the dreadful struggle between the Jews and Romans, which ended in the death of 1,100,000 of the former, and the total overthrow of their state and temple, so clear and circumstantial is his account, that we follow him, as it were, step by step, sympathize in all the various turns of fortune, and share the horrors of the war.

Josephus appears moreover to have been singularly favoured by the Almighty in some particular revelations of his providential designs; for it is a known fact that he foretold to Vespasian that he should be Emperor of the Romans when he was only a general in their armies; and he confesses, Chap. xiv. "That God shewed him, in a dream, the destruction of the Jews, and their conquest, by the Romans, and what should happen to the Roman Emperors." Being a priest, he was well acquainted with the sacred books of the Prophets, and knew how to explain them; and, from this knowledge, he frequently suggested to the Jews, that God had forsaken them, and gone over to the Romans. He was even so bold and candid as to tell his obstinate countrymen, that, in opposing the Romans, they fought not only against an incensed enemy, but against the decrees of God.

What may be expected then from so learned and impartial an Historian, writing in a manly, nervous style, and delivering to us a faithful account of those tremendous scenes he was witness to, and oftentimes actually engaged in! We cannot, perhaps, any where meet with a more interesting or entertaining history.

When the war was over, and all things he had foretold had exactly come to pass, he determined to publish this remarkable History, which we now offer in this new dress to the attention of the curious. He first wrote it in Hebrew, for the use of the eastern nations, which work is unfortunately lost to the world; but coming afterwards to Rome, with Titus, who greatly respected him, he then wrote that Greek copy which is now extant amongst us, and from whence many Translations have deservedly been made into different languages.

It is not possible, in this short address, to give more than a faint idea of the curious information, and infinite entertainment, to be met with in this noble and impartial work; but it must certainly add to its value with every good Christian, that there is good reason to believe that the Author, at the time he wrote it, was more than "*almost persuaded to be a Christian himself.*" That famous passage, introduced in the 4th Chap. of the 18th Book of his Antiquities, concerning our Blessed Saviour, and which some superficial judges have pretended is spurious, will certainly appear, if fairly, and *even critically*, examined, to be evidently such a plain and simple narration of an historical fact, as any Jew, in his situation, might have written to the Heathens; especially if we recollect that Josephus frequently tells his readers that he relates facts as he finds them; and, in his account of the opinions of the Pharisees, and the Sadducees or Essenes, he gives them as he found them in their books. Why then should he not be supposed to give us, with the same candour, though he does it in so respectful a manner, a plain relation of what he saw and heard concerning the Christians, and their opinion of their Blessed Master; especially as the Christians were then very numerous, and the general topic of discourse both among Jews and Romans?

Not to be tedious to our readers, we omit a very excellent criticism on the original Greek of this famous passage, sent us by a learned friend; but we take the liberty of assuring them, as far as we are able to judge, that it appears to us, from this criticism, equal to demonstration, that Josephus actually inserted, with his own hand, this fair and honourable testimony in favour of Christ and his followers. His Defence against Apion, and his other writings, bear equal testimony both to his great abilities and integrity; each separate work has it's intrinsic merit, and the whole forms a most useful, interesting, and amusing volume of real history; and it is sincerely hoped that our endeavours to maintain the sense and spirit of the original Greek, will be a considerable addition to the merit of the present Translation.

To complete the work, we have annexed a Supplement, collected from authentic Manuscripts, bringing down the Jewish History to the present times, which, being an attempt entirely new, we flatter ourselves, will stamp an additional value upon our undertaking, and make it in every respect worthy the patronage of a judicious and candid public.

GEORGE HENRY MAYNARD.

JOSEPHUS'S PREFACE

TO HIS

HISTORY

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

VARIOUS are the motives by which Historians are induced to transmit to posterity their records of past events. Some are incited to display their talents by the love of fame; others have exerted their utmost abilities to conciliate the esteem of those whose actions they relate; some are impelled by a desire of perpetuating the remembrance of those events in which they have been personally concerned; while others take up the pen to rescue from oblivion transactions worthy of knowledge, to vindicate truth, and prevent the perversion of facts.

Of these motives the two last prompted me to this undertaking; for having borne an active part in the Wars between the Jews and Romans, being a witness of their rise and progress, and particularly concerned in the events, I was inclined to attempt an authentic narrative of the same, to counteract the designs of those who had fabricated falsehoods to impose upon mankind.

The work I have entered upon will, I doubt not, appear worthy the attention of the Greeks, as it will comprehend an account of the Antiquities, Policy, and Government of our nation, faithfully translated from the Hebrew writings in their own tongue.

When I, therefore, undertook the History of the Wars, it was my intention to explain the origin of the Jews, the vicissitudes of fortune they underwent, to delineate the character of the Legislator by whom they had been taught the practice of piety and virtue, and to relate the several military transactions in which they had been sometimes necessarily, and sometimes reluctantly, concerned.

But finding the Antiquities a subject too copious and prolix to be treated in connection with any other, I determined to detach them from the History of the Wars, and direct my attention to the Antiquities previous to the Wars, and other succeeding events. Yet (as is frequently the case with those who engage in arduous pursuits) I found a disinclination to persevere, as the work proved laborious, and my progress seemed retarded in proportion to its prolixity. Some, however, from a laudable desire of acquiring knowledge, encouraged me to proceed, and especially EPAPHRODITUS, a man who had a propensity to literature in general, and History in particular, and had himself held very considerable employments, experienced many vicissitudes of fortune, and manifested, throughout the whole, an integrity and magnanimity rarely to be equalled.

Thus prevailed on by the persuasion of so zealous a patron of whatever might conduce to the public good on the one hand, and disdaining to prefer an ignominious sloth to the prosecution of a laudable undertaking on the other, I resumed my task with a renewed desire of completing it, at the same time reflecting, that our ancestors were ever disposed to make useful communications, and that the Greeks were particularly desirous of obtaining an authentic history of our nation.

When I also reflected that king Ptolemy II. (a sovereign who greatly favoured learning, and was desirous of obtaining literary information even at immense charge) procured a Greek translation of our code of laws, constitution, and government, and that Eleazar, our high-priest, inferior to none of his predecessors in knowledge or virtue, could not deny to that prince the participation of the instruction and entertainment to be derived from such a work, as he knew it was the custom of our ancestors not to conceal that which might be useful to mankind in general, I held it my incumbent duty to imitate the liberality of our high-priest, and the more so as I am persuaded there are now many persons as much attached to literature, and as anxiously desirous of obtaining knowledge, as was that prince in his day.

King Ptolemy, indeed, did not obtain all our writings: those only which related to the Law were presented to him by the interpreters at Alexandria; whereas the subjects comprised in the Sacred Writings are innumerable, since they contain the history of near four thousand years; an history replete with surprising events, respecting the various fortunes of war, the glorious achievements of heroes, and the extraordinary revolutions of states.

In fine, those who peruse this History will discover that actions piously designed will terminate prosperously, and that future bliss will be the ultimate reward of present obedience to the Divine will; so that, on the contrary, such as deviate from those commands, will be frustrated in their designs and expectations, which, though they may present to the view the most pleasing prospects, will end in irreparable calamity.

Those, therefore, who may be disposed to read this Work, are exhorted to raise their minds to the contemplation of the Deity, that they may be enabled to conform themselves to his Divine will, and examine whether our great Legislator has spoken of his nature, described his works in general, and origin of things in particular, with a dignity becoming so exalted a theme, and whether he has, in his narrative, avoided those fictions evident in all other writings. The antiquity of his History might have secured him from detection; for he lived near two thousand years ago, [*that is, near 2000 years before the time of Josephus*], a period so distant that the poets dare not refer to it the genealogy of their gods, or trace from it the actions of any of the heroes they have laboured to perpetuate. In the prosecution of my design, I shall relate circumstances minutely, as to the order and time in which they occurred. In a word, it shall by my undeviating plan to be genuine without prolixity, faithful without precision, and concise without retrenchment.

As the principal subjects of our Work depend on the information we derive from Moses, our great Lawgiver, it appears necessary to premise some things concerning him, lest any should be surprised, that a Work, which promises an account of the religion, laws, constitution, and historical events of the Jewish Nation, should contain so much philosophy and natural history.

It is, therefore, to be understood, that Moses lays it down as essentially necessary for that man who would live virtuously himself, or prescribe rules for regulating the conduct of others, to be well acquainted with the attributes of the Divine Being; and having truly contemplated all his works, both as to their operations and effects, and thereby traced his power and goodness, to endeavour, as far as in him lies, to imitate his perfections as the grand example in all things. Without this knowledge of the Divine Attributes, and the Divine Power and Goodness, as displayed in the Works of Creation and Providence, as well as endeavours to imitate the Divine Perfection, neither can the Legislator be qualified in himself, nor can his writings conduce to the promotion of knowledge or virtue. He wisely considered that God, the common Parent and Lord of the Universe, sees all things, and distributes rewards and punishments according as men obey or deviate from his sacred commands. Moses, therefore, in the establishment of this grand and important doctrine, did not follow the example of other legislators, whose codes were mere contracts between man and man, but raised the minds of the people he was to instruct to the knowledge of God, the Universal Creator. He taught them that Man was the noblest of all his works, and that his true dignity and excellence consisted in imitating his perfections.

Having thus wisely rendered him subservient to God, he soon inculcated in their minds those social obligations which respected one another. They became obedient, not from a principle of fear, but pity; not from constraint, but conviction. Other legislators, under the influence of traditionary fables, ascribe, as attributes to their fictitious deities, the most enormous vices of which human creatures can be capable, and by that means, instead of suppressing, countenanced the most flagitious crimes. But our excellent Lawgiver, having premised that the Divine Being is the center and perfection of virtue, infers, as a necessary consequence, that it is the incumbent duty, as well as the highest excellence, of man, as a rational creature, to aspire to an imitation of his bright original; while he denounces the severest judgments on such as reject these important doctrines.

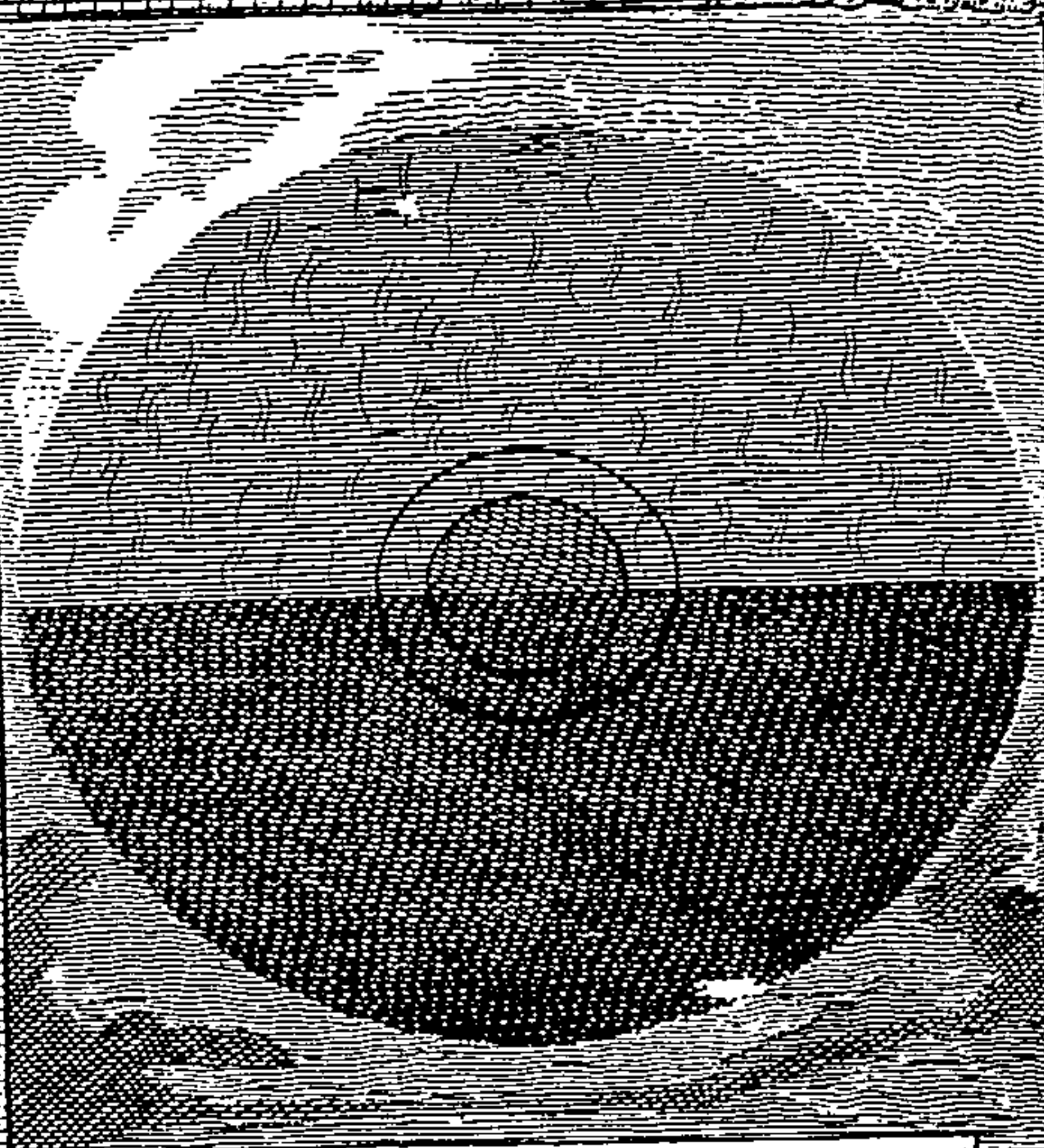
By this test it is my earnest desire that my Works may be proved, conscious that nothing will be found therein derogatory to the dignity of the Supreme Being, or contrary to his gracious designs towards men; but that, on the other hand, they will appear a display of his perfections, and a comment on his benevolence, as well as demonstrate that all things are disposed in exact conformity to the laws of universal nature, and principles of the sublimest rectitude.

These grand points Moses has amply discussed. Where it is requisite his language is plain and explicit; in other parts his narrative abounds with allegorical figures, to investigate which requires the aid of philosophical disquisition. But dismissing this subject for the present, I shall apply myself to the Work I have undertaken, and begin with the Creation of the World.

The
Six Days Work
of the
Creation.

GENESIS

CHAP. I.



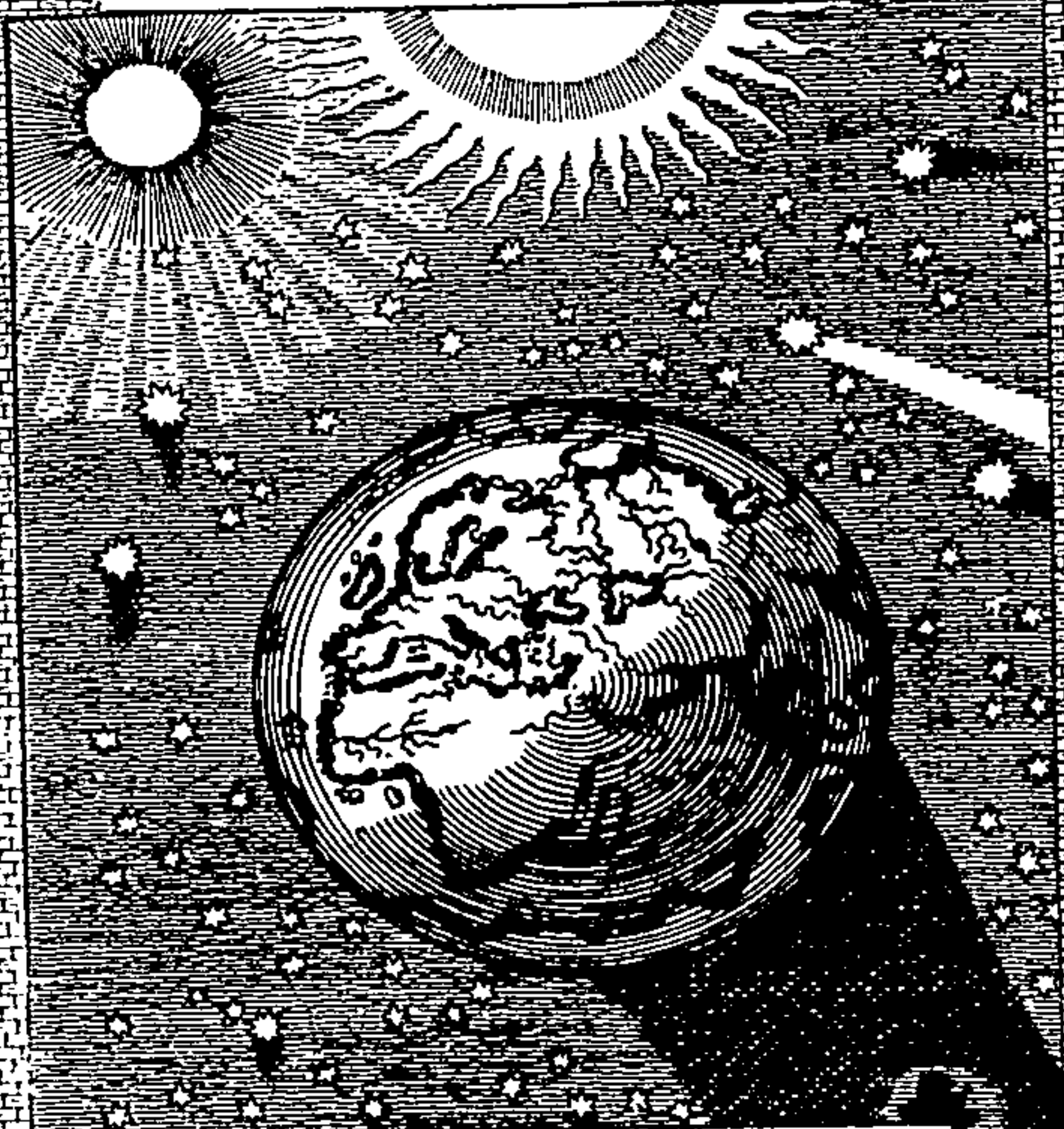
1. Light divided from Darkness.



2. The Firmament is made.



3. Separation of the Earth from the Waters.



4. The Creation of the Sun, Moon, & Stars.



5. The Creation of Birds & Fish.



6. The Creation of Man, &c.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K I.

From the Creation of the World to the Death of Isaac.

[Containing a Period of more than Two Thousand Years.]

C H A P. I.

The Creation of the World in six days, with the distinct operations of each day. Man's superiority in the rank of creation. The formation of woman, and her introduction as a companion to Adam. Subtlety of the serpent. Fall of our first parents. Denunciation of God's judgments. Their expulsion from Paradise.

Creation of the world.
Gen. i.

IN the origin of the universe God, the omnipotent Jehovah, created the heaven and the earth; but the latter being enveloped in impenetrable darkness, God pronounced the Almighty *fiat* ; light immediately shone forth, and, to distinguish the light from the darkness, he called the one *day* , and the other *night* . The first appearance of light he named *morning* , and the time of its departure, *evening* . This was the first day, or this was the especial work of the first day, which, by Moses, is emphatically termed *one day* .

First Day.

Second Day.

On the second day God formed the firmament, fixed it above all things, separated it from the grosser particles of earth, and endowed it with a quality moist and humid, that the earth might be rendered fruitful by showers.

Third Day.

On the third day he divided the land and waters from each other, and brought forth the vegetable system in all its beauty and variety.

Fourth Day.

On the fourth day he enlightened the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the stars, appointing their vicissitudes and regular courses, that the revolving seasons might be thereby distinguished.

Fifth Day.

On the fifth day he created, and appropriated to their respective elements, the inhabitants of the air and the waters, and endowed them with the faculty of propagation.

Sixth Day.

On the sixth day he created all quadrupeds, or four-footed animals, under the distinction of male and female; and on the same day he formed the noblest of all his works, *Man* .

Thus we are to understand, according to the Mosaic account, that in these six days the world and all things therein were created, and that on the seventh day God rested, and ceased from his work. On that day, therefore, we desist from labour, and term it *Sabbath* , which, in the Hebrew language, signifies *rest* .

Moses, having thus given a general description of the creation, proceeds to a philosophical (*a*) disquisition of the formation of man in particular, in terms to this amount: God framed man of the slime or dust of the earth, and infused into him spirit, or life, or soul. This being man was called *Adam* , (*b*) implying, in the Hebrew language, *red* , because he was formed of the purest and richest kind of earth, which is of that colour.

Origin of Mankind.

As the first instance of man's superiority in the rank of creation, the Universal Parent presented to Adam all kinds of living creatures he had formed, both male and female; to which he gave distinct appellations, according to their respective species and natures.

Adam names the living creatures.

But as the situation of Adam, contrary to that of the animal creation in general, was desolate and forlorn without an helpmate, whose society might contribute to his felicity, the beneficent Creator was pleased soon to throw him into a sound sleep, take out one of his ribs, and form thereof a woman, who being presented to him, was gratefully acknowledged as a partner bountifully granted for his solace and comfort, and admitted as part of himself. In the Hebrew language the general word by which a woman is distinguished, is *Isha* ; but this woman being the first, was termed *Eva* , i. e. *The Mother of all* .

Woman formed, and why called Eva.

Moses then recites an account of the plantation of a garden in the east (afterwards called Paradise) abounding with all kind of vegetables, and representing, in particular, *a tree of life, and a tree of knowledge* , by means of which good and evil were to be distinguished. In this Paradise the Almighty

Paradise planted.

(*a*) When Josephus speaks of Moses writing philosophically, it is probable he meant no more than that Moses chose to describe particularly the formation of man, and to inform us that his corporeal frame, like that of other animals, was fashioned solely from the earth; but that his soul, or thinking principle, was not an instinct similar to theirs, but a divine spirit proceeded-

ing from God himself, and therefore man is said to be made in the image of God.

(*b*) Adam, or Edom, signifies *Red* ; and hence some have supposed that Moses gives the history of the origin of the red or fair part of the human race, and that they became afterwards *tawny* , or *black* , as they emigrated into hotter climates.

placed Adam and Eve, with orders to attend to the cultivation of its various plants. This garden was watered by a river, which, surrounding its whole circumference, divided itself into four channels. The first current, called *Phison*, (signifying *abundance*, or *a multitude*,) flowing through India, falls into the ocean, and is, by the Greeks, called *Ganges*. The second, called *Euphrates*, and, in Hebrew, *Phora*, (i. e. *dispersion*, or *flow*), and the third, called *Tigris*, or *Diglath*, (i. e. *narrow rapid*), both run into the Red Sea (*a*). *Gihon*, which takes its course through Egypt, signifies, in Hebrew, *rising from the east*; but is called, by the Greeks, *Nilus*.

The four rivers of Paradise.

The bountiful Parent of universal nature gave full permission to Adam and Eve to eat of the fruit of all the plants in this celestial spot, the *tree of knowledge* excepted; from which they were commanded to abstain on the severest penalty, inevitable death. Hitherto there was one common language (*b*) among animals in general, and they were social in their dispositions; but the serpent being in habits of familiarity with Adam and Eve, and envying the felicity they enjoyed while obedient to the Divine command, plotted to allure them from their innocence, and seduce them to disobedience of their Creator's command. To effect this infernal design he first accosted the woman, urging her to taste the forbidden fruit, and assuring her, that she should not only be exempt from the penalty denounced, but (to tamper with her pride) told her, that, as in it lay the faculty of discerning divers good and evil, by so doing, both herself and her husband would become more exalted beings, and even rival the Creator himself in knowledge and happiness.

The serpent allures the woman.

Gen. iii. Fall of Adam and Eve, and the consequences attending it.

The mother of all, ensnared by his wiles, sacrificed her duty, neglected the sacred injunction, tasted, and being delighted with the fruit, enticed her husband to participate in her crime. No longer shielded by innocence from shame, they saw each others nakedness, were confounded at the sight, covered themselves with aprons made of fig-leaves, and fancied themselves happier in discovering that by their guilt, which innocence had veiled from their knowledge.

When the Almighty appeared in the garden, Adam, who before was accustomed to familiar intercourse with his Creator, shrunk from his presence, appalled by conscious guilt. When demanded to assign the cause of his thus attempting to seclude himself from a presence which had hitherto constituted his supreme felicity, he stood confounded, mute, and motionless. But the Almighty expressed his will to the following effect. "I had provided the means whereby you might have insured your happiness, lived free from labour, solicitude, or pain: all bountiful nature, under the influence of my providence, should have supplied your every want: you would have been exempt from disease and death its rueful effect; even bliss eternal would have been your lot: but you have disobeyed my sacred command, and your silence is an argument, not of your reverence, but of conscious guilt." The fallen creature attempted to palliate his crime, and pleaded, in excuse, the persuasion of the woman, by whom he had been induced thus flagrantly to offend. Eve again sought to exculpate herself, alledging that she had been beguiled by the subtlety of the serpent.

Curse entailed on mankind.

The ground to be cultivated with labour.

The Almighty included them all under the awful sentence of his just indignation. He declared to Adam, that, as he had suffered himself to be prevailed on to transgress by the counsel of the woman, he was consigned to labour to procure those necessaries of life, which, in a state of innocence, nature would have spontaneously bestowed; nay, that his hardest toil, and most sanguine expectations, should be frequently frustrated. Eve was subjected to the pain and peril of child-bearing, for being allured by the

temptation of the serpent, and then seducing and involving her husband in extreme calamity. The serpent was deprived of the power of speech, and, for his malignity, sentenced to bear poison about him as an emblem of that enmity which should subsist between him and the human race, for which the Almighty predicted they should bruise his head, because therein lay his power against them, and thereon blows prove mortal. He was also deprived of his feet, and doomed to trail his body on the ground in the most abject manner, for having been the instrumental cause of that ground being accursed. Having thus denounced these several judgments on the delinquents, as respective objects of his distributive justice, the Almighty, as a confirmation of his awful displeasure, expelled the guilty pair from the terrestrial Paradise, as they were no longer deemed inhabitants worthy the realms of pure and uncorrupted bliss.

The serpent deprived of his feet.

Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise.

CHAPTER II.

Sacrifices of Cain and Abel. Murder of Abel. Banishment of Cain. Cain the inventor of weights and measures, and the first encloser of ground. Building of Enos, the first city. Invention of music, by Jubal. Of brass and iron work, by Tubal Cain. Seth and his sons the first astronomers. Pillars of Seth.

THE first children of our first Parents were Cain and Abel. The name of the first implies *possession*; that of the latter, *affliction* or *sorrow*. They had also three daughters. The dispositions of the brothers were as different as their occupations and employments. Abel, the younger, conscious of the Divine Omnipresence and Omniscience, was actuated by principles of inflexible justice, and steadily pursued the paths of virtue, in all the innocent simplicity of a shepherd's solitary life.

Cain, on the contrary, was wicked in the extreme, and wholly addicted to the acquisition of profit. He invented the use of the plough; but the advantages he reaped from the cultivation of the earth increased his avarice, and excited his jealousy and resentment to such a degree as to be productive of the first murder, even the murder of his brother.

Having mutually agreed to offer sacrifice to the Almighty, Cain, according to the nature of his vocation, offered the produce of agriculture, while Abel's oblation consisted of the milk of his herds, and the firstlings of his flock. The Deity preferred the latter (*c*) sacrifice as the simple spontaneous production of nature, while the former appeared as the effect of laborious avarice, and the result of interested principle. This excited the indignation of Cain, who, to glut his revenge, slew his brother, and having concealed his body, thought the murder would escape detection. But no scheme could evade the eye of Omniscience: the Almighty demanded of Cain the cause of his brother's absence for several days, as heretofore they had been constant associates. Sensible of the enormity of his crime, and being at a loss for a reply, after some hesitation, he said he had not seen him; but when God urged him to an explicit answer, he presumptuously replied, that he was neither his brother's keeper, nor bound to interest himself in his concerns. The murder was then brought home to the criminal, and his plea of ignorance totally obviated, by a positive charge of his having been the perpetrator of his brother's death.

Sacrifices of Cain and Abel.

Cain slays his brother Abel.

Denies having murdered him.

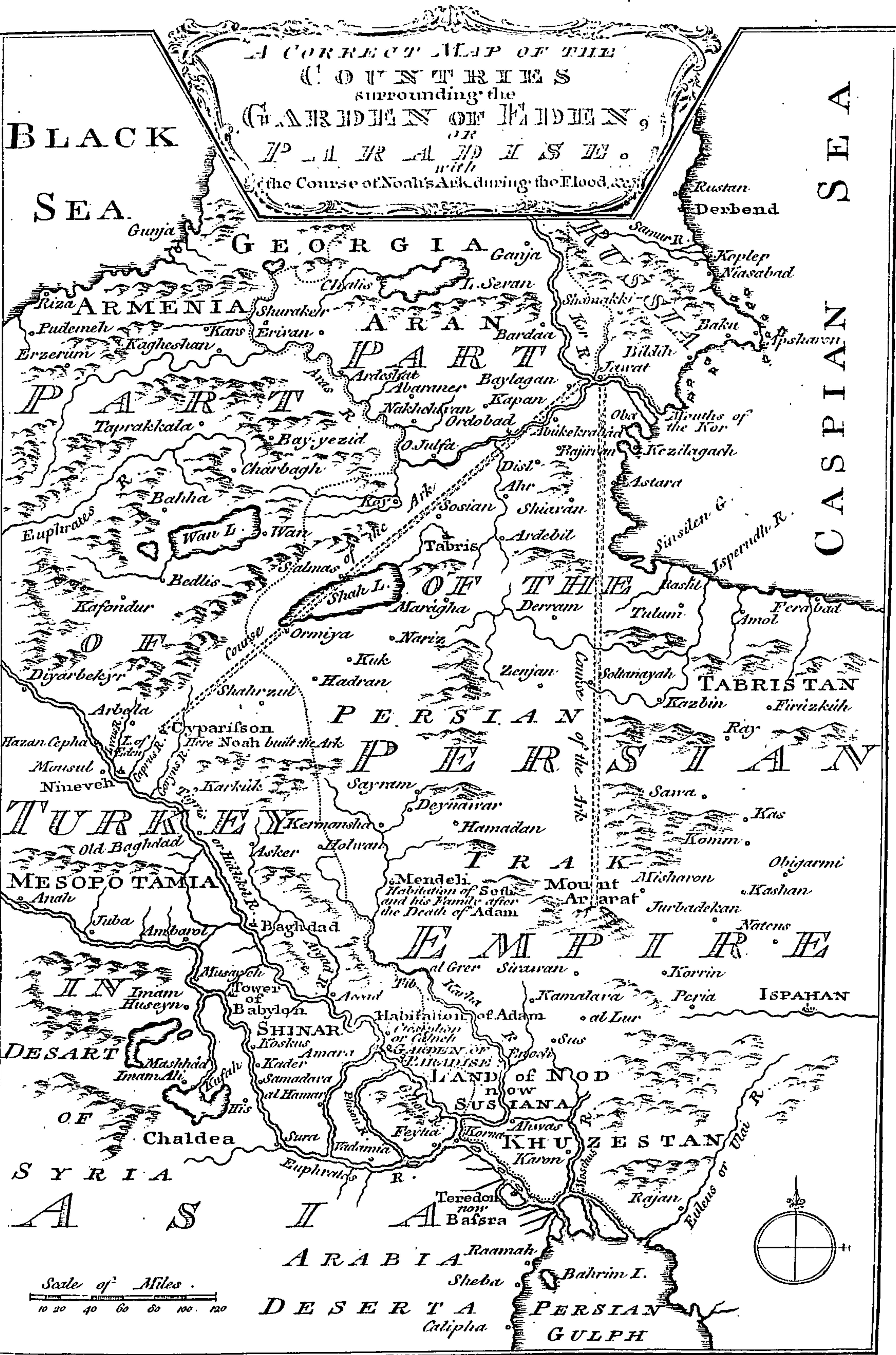
This circumstance, heinous as it was in itself, afforded an opportunity for the display of what is justly termed the darling attribute of the Deity, *mercy*; for, upon the offender's offering sacrifice, and imploring a mitigation of his punishment, he was permitted to live. But, to fix a stigma on the most

(a) By the Red-Sea is not meant the Arabian Gulph, which alone we call by that name, but all that South Sea, which included the Red-Sea and the Persian Gulph, as far as the East-Indies.

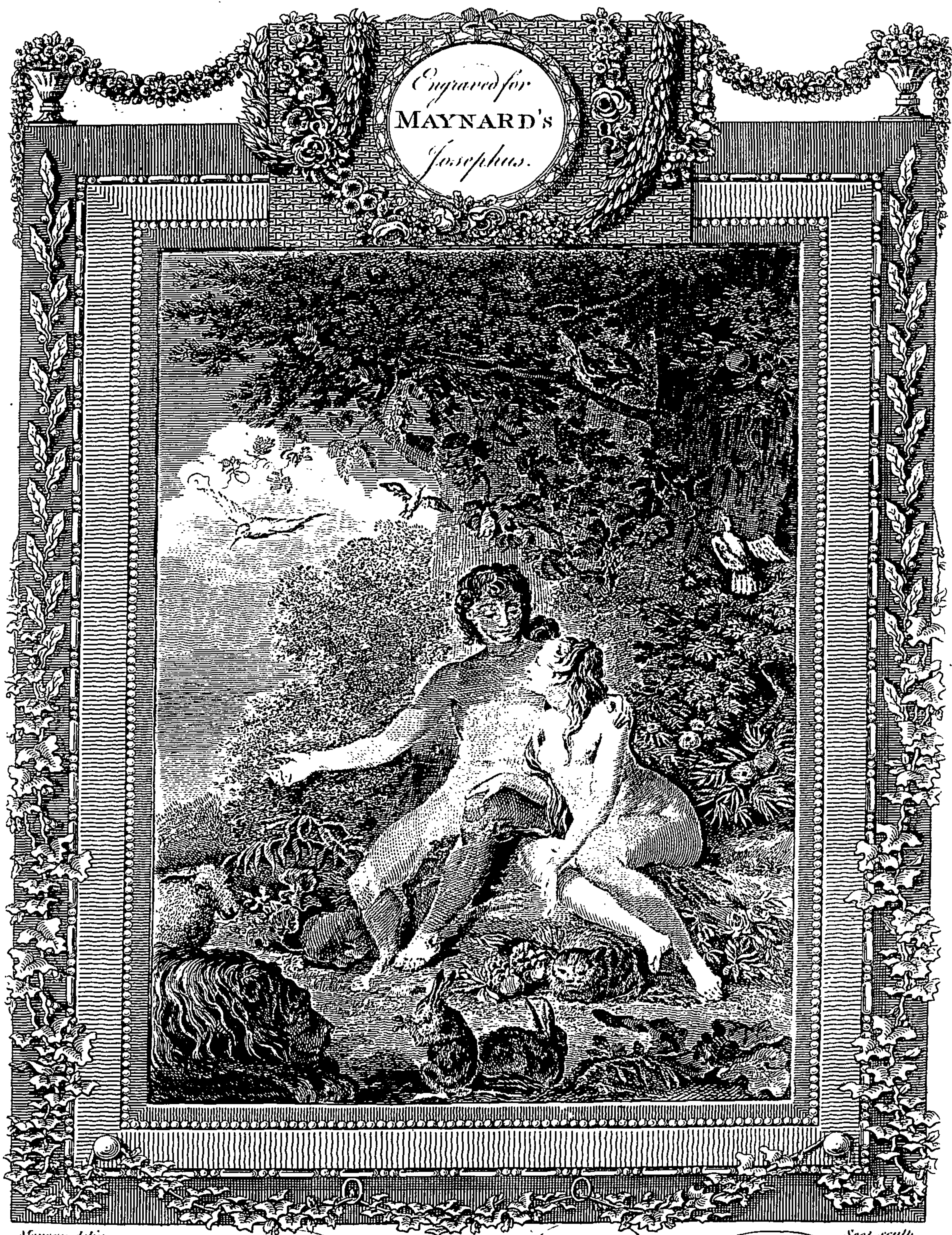
(b) It appears from hence, that Josephus thought several of the brute animals, besides the serpent, could speak before the fall. There is no doubt but the present is not the original state of the serpent, and that their capacities have heretofore been

much more distinguished than what we can at this time discover.

(c) St. John's reason why God accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and rejected that of Cain, and also why Cain slew Abel, is this, because Cain was the evil one, and slew his brother; and wherefore slew he him? "Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous." 1 Epist. John, chap. iii. verse 12.



T. Bowen sculp



ADAM and EVE in PARADISE

Cain's punishment.

enormous of crimes he and his posterity (*a*), to the seventh generation, were pronounced accursed; and both him and his wife were expelled from their native region; but expressing an apprehension that his criminality would expose him to the ravages of the brute creation, God was pleased to let a visible mark upon him, as a token of protection, and then dismissed him to wander on the face of the earth.

Cain is not improved by these chastisements.

Cain, and his wife, having traversed a vast space of land, fixed their abode at Nais, (by some called Naid, and by others Nod), where his family considerably increased. Far from being reformed by the chastisement of his Creator, his depravity became more apparent in the gratification of the most sordid desires, in acts of cruelty and rapine, and in setting an example which had the most baneful influence on the conduct of others.

Measures and weights invented by Cain.

He destroyed the honest simplicity which had prevailed in those days in mutual concerns between man and man, by the invention of weights and measures, which opened an ample field for the practice of fraud, to the exclusion of all sincerity and plain dealing. As his ambition was equal to his avarice, he first enclosed lands, built the first city; and having surrounded it with walls, and fortified it with a rampart, obliged his family and dependants to dwell within its bounds.

Enoch the first city.

This city he called Enos, (or Enoch), from the name of his eldest son. Irad was the son of Enoch, from whom descended Mahujael, whose son was Methusael, the father of Lamech, who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Zillah and Adah. Jabel, the son of Adah, first erected tents, and followed the pastoral life. Jubal, his brother, applied himself to the study of sound, and, upon organical or musical principles, invented the psaltery and harp.

Jubal inventor of music.

Forging invented.

Tubal, son of Lamech, by his other wife, Zillah, was celebrated for his strength and skill in martial exercises. He first invented the art of forging; and by these qualifications united, acquired great riches. Lamech had also a daughter, called Naamah.

Cain the father or progenitor of evil men.

Lamech being a man of understanding, and sensible of the curse entailed on the posterity of Cain, for the heinous crime of fratricide, communicated the particulars of that fatal event to both his wives. During the life of Adam, the immediate descendants of Cain were notoriously profligate, and, through force of example, inclined to cruelty and rapine. If any of them refrained from the enormous sin of murder, they invaded the property of other men without the least remorse, and were continually offering outrages to all around them.

Adam's years 930.

But Adam, our first parent, (as we must recur to him), after the death of Abel, and the flight of Cain, was extremely solicitous for peopling the world, and therefore very desirous of children. He was then one hundred and thirty years of age, to which having added eight hundred years, he paid the debt of human nature, as the penalty incurred by his first transgression, having, in that interval, had a considerable progeny (*b*), amongst whom was a son called Seth.

Gen. xlii. 29.

Gen. v. 3, 4, 5. Seth, the son of Adam, a virtuous man.

This last mentioned of the immediate descendants of Adam, was a character worthy of notice and imitation. Being trained by his father to the practice of virtue from his earliest years, he followed the example of his parent in the education of his own children, who so far profited thereby, as to pass through life with tranquillity (*c*), and render their memories revered by their survivors. By contemplating the power of the Divine Being, as manifested in its various operations, they acquired the science of astronomy, or knowledge of the heavenly bodies.

His descendants invent the science of astronomy. Two pillars raised.

Left posterity should lose the benefit of their invention (as Adam had predicted that the world should be destroyed at two distinct periods, the first by water, the last by fire) they erected two stupendous pillars, the one of brick, and the other of stone, and engraved upon each a particular account of their discoveries, in order that, if that of brick should be

swept away by the violence of the waters, that of stone might remain, and thereby preserve the inscription for the information of posterity. The former was swept away by the deluge, but the stone pillar is to be seen in the land of Syria to this day.

i. e. in the days of Josephus.

CHAP. III.

General depravity of mankind. Consequences thereof. Departure of Noah into another land. Construction of the ark for the preservation of Noah and his family. The deluge. Noah sacrifices to the Almighty for his deliverance. His oblation is accepted, and his request granted. The rainbow fixed in the sky as a token that the earth will not again be destroyed by water. Noah's age, &c. &c.

DURING seven generations the descendants of Seth continued to imitate the virtuous example of their pious progenitors, influenced by a due veneration for the majesty of their Supreme Creator, and a sacred regard for his divine institutions; but, in process of time, they became degenerate, and negligent of their duty to God, as well as of all social and moral obligations. The profligacy of these people now became as notorious as their piety had been eminent, inasmuch, that they justly incurred the displeasure of an incensed Deity. Many of the angels, (by Moses called the sons of God), so denominated for their singular piety and virtue, intermarrying promiscuously, brought forth an hardy race, confident of their strength, bold in their crimes, and resembling, in acts of outrage, the giants mentioned by the fabulists of Greece. Noah, who retained his integrity, and was shocked to behold the general depravity, expostulated with them on the enormity of their crimes, and earnestly represented the necessity of a reformation: but finding all his admonitions ineffectual, and that they were devoted to the most impious pursuits, he deemed it expedient to retire, with his family, from a place in which he had reason to imagine he should be continually exposed to the cruelty and rapine of its abandoned inhabitants.

Those called angels by Josephus, called by Moses the sons of God.

Gen. vi. 2. Noah departs into another country.

The unexampled piety of Noah secured him the favour of an approving God, who now determined to wreak his vengeance on the whole human race, and exterminate from the face of the earth all creatures in general, in order to produce a virtuous generation, the period of whose lives should be limited to the space of 120 years.

The duration of human life 120 years.

Previous to the execution of this, which was to take place in a general inundation, God suggested to Noah the means of safety; so that, in conformity to the Divine intimation, he caused an ark to be built, consisting of four stories, three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height.

Noah's ark.

Into this ark, or providential asylum, Noah entered, together with his family; and having provided all things necessary for their sustenance, took with him seven couples of some kinds of animals, and at least a male and female of all, in order to preserve a remnant of each species for the use of future generations. This ark was constructed on such a plan, as to be at once impenetrable and impregnable, and therefore secure from the attack of the most violent surge, or boisterous storm.

Gen. vii. 2, 3.

Thus was Noah (who may be termed the second father of mankind) wonderfully preserved, with his household, by the interposition of Providence, from the ravages of a deluge, in which were involved a guilty race, as a memento of Divine indignation. Noah, by lineal descent, was the tenth from Adam; the regular succession being Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah.

The deluge (*d*) happened in the six hundredth year of Noah, and in the second month, which, by the Macedonians, is called Dios, and, by the Hebrews,

Noah's genealogy.

The deluge.

(*a*) Of this punishment of Cain in the seventh generation, and the mark set on him and his posterity, the literal accomplishment of it will be fully shewn in a subsequent part of the work.

(*b*) The number of Adam's children, as says the old tradition, was thirty-three sons, and twenty-three daughters.

(*c*) What is here said of Seth and his posterity, that they were good and virtuous, and at the same time very happy, without any considerable misfortune, is exactly agreeable to the state of the world, and the conduct of Providence, in all the first ages.

(*d*) Josephus here truly determines that the year, at the time of the flood, began about the autumnal equinox.

Nisan, or
Xanthicus,
in April
with us.

Gen. v. from
ver. 3. to the
end.

Gen. v. 5,
24.
Enoch's
death is not
mentioned
in Holy
Writ.

Gen. vii. 4.

Gen. viii. 1.

Noah sends
a raven out
of the ark,
who returns
again.

Noah quits
the ark, and
sacrificeth
to God.

Testimonies
of other au-
thors.

(who followed the Egyptian chronology), Marfomane, or Marfuane. Moles considered Nisan, or, as it is called by the Macedonians, Xanthicus, as the first month, and enjoined the observance of it in all religious matters, because in that month he delivered the Israelites from Egyptian bondage; but with respect to civil concerns in general, he observed the ancient calculation, beginning the year with December. According to the Mosaic account, the deluge began the seventeenth day of the second month, in the year 1656, from the creation of Adam; and the sacred chronology is held most minute and authentic.

From thence it is deducible that, at the birth of Seth, Adam was 130 years old, and that he lived 930 years. Seth, about the age of 105, had Enos, who, after living 905 years, left the management of his affairs to his son Cainan. He lived 910 years, leaving a son, called Mahalaleel, to whom was born Jared. Jared was the father of Enoch, and lived 962 years. Enoch, when he had lived 365 years, was translated, or taken up, into heaven, by an exertion of Divine power: his death, therefore, hath not been recorded by any historian. Enoch had a son named Methuselah, who left to his son Lamech the authority he had held during his life. Lamech, having governed 777 years, was succeeded by his son Noah.

In these successions, the births, rather than the deaths, of these men, are to be adhered to; for they lived to see many succeeding generations.

The Almighty, at the appointed time, caused torrents of water to fall upon the earth, in such rapid and ceaseless succession, for the space of forty days, that the most elevated parts were overwhelmed to the depth of fifteen cubits; so that the guilty inhabitants were deprived of the power of flight, and of course involved in the general calamity. The rain ceasing gradually, the waters decreased in proportion, and, at the expiration of an hundred and fifty days, on the 17th day of the seventh month, the ark being lodged upon the summit of a mountain in Armenia, Noah opened a window, and perceiving certain spots of dry land, comforted himself with the hope of a speedy deliverance. On the gradual decrease of the waters, Noah sent forth a raven, to discover if the inundation had so far subsided, that they might descend from the ark with security; but the winged messenger finding no place whereon to perch, soon returned to its asylum, the ark.

After an interval of seven days, he let fly a dove, on the same embassy as the raven, but with different success in the event, for she returned with an olive branch, by which token Noah was happily assured that the inundation was no more. Deeming it expedient to wait still seven days, he dismissed all the living creatures, and followed with his wife and family; and having first offered oblations to their all-gracious deliverer, enjoyed those social blessings which they owed to his wonderful interposition.

The Armenians call the spot on which the ark rested at the descent of Noah, *Apobaterion* (*a*), signifying an exit or coming out; and the inhabitants shew some remains of that stupendous fabric, which they have preserved to this day.

Various Pagan historians have left their testimonies of this general deluge, and the ark in which the select few were secured from inundation. Berosus, the Chaldean, writes, "That some fragments of this vessel are still to be seen in the mountains of the Cordyceans, in Armenia; and that many of them carry off pieces of the pitch, which closed its seams, as charms against enchantment." Hieronymus, the Egyptian, in his Antiquities of the Phœnicians, speaks to the same purport, as do many others. But Nicolaus, of Damascus, informs us more explicitly, "That above the province of Minyas, in Armenia, there is a certain stupendous mountain named Baris, to which, it is reported, that many flying at the time of the deluge, by that means escaped; and that a man was borne on an ark to the summit of that mountain; and that some fragments of the materials, of which the ark was composed, remain there to this day." He adds, "This,

(*a*) This *Apobaterion*, or place of descent, is the proper rendering of the Armenian name of this very place. It is a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah in the ark upon the top

"probably, is the man alluded to by Moses, the legislator of the Jews."

Noah, apprehensive that the Almighty had decreed the utter extirpation of the human race, and therefore dreading an annual return of the flood, having offered sacrifice to the offended Deity, most humbly besought him that hereafter he would maintain the former order of things, nor again wreak his vengeance on mankind in the same manner, by devoting all things existing to one common destruction; but that, having consigned the disobedient to due punishment, he would extend his benevolence to those who had hitherto been the objects of his favourable regard; otherwise their state would be more desperate than that of those who had perished by one deluge, in being reserved as victims to another, after having shuddered at being witnesses to so tremendous an event.

He then implored the Almighty to accept the oblation offered, and avert his judgments from the earth, that he and his posterity, applying themselves to the cultivation of the ground, and building of cities, might be graciously permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labours to a good old age, as their progenitors had done before the deluge.

Noah having thus presented his supplications to the bountiful Father of the Universe, he was pleased, from an approbation of his integrity, to grant his request, intimating, at the same time, that those who perished died for their own disobedience, and not through his will, as the author of their destruction. He then comforted him with these soothing expressions. "I gave not life with a design to destroy it; but their crimes were so atrocious, that I was compelled to exterminate them. I am not, however, inexorable: your intercession shall prevail with me to abate of the rigour of their chastisement; nor will I involve them in another deluge; but it is my positive command that ye abstain from murder, and inflict the severest punishments on delinquents in that particular, as highly offensive to the Majesty of heaven. All living creatures are at your own disposal, as lords of the creation, whether of the land, the water, or the air. I enjoin you only to abstain from their blood; for in that consisteth their life. It is, therefore, prohibited by my especial command; and to free you from apprehension of a future deluge, I fix my bow in the skies, as a token that the world shall be no more destroyed by water." Since that time the rainbow has been considered as the sacred bow of the Creator of the Universe.

Noah continued in a state of tranquillity 350 years after the flood, and then concluded a life of which the extent was 950 years. In forming a comparison between the longevity of the ancients, or antediluvians, and the narrow span of our present lives, there is no reasonable argument to invalidate what I have advanced on that subject, since it by no means follows that, because human life is now abridged, it was not protracted in the days of our progenitors. Besides, in those early times a purer air, greater simplicity of manners, and, above all, much greater temperance, must essentially have contributed to its prolongation. It was also necessary that the term of life should be thus extended, in order to bring to perfection the sciences of geometry and astronomy, which could not be attained but by intense application during a long series of time, as the great period, or grand revolution of the planets, is accounted a space of six hundred years. In confirmation of what I have advanced concerning the longevity of the antediluvians, I could produce the concurring testimonies of all the ancient historians, whether Greeks or barbarians; as Manetho, in his Egyptian, and Berosus, in his Chaldean, History; Hieronymus, the Egyptian, who, as well as Mochus Hestæus, wrote the History of Phœnicia. Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Eporus, and Nicolaus, severally admit, that many of the antients lived to the age of a thousand years. Nevertheless, I submit what I have related to the judgment of the reader.

of that mountain at whose foot it was built, and where the first city or town was erected after the flood.

Gen. viii. 22
Noah sup-
plicates God
to drown
the earth no
more.

God hears
Noah's
prayer.

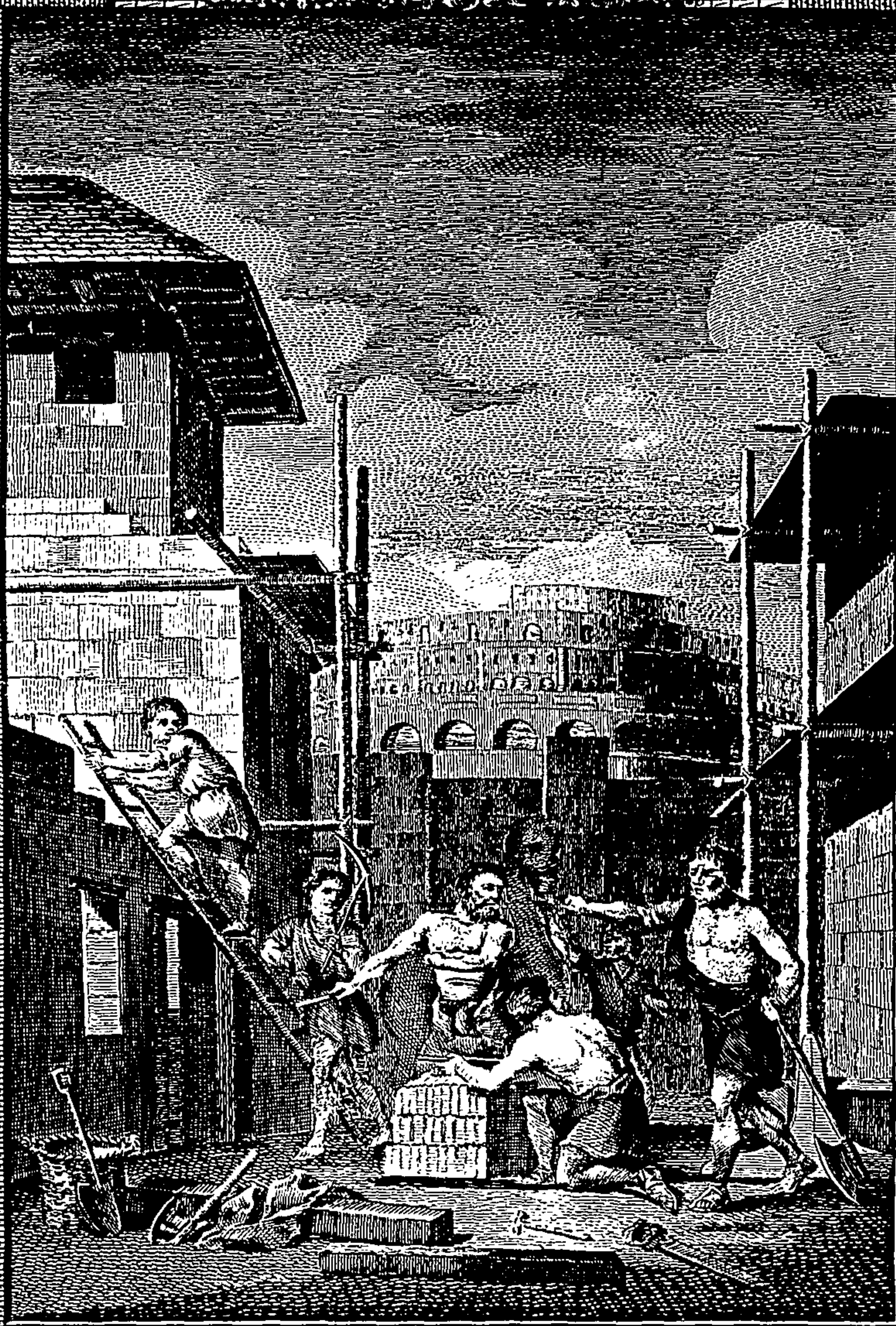
Unlawful-
ness of shed-
ding human
blood.

The rain-
bow a secu-
rity from
another de-
luge. Gen.
ix. 13.

Noah's age.

Causes of
the long-
evity of the
antedilu-
vians.

Engraved for
MAYNARD'S
Josephus.



The BUILDING of the TOWER of BABEL.

Published as the Act directs by George A. Cooke Master-Printer.

CHAP. IV.

The posterity of Noah commanded to people the earth, and form colonies in different parts. They neglect the Divine injunction. Undertake the building of the tower of Babel at the instigation of Nimrod. The confusion of tongues. Sybil's description of the demolition of the tower.

Gen. x. throughout the whole.

THE first of the human race, who descended from the mountains to the plains after the tremendous inundation, were the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, born about one hundred years before that memorable event. The remainder of his family, who, apprehensive of a second deluge, had staid behind, animated by their example, at length descended and joined them; and the spot on which they first fixed their abode was called Shinar, or Senaar.

Posterity of Noah commanded to inherit the earth.

From the vast increase of population, they were commanded by the Almighty to disperse themselves, and form distinct colonies in different parts of the earth, not only to prevent those dissensions which might arise from their continuance in a promiscuous body, but that they might extend the cultivation, and reap a more abundant harvest from their labours. Such, however, was their ignorance and obstinacy, that they neglected the mandate of the Almighty, and suffered condign punishment through the infliction of great calamities. Yet, as their numbers continued to increase, God was pleased to repeat and enforce his command as to their dispersion and formation of colonies; but those perverse mortals, vainly attributing their possessions to the acquisition of their combined strength, and not to the beneficence of an all-bountiful Creator, persisted in their disobedience, by not paying any attention to the Divine command.

Nimrod affects a tyranny over the rest.

They were incited to this contumacious disobedience of the sacred injunction by Nimrod, (or, as he is called in the Greek, Nabrod), the grandson of Ham, one of the sons of Noah. This Nimrod, who was remarkable for bodily strength, and intrepidity of mind, suggested to them, that their flourishing condition was not the effect of providential blessings, but of their own power and wisdom. By these means he introduced a tyrannical government, and, to confirm himself in the same, by gaining their confidence as a supposed protector, persuaded them to a vain belief, that if they should be alarmed by the apprehension of a deluge, he would undertake to defend them from its ravages, by erecting a tower of such inaccessible height, as to brave the violence of the flood, and secure them from the possibility of danger.

Gen. xi. 2, 3, 4.

Prevailed upon by the fallacious pretensions of this presumptuous demagogue, the credulous multitude were inclined to think that obedience to the Divine commands was an instance of pusillanimity, and therefore applied themselves most assiduously to their new concerted project of building this tower. From the great numbers employed in the work, and the alacrity with which they pursued it, in a short time it was raised to a stupendous height; but such was the amazing thickness, that the elevation seemed diminished to the view of the spectator. The sides were composed of burnt brick, cemented with a bituminous mortar, to prevent the admission of water.

A tower built in the land of Shinar.

Though their madness and presumption were thus flagrantly offensive to the Almighty, such was his benevolence, notwithstanding his late example of vengeance, that he condemned them not to a general extirpation, but, by changing their tongues, caused such a diversity of language amongst them, as to render them totally unintelligible to each other. The spot in which this tower was erected is now called Babylon, from the confusion of tongues which arose there; the word Babel, in Hebrew, signifying confusion. Of this tower, and the diversity or confusion of languages, the sybil (a) speaks in the following terms: "When all men spake the same language, they attempted to build a tower of stupendous height, as if from thence they intended to ascend

The confusion of tongues.

(a) Moses Chorenensis, an Armenian historian, confirms this account, that God overthrew this tower by a terrible storm, and

"to heaven; but the gods letting loose the winds upon them, overthrew the structure, confounded the language of the builders, and thereby subverted the whole design; whence it came to pass, that the city afterwards built upon that same spot, was called Babylon." With respect to the plain of Senaar, on which Babylon stands, Hestæus, the historian, writes, that "The priests, who escaped from the general calamity, took the sacred reliques of Jupiter, (Enyallius), or the conqueror, and carried them to Shinar, or Senaar, in the vicinity of Babylon."

Sybil's prophecy of the tower of Babel.

CHAP. V.

Dispersion of the posterity of Noah. Names of regions and nations.

THE confusion of tongues naturally occasioned the dispersion of the people, who formed themselves into distinct colonies, and occupied those parts of the earth to which they were providentially conducted; so that not only the shores, but the continent were amply filled with inhabitants. Some constructed vessels, and took possession of various islands. Several nations still retain their original names given them by their founders. Those of others are changed; and some are altered, in order that they may become thereby more intelligible. The latter are denominated by terms derived from the Greeks; for when that people maintained importance among nations from the acquisition of power, they arrogated to themselves the glory of antiquity, and affixed such names to the countries they vanquished, as implied that from them, and them only, they derived their origin.

Dispersion of the nations.

When the Greeks conquered other nations, they gave them new names.

CHAP. VI.

Descendants of Noah, down to Jacob, give names to the several nations they respectively founded. Noah's intemperance exposes him to shame. A curse entailed on the posterity of his son Ham, who discovered and derided him. The origin of the Hebrews. First division of land. Genealogy of Abram. Term of Man's life at this period.

THE descendants of Noah made it an invariable rule to affix their own names to the nations they severally founded. Thus the seven sons of Japhet, the son of Noah, spreading themselves over Asia, from the mountains Taurus and Amanus, to the river Tanais, extending in Europe as far as Gades, and cultivating the various territories in that space, which were before uninhabited, called themselves severally and distinctly by their own names. Gomar was the founder of the Gomarians, whom the Greeks now call Galatians. Magog planted that colony anciently called from his name Magoge, but now termed by the Greeks Scythia. Modus, the eldest son of Japhet, was the founder of the Medæans, by the Greeks called Medes; as was Javan, or Jovan, his other son, of the Ionians, from whom the other Greeks in general derive their origin. The Thobelians, now called Iberians, took their names from their founder Thobelus; as did the Moschenians, now called Cappadocians, from Mosocha. Indeed, they still retain some trace of their ancient title in the city of Masaca, from whence it is probable that, in ancient times, the whole country was called by the same name. The Thereans, whom the Greeks call Thracians, sprang from Theres, or Thiras. All these nations derived their origin, and consequently their appellations, from the names of their respective founders, the seven sons of Japhet.

The Europeans are derived from Japhet.

The Galatians descended from Gomar.

Progeny of Japhet, Noah's third begotten son.

The three sons of Gomar, Aschanaxes, Riphates, and Tygranes, founded the Aschanaxians, now called, by the Greeks, Reginians; the Riphatheans, now called Paphlagonians; and the Tygraneans, now styled Phrygians.

The three sons of Javan, or Jovan, Elyfas, Tharsus, and Cethynius, gave names to three distinct people. The Alysian, now called Æolians; the Thar-

Progeny of the sons of Javan.

confounded the language of the builders; and this he received from the earliest records belonging to that nation.

fians,

fians, since called Cilecians, as appears from the name of their metropolis, Tarsus; and the inhabitants of Cethyma, now called Cyprus, and from which not only all islands, but all places on the sea-coast, were called, by the Hebrews, Chethini. In Cyprus there is still a town, which the Greeks call Citium. These nations were founded by, and derived their names from, the immediate descendants of Japhet.

Whence arose the change of names.

Before I proceed, a particular circumstance, perhaps unknown even to the Greeks, requires attention, which is, that I have frequently, in compliance with their manner, to facilitate and harmonize pronunciation, changed the termination of their proper names, an innovation of which we never admit.

Of the sons of Ham, and their progeny.

The descendants of Ham took possession of Syria, from mount Amanus and Libanus unto the sea-coast, and gave names to all places within the limits of their dominions; but most of them are now either wholly obliterated, or so corrupted, that they cannot be traced to their originals. The Ethiopians, however, have preserved their ancient name; for having been founded by Chus, one of the sons of Ham, they are called Chusites, or Chuticans, not only in their own country, but throughout all Asia, to this day. The Melitreans also retain the same honour: they derived their name from Mettree, by which Egypt is still called, as are the Egyptians, Melitreans.

Lybia or Africa.

Phur, who planted a colony in Lybia, gave denomination to the Phutians; in confirmation of which, divers Greek historians mention a district of Mauritania, called Phute, situate on the banks of a river of the same name; but its modern appellation is derived from Libyis, one of the sons of Mesraim.

Progeny of the Canaanites.

Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, gave the name of Canaanites to the inhabitants of the nation he established, which is now called Judea. Chus, who was the eldest son of Ham, had several sons; Sabas, founder of the Sabæans; Evilas, of the Evilians, or Getulians; Sabathes, of the Sabatheans, or Astrabarians; Ramus, of the Rameans; and Nimrod, of the Babylonians.

Palestine so called from Philistin.

Mesraim had eight sons, who possessed the whole district between Gaza and Egypt; but one only, named Philistin, gave denomination to the colony he planted, now called, by the Greeks, Palestine. The nations founded by the other sons being desolated, as will be hereafter shewn, in the Æthiopian war (a), no material circumstance is retained concerning them, Labyn excepted, who planted a colony in Lybia, so called from his name.

Children of Canaan.

Canaan was the father of eleven sons, of whom Sidonius called the city he founded Sidon, which it still retains, not having been corrupted by the Greeks; as did Amath, to Amathe, or Amathine, which, by the inhabitants, is still so called; though the Macedonians, in honour of one of their princes, have changed it into Epiphania. Aradæus planted the island of Aradus; as did Arcæus the colony of Arce, on mount Libanus. Of the other seven sons, Enæus, Chetieus, Jebusæus, Ammoreus, Gergeus, Sinæus, and Samaræus, nothing more remains in sacred history than their names, the Hebrews having destroyed their cities on the following account.

Noah's intoxication.

When the earth was re-established after the flood, Noah applied himself to agriculture, and particularly to the cultivation of vines. When the fruit was ripe, he pressed it, and made wine, of which, having first offered an oblation to the bountiful Father of the Universe, he drank to such excess, that intoxication ensuing, he fell into a state of insensibility, and was exposed in a situation highly indecent.

His son Ham, perceiving his father in this condition, disdainfully discovered it to his brothers; but they, touched with filial reverence, approached and veiled the shame of their aged parent. Noah, therefore, coming to the knowledge of this circumstance, pronounced his blessing on the dutiful sons, Shem and Japhet; and tho' he did not curse the person of Ham, he imprecated the direst calamities on his posterity.

Progeny of Shem.

Shem had five sons, who inhabited those parts of Asia which extend from the Euphrates to the Indian

Ocean. Elam was the founder of the Elamites, or Persians; Assur, of the city of Nineveh, and the Assyrian empire; Arphaxad, of the Arphaxadeans, or Chaldeans; Aram, of the Armeans, or Syrians; and Ludis, of the Ludeans, or Lydians.

Of Aram's four sons, Uz established the colony of the Trassonites, and built the city of Damascus, between Palestine and Cælo-Syria. Ul founded Armenia, Gether, Bactria, and Melanæa, now called the valley of Pafin. Arphaxad was the father of Salas, whose son Heber (b) gave denomination to the Hebrews. Heber had two sons, Jucta, or Joctan, and Phalec, who was so called from having been born at such time as lands were first divided; Phalec, in Hebrew, signifying *division*.

Origin of the Hebrews.

The sons of Jucta were Elmodad, Saleph, Azer-moth, Ezdrais, Edoram, Uzal, Dael, Ebal, Abimael, Sabæus, Ophir, Evilath, and Jobab. These occupied that country which is situated between Syria and the river Cophen, in India. Having thus treated of the progeny of Shem, we shall now advert to the Hebrews.

From Phalec, the son of Heber, descended Ragaus, from whence came Serug, whose name was Nachor, who begat Thares, the father of Abram, the tenth in succession from Noah. He was born 292 years after the deluge, in the seventieth year of his father's age. Nachor was 120 years old when he had Thares, and Serug about 132 when he begat Nachor; Ragaus 130 when he had Serug, and Phalec about the same age when he had Ragaus; Heber 134 when he begat Phalec. Salas was born in the 135th year of his father Arphaxad, who was begotten by Shem two years after the deluge.

Abram had two brothers, Nachor and Aran. The latter leaving behind him one son, Lot, and two daughters, Sarah and Melcha, died at Ur, in Chaldea, where his sepulchre is yet to be seen. His kinsmen espoused his two daughters; Nachor taking Melcha, and Abram, Sarah. Thares was so much affected by the death of his son Aran, that he removed, with his family, from Chaldea to Charan, a city in Mesopotamia, where he died with grief, and was buried in his 105th year. About this time the Almighty was pleased to abbreviate the space of man's life to the term of 120 years, precisely the age to which Moses attained.

Abram's genealogy.

The term of man's life abbreviated.

Nachor's wife, Melcha, bore him eight sons, Uz, Baux, Camuel, Chazad, Azam, Pildas, Jadelphas, and Bethuel; and his concubine, Ruma, four, Tabceus, Gadani, Thavan and Machan. Bethuel, one of Nachor's legitimate sons, had a son and a daughter, named Laban and Rebecca.

CHAP. VII.

Abram the founder of the Jewish nation. Quits Chaldea, and dwells in Canaan, now called Judea. His wisdom. He instructs the people in the nature and attributes of the Deity. His memory perpetuated.

ABRAM having little hope of legitimate issue, adopted Lot, the son of his brother Aran, and brother of his wife Sarah. In obedience to the Divine command, he departed from Chaldea in the 75th year of his age, and settled in the land of Canaan, where he lived in tranquillity, and, at his death, left it to his descendants. Abram possessed a most solid judgment, great powers of oratory, and a general knowledge of men and things. Eminent in all exemplary virtues, he was the first who undertook to rectify the erroneous opinions men entertained of the Supreme Being, to instruct them in the nature of his attributes, and to inculcate, that there were but one God, the creator of all things; to whose providence men were indebted for all the enjoyments of life, independent of any merit or power of their own. These doctrines he enforced by argument deduced from the operations of nature in general, and the planetary system in particular; laying it down as a

Gen. xii.

Abram's wisdom. He is the first preacher, and asserts with propriety, that there is but one Author of the universe in opposition to the Magi.

his assertions, though (by some means or other) those records are now lost.

(b) That the Jews were called Hebrews from their progenitor, Heber, Josephus rightly asserts.

maxim,

(a) This Æthiopian war was of such consequence as to occasion the removal or destruction of six or seven nations of the posterity of Mesraim, with their cities. This Josephus would not have said, if he had not been possessed of ancient records to justify



Metz delin.

Blake sculp.

THE PARTING of LOT and ABRAHAM,
after separating their Flocks, &c.

maxim, that, as there is a certain pre-disposing power, by the influence of which all things are actuated, as all things are subject to the controul of Omnipotence; to that should be attributed man's every blessing, and to that should be gratefully ascribed honour and glory in the highest.

These doctrines, founded on the sublimest principles of religion and philosophy, were so aversé to the contracted notions of the Chaldeans and Mesopotamians, as to excite a mutiny against him; Abram therefore, at the Divine intimation, removed into the land of Canaan, where he erected an altar, and offered sacrifice to the God of his deliverance. Berosus, the historian, evidently alludes to our father Abram; though he does not mention his names, when he writes, "In the tenth generation after the flood, there lived amongst the Chaldeans a man of extraordinary piety and probity, and remarkably versed in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies." Hecataeus not only makes mention of him, but has recorded his actions in a select volume: and Nicholas of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history, bears this positive testimony concerning him. Abram (though a stranger) reigned in Damascus, whither he arrived with a numerous train from a country situate beyond Babylon, called Chaldea: but the inhabitants in a short time rising against him, he retired with his own people to the land of Canaan, now called Judea, where he settled, and left a numerous progeny." The name of Abram is still held in honour at Damascus, and there is an adjacent villa, called Abram's habitation.

C H A P. VIII.

A famine happening in Canaan, Abram retires into Egypt. The inordinate desires of the Egyptians punished by tremendous judgements. Abram instructs them in the knowledge of religion, as also in the sciences of arithmetic and astronomy. On his return to Canaan divides the country between himself and his kinsman Lot.

Gen. xii.
10---20.

ADREADFUL famine happening in Canaan, Abram, having intelligence of the plenty which abounded in Egypt, determined to retire thither, not only on account of the fertility of the soil, but that he might have an opportunity of conferring with the Egyptian priests on the subject of religion; determined as a man of a liberal mind, open to conviction, to adhere to, or swerve from, their tenets and opinions, as they appeared founded on the invariable principles of reason and nature. As his wife Sarai accompanied him to Egypt, and he was apprized of the incontinency of the inhabitants, in order to obviate any dangerous effects that might arise from the king's attachment to her, being remarkable beautiful in person, it was mutually agreed between them that she should pass for his sister.

Abram's apprehension was confirmed, for they no sooner arrived in Egypt, than the fame of his wife's beauty was spread around, which exciting the curiosity of Pharaoh to see her, was of course followed by an ardent desire to possess her; but the Divine interposition frustrated his vicious design by means of a pestilence and insurrection prevailing at the same time among his subjects. Alarmed at these sudden strokes of adversity, he consulted his priests on the causes which had incurred, and the means of averting such tremendous judgements. They informed him, that the cause of his calamities, was his intention of violence to the wife of a stranger. Impressed by the answer of the priests, he interrogated Sarai as to herself, and the man who accompanied her, and on her ingenuously declaring the truth, excused himself to Abram on pretence of his supposing her to have been his sister, and declaring, that he by no means intended to violate the laws of his hospitality; then dismissing him with a sumptuous present, he gave him full permission to confer with the greatest and most learned men throughout his dominions.

This circumstance tended to display his virtues and enhance his character; for as the Egyptians maintained variety of opinions, and bigotted attachment produced schism and animosity, upon examining the grounds of their tenets in the course of his conferences with them, he demonstrated to them that their different sentiments concerning religious rites

and ceremonies, were vague, idle, and void of foundation or truth. He discussed these points with such perspicuity and eloquence as procured him the highest veneration, not only as a man of universal knowledge, but endowed with the happiest faculty of conveying instruction to others. He was the first who taught the Egyptians the sciences of arithmetic and astronomy, of which they were, before his residence amongst them, totally ignorant: therefore as he first introduced them from Chaldea into Egypt, and from thence they were afterwards transported into Greece, he may justly be said to have laid the foundation of attic literature.

Abram teacheth the Egyptians arithmetic and astronomy as they taught them to the Greeks afterwards

Gen. xiii.
1.---12.

Upon his return to Canaan, he divided the country with Lot, which affording cause for contention amongst their shepherds concerning the boundaries of their respective lands, he submitted the point to Lot's entire option, as to that particular part which might appear to him most eligible, contenting himself with what his kinsman rejected. Abram then fixed his residence on the mountains near Hebron (a city founded seven years prior to Tanais in Egypt) while Lot chose the plain on the banks of the river Jordan near Sodom, then a flourishing city, but afterwards laid in ruins, and extirpated even in name, as a token of the Almighty's vengeance for the enormous crimes of its inhabitants.

C H A P. IX.

The defeat of the Sodomites and destruction of their city by the Assyrians. The lake of Asphaltites. Lot made prisoner.

AS the Assyrians at this time held the empire of Asia, and they envied the increasing wealth and power of the Sodomites, whose country was divided into five provinces under the government of the same number of kings, viz. Ballas, Barlas, Senabar, Symobar, and the king of the Ballenians; they determined to make war upon them, and to that end entered their territories with a powerful army under the conduct of four able commanders. The contest being soon decided in favour of the Assyrians, who totally vanquished the Sodomites, their five kings from that time became tributaries to the conquerors. Having for twelve years duly paid the fine imposed, they refused to continue it on the thirteenth, and revolted from their obligation; upon which the Assyrians again mustered their forces under their commanders Amraphel, Arisich, Chedorlaomer, and Thabal, who ransacked all Syria, and overthrew the race of the giants. Penetrating into the country of Sodom, they encamped in a valley that derived its name from the bituminous pits with which that country abounded till the destruction of its chief city, when it became a lake, and was called Asphaltites, i. e. bituminous. A battle ensued, and was maintained some time with equal valour on both sides; but at length victory declared for the Assyrians, great numbers of the Sodomites fell, and the rest were taken prisoners, amongst whom was Lot, who came to assist his countrymen in repelling the invasion of the enemy.

Gen. xiv.
1---12.
Four Assyrians commanders over five petty kings of the Sodomites at the Lake Asphaltites.

In this action Lot is taken prisoner.

C H A P. X.

Abram pursues the victorious Assyrians, defeats them, and restores the captive Sodomites. Melchisedeck the just king of Solyma, afterwards called Jerusalem. A son promised to Abram. Punishment of Hagar for contempt of her mistress Sarai. Promise of Isaac. Also of Isaac.

WHEN Abram received intelligence of the success of the Assyrians, he was much affected by the captivity of his kinsman Lot, and the calamities entailed upon his neighbours the Sodomites. Revolving these adverse circumstances in his mind, he determined on an effort for their deliverance, and to that purpose speedily summoning his servants and dependants, pursued the Assyrians with such unwearied ardour, that he overtook them on the fifth night near Dan, an arm of the river Jordan.

Being surprized, and vigorously attacked at an unexpected hour, when some were reposing to recruit harrassed nature, and others to dissipate the fumes of intoxication, they fell an easy prey to their assailants,

Gen. xiv.
15.---16.

Abram defeats and disperses the army of the Assyrians and restores the captives

Abram is mentioned with the highest respect by Berosus, Hecataeus, and Nicholas of Damascus, three of the most authentic prophane historians.

This patriarch arose in the tenth generation after the flood.

The habitation of Abram a place in Syria of Damascus

Pharaoh undergoes punishment for his unwarrantable designs on Sarai.

failants, who killed great numbers, and put the rest to flight.

Abram effectually prosecuted the advantages he had gained, and pursued with such fury, that on the second day he drove the enemy into Hoba of Damascus, demonstrating thereby, that genuine courage is more conducive to victory than numbers, as with about three hundred and eighteen of his household, and the aid of three leading friends, he totally defeated to formidable an army, that the few who escaped slaughter retired to their own country branded with eternal disgrace.

Having accomplished the ends of his undertaking in the rescue of his kinsman, and the captive Sodomites, from the thralldom of the Assyrians, Abram set forth on his return, and was met on his way, at a place called the King's Field, or Valley Royal, by the king of Sodom, and Melchizedeck, king of Solyma, since called Jerusalem. Melchizedeck signifies *just* or *righteous*, a name most pertinently applicable to this monarch, who was not only chose to rule in civil affairs by the unanimous suffrages of the people, but for his inflexible integrity appointed to the sacred office of priest unto the most High.

This exalted personage liberally entertained Abram and his followers, supplied them with every thing necessary for their comfort and support, applauded the prowess of the Patriarch, and glorified God for the important victory he had obtained. Abram in return presented Melchizedeck with the tenths of the spoils he had taken from the Assyrians. The king of Sodom entreated Abram to retain the booty, requiring only the restitution of his rescued subjects. But Abram refused these terms, alledging that he would not avail himself of the advantages he had obtained, his utmost desire being only to retain such a share of the spoils as might requite the services of his household, and his three faithful friends, Escol, Ennerus, and Mambre, who had bravely supported him in the heat of the action. The Almighty pleased with the magnanimous conduct of Abram, declared that it should be bountifully rewarded. He signified with all humility, that a recompence would profit him little, since it could be but temporary, having no heir to inherit after him. Upon this his benevolent Creator promised to bless him with a son and an offspring numerous as the stars in the firmament. This assurance occasioned him to offer a sacrifice conformable to the Divine command. It consisted of an heifer, a goat, a ram, a turtle, and a pidgeon, each three years old. The birds were to be offered intire, but the quadrupeds were to be cut afunder, according to Divine direction. During the preparation of the altar, as the birds hovered around, attracted by the steam of the blood of the beasts, a voice from heaven was heard to predict, that the posterity of Abram should suffer bondage in Egypt for the space of 400 years, at the expiration of which they should vanquish their oppressors, expel the Canaanites, and take possession of their country.

Abram then resided at the oak called Ogyges, in the land of Canaan, near the city of Hebron, and being much afflicted by the barrenness of his wife, offered up incessant prayers to God, that he would vouchsafe him a son. The Almighty encouraged him to hope for a fulfilment of the promise made not only respecting a son, but all the blessings mentioned when he received the Divine command to leave Mesopotamia. At that time Saria, through a providential intimation, caused Hagar an Egyptian, one of her handmaids, to have intercourse with her husband, in order that by those means he might have issue. Hagar becoming pregnant behaved with arrogance, and treated her mistress with supercilious contempt, presuming that her issue would succeed to the possession of the father's domains. But Abram, as a check to her insolence, delivered her up for condign punishment to his wife. Dreading the vengeance of her incensed mistress, the handmaid determined on flight, recommending herself to the care of a protecting Providence.

As she wandered through a dreary desert, she was accosted by an angel, who commanded her to return home, assuring her, that if she deported herself with

becoming humility, she should be treated with indulgence, and reminding her, that through pride and insolence she had brought upon herself the present calamities. To enforce the injunction, the heavenly messenger added, that on failure of compliance immediate death would be her punishment; but on the other hand if she obeyed and returned, she should bear a son, who in process of time should become ruler of the whole country wherein she dwelt. Hagar with profoundest reverence obeyed the Divine command, and on her return, and humiliation at the feet of her offended mistress, not only obtained her pardon, but the accomplishment of the promise made by the angel; for soon after she bore a son, who was named Ishmael, signifying *heard of the Lord*, because God had vouchsafed to hear the prayer of the mother.

At the birth of Ishmael Abram was eighty-six years old, and in his ninety-ninth year, the Almighty visited him, assured him that he should have a son by his wife Sarai, commanded him to call him *Isaac*, declaring at the same time, that from him should descend powerful nations and mighty kings, who should extend their conquests throughout the whole country of Canaan, from Sidon, even unto Egypt. Abram was also enjoined to circumcise every male of his household on the eighth day after the birth, that his posterity might not intermarry with other nations. The good father anxious for the fate of Ishmael, humbly enquired of the Lord, if he should be permitted to live? He received the Divine promise, that he should not only live, but flourish, and become the founder of many great and powerful nations. Abram then offered most grateful acknowledgements to his benevolent Creator, and, in compliance with his injunction, was himself circumcised, together with his son Ishmael, and all the males of his family.

CHAP. XI.

Flagrant impiety and enormous criminality of the inhabitants of Sodom. Denunciation of the Divine vengeance. Abram entertains the angels. Production and accomplishment of the destruction of Sodom. Punishment inflicted on Lot's wife for disobedience.

THE extensive power and immense opulence of the inhabitants of Sodom produced an universal profligacy of manners, insomuch, that they became devoted to acts of the most flagrant impiety towards God, and the commission of the most horrid and atrocious crimes towards one another. The Almighty, justly provoked with their enormities, denounced his Divine vengeance, not only against the people, but the country, determining the demolition of their city, and total desolation of the surrounding plain.

When this awful sentence was passed, three angels appeared to Abraham (*a*) as he was sitting under the oak of Mamre at the entrance of his tent. Apprehending them to be travellers, he arose, saluted, and intreated them to accept an hospitable entertainment. His invitation being received, he commanded his servants to make the necessary preparations for their repast, and some bread of the finest flour, together with a dressed calf, being produced accordingly, to all appearance they seemed to eat. Enquiring after Sarah his wife, he told them she was within the tent, to which, as if rising, they replied that before their return she would be a mother. Sarah being called in and informed of the declaration, indicated her diffidence by a smile, being now in her ninetieth, and her husband in his hundredth year. This produced a discovery; the guests acknowledged themselves the angels of God, opened their divine commissions, and assured him that they were sent, one as the messenger of the birth of the son, and the others to effect the destruction of Sodom.

On hearing the fatal sentence, Abraham was greatly alarmed, and earnestly implored the Almighty not to involve the just and impious in one common destruction. But upon the declaration of God, that there was not even one just man in the whole country of Sodom, and that if there had been but ten innocent

This circumcision on the 8th day is preserved by the Hebrew nation.

Gen. xiii. 13. Execrable manners of the Sodomites.

Gen. xviii. 1. Abraham entertains three angels

Melchizedeck entertains Abram. Melchizedeck's extraordinary character.

Gen. xv. 1-21. Abram is promised an innumerable progeny.

Canaan is not to be possessed till after 400 years servitude.

Hagar, Abram's Egyptian handmaid, is expelled, but returns again at the angel's persuasion.

(a) About this time God made a covenant with Abram, in which he changed his name to Abraham, and that of his wife

Sarai to Sarah, indicating that they should be the father and mother of many nations. Gen. xvii. 4. 15.



HAGAR in the WILDERNESS, having laid her Son ISHMAEL under a TREE, (that she might not see him perish thro. want) providentially visited by an ANGEL, who directs her, where to find RELIEF. —

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persons amongst them, he would have remitted the general sentence, Abraham desisted from his intercession.

The two angels entered Sodom, and were invited by Lot to partake of entertainment in his house, for Lot imitated the hospitable example of Abraham. Some of the most abandoned of the Sodomites observing the graceful appearance of these strangers, began to offer outrage to their persons. Lot used every argument to dissuade them from so flagrant a violation of the laws of decency and hospitality, and even offered to sacrifice the chastity of his two daughters, to prevent the commission of a crime most detestable of all others in the eyes both of God and man.

But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, the Almighty was so incensed at their most audacious profligacy, that he struck them with instant blindness, which prevented their finding the entrance into Lot's house, while he sentenced the inhabitants to a general perdition. Previous to the execution of the awful sentence, Lot was warned by God to depart the city, together with his wife, his two daughters, who were as yet unmarried, and the two youths, to whom they were contracted; but the latter contemned the gracious intimation, and profanely ridiculed the impending devastation.

The Divine vengeance now burst forth in all its horrors; the Almighty darted devouring flames on the city, which spread desolation in every quarter, and rapidly involved the inhabitants, and surrounding confines, in one general and irreparable destruction.

Lot's wife allured by a fatal curiosity to behold the destruction of the city, on their retreat looked back, contrary to the express command of the Almighty, and, for her disobedience, was immediately transformed into a pillar, or statue of salt, (a) which, as I have been ocular witness, remains unto this day.

After this dire catastrophe, Lot and his daughters took up their residence on a little spot which the flames had spared, called Zoar, which in the Hebrew signifies *small*. But in this place, destitute of inhabitants, and almost barren of provisions, they suffered much both in body and in mind. Thus solitarily situated, the daughters of Lot, imagining that the male part of the human race was totally extinct, concerted the means of having private intercourse with their father.

The issue of this contrivance was, each of them brought forth a son: that born of the elder was called Moab, signifying *of my father*; that of the younger was named Ammon, which implies, *the son of my race or kin*. The first of these was the founder of the Moabites, who at this day are a powerful nation, and the latter of the Ammonites, both of which inhabit Cœlo-Syria.

CHAP. XII.

Transactions between Abraham and Abimelech. Birth of Isaac. Variation in religious ceremonies between the Jews and the Arabs. Banishment of Ishmael and Hagar. Hagar accosted and warned by an angel. Progeny of Ishmael.

ABRAHAM now removed to Gerar in the country of Palestine, whither his wife Sarah accompanied him in quality of his sister; for he entertained the same apprehensions of Abimelech, king of that country, as he had done of Pharaoh, king of Egypt. Nor were his suspicions groundless, for this monarch conceiving a passion for Sarah would have injured him in the tenderest point, had he not been providentially afflicted by a dreadful disease, and warned in a dream from violating the laws of hospitality in offering outrage to the woman, who accompanied the stranger, as she was not his sister, but his lawful wife. Upon his recovery, he related to his friends the particulars of his dream, acknowledging that he had been visited with sickness, for the preservation of the chastity of the stranger's wife, and sending for Abraham, gave him every encouraging assurance, with

the most solemn promises of his future favour and protection. He then, with the council of his friends, dismissed Abraham, averring in the most sacred manner, that his wife was and should still remain inviolate, having been under the immediate protection of Almighty power. In confirmation of what he declared as truth, he called God and the woman's conscience to witness; adding, that had he known she was his wife, he would not have indulged an unwarrantable desire. He further begged Abraham to pardon the injury offered him, and intercede with God in his favour, promising him ample provision, if he continued in the country, and if he chose to depart, every thing necessary for his journey.

Abraham exculpated himself from the deception in calling his wife a sister, by adverting to their affinity, as she was the daughter of his brother; and observing farther, that without having recourse to such means, he could not prosecute his travels with safety. He avowed his concern for the disease with which the king had been afflicted, and accepted his offer of continuing in his dominions.

Abimelech then assigned over to Abraham an extensive track of land, and a proportionate sum of money to stock it, entering at the same time with him into a mutual covenant of friendship and amity, which was ratified at a certain well called Bersebe, or the *well or pit of swearing a covenant*; and it bears that name in the language of the inhabitants to this day.

Soon after these transactions, Abraham had a son by his wife Sarah, according to the Divine promise, and called his name Isaac, signifying in Hebrew, *laughter*, alluding to his mother's smile of diffidence, when the angel assured her she should bear a son, she being then in her ninetieth, and her husband in his hundredth year. On the (b) eighth day after his birth the boy was circumcised, at which time the Jews still continue the observance of that rite.

The Arabs however do not perform it till the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, Abraham's son by the concubine, and friend of that people, did not undergo the operation till he arrived at that age. Sarah had been as affectionately attached to Ishmael, the son of her handmaid Hagar, as if he had been her own, and even regarded him as presumptive heir to the family; but when Isaac was born, she thought a separation expedient, lest Ishmael the elder might, on the decease of his father, usurp authority, and lay claim to the succession. She therefore proposed to Abraham the immediate dismissal of Ishmael and his mother to some other place. Abraham at first rejected the proposal, as unnatural and inhuman; but at length, prevailed on by tokens of the Divine approbation, he acquiesced, committed the child to the care of his mother, and having given her a portion of bread, and a pitcher of water, dismissed them to pursue that course to which their necessity might direct them. When their provision of bread and water was exhausted, and the child was almost spent with fatigue and famine, she laid him down under an oak, and retired to a little distance, that she might not be shocked by his expiring groans. Ruminating on her miseries, she was addressed by a message from on high, who pointed out to her a neighbouring spring, and charged her to attend sedulously to the nurture of her child, as her ultimate happiness depended on his preservation.

Animated by these divine intimations, she pursued her course till she met with some shepherds, by whose bounty all her wants were most amply supplied.

When Ishmael attained to years of maturity, he took to wife an Egyptian woman, by whom he had twelve sons; Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Idumas, Massam, Memas, Mames, Chedam, Theman, Jetur, Naphefus, and Cadmas, whose posterity spread themselves over the whole country called Nabathea, which extends from the Red Sea to the river Euphrates. From these are descended the Arabs and their several tribes, so celebrated for their valour, and the dignity of Abraham their progenitor.

(a) The pillar of salt was, we find here, standing in the days of Josephus, and he had seen it. That it was standing then is also attested by Clement of Rome, cotemporary with Josephus; as also that it was so in the next century is attested by Irenæus.

(b) This circumcision is not after, but on the eighth day, as it is elsewhere expressed by Josephus; the like construction to which we meet with in the New Testament, particularly in the Evangelists.

CHAP. XIII.

Abraham enjoined by the Divine command to make a sacrifice of his son Isaac. His obedience. Address to his son previous to the intended oblation. Isaac's acquiescence. The Almighty interposes, interdicts the sacrifice of the youth, signifies his approbation of his obedience, and presents Abraham with a ram for the sacrifice as a substitute for Isaac.

ABRAHAM was most affectionately attached to Isaac as his only legitimate son, the child of his age, and the peculiar gift of God, according to his Divine promise.

On the other hand, Isaac, by his filial duty and obedience, his fervent piety and uniform practice of virtue, enhanced, if possible, the affection of his parents; insomuch that Abraham's earthly delight centering in his son, his safety and happiness became the chief objects of his concern, and he waited with resignation his dismissal from a scene of transient existence, provided his possessions in general might devolve to him; a desire which, through the favour of the Almighty, he happily effected.

It now seemed meet to the wise Disposer of all events to put this pious man's faith to the severest test. He therefore appeared to him in an extraordinary manner, and having reminded him of the various benefits he had conferred upon him, and the singular felicity he now enjoyed, under his peculiar sanction and favour, proposed to him the sacrifice of his son Isaac, as an oblation, in token of his gratitude and obedience to the God of all his mercies, commanding him at the same time to conduct him to the mountain of Moriah, and there make of him a Burnt Offering on an altar to be erected for that special purpose.

Abraham, duly impressed with duty towards the Father of all Mercies, and firmly persuaded that his Divine command was not to be dispensed with, or even delayed on any human pretence, determined on immediate submission. Without communicating God's injunction, or his own resolution, to his wife and household, lest they should divert him from his duty, he took his son Isaac, with two servants, and loading an ass with the necessary apparatus for the sacrifice, departed for the mountain. Descending the destined spot on the third day, he left the servants in the valley, and, attended only by his son, ascended the mountain, upon which King David appointed the Temple to be afterwards built (a). They also carried with them every thing necessary for the sacrifice, the victim only excepted. Isaac, who was then five and twenty years old, having himself erected and prepared the altar, but observing no victim, intimated his surprise to his father, and enquired of him as to the manner in which they should proceed to the sacrifice. Abraham, in the fulness of his heart, replied to the innocent youth, that God, the omnipotent Jehovah, would provide a victim if he approved the oblation.

At length, when every necessary preparation was made, he addressed his son in words to the following import: "Child of my doating age, of my fervent prayers, I have nurtured thee with the fondest affection, and most unremitting attention; all my delight centered in the expectation of leaving thee successor to my possessions, when I should be arrested to pay the debt of nature; but since it pleaseth the Sovereign of the Universe, that the father to whom thou wert given in mercy, should now be the instrument of thy restitution to his Divine will, let silent submission testify acquiescent obedience, and devoutly consecrate thyself to that God who demands thee as a victim. This we are enjoined as a token of grateful obedience for numerous benefits conferred. Since therefore as a descendant of Adam mortality is thy inevitable doom, reflect that thy dismissal from this life is not in the ordinary way of sickness, or any common calamity, but through the immediate instru-

mentality of thine own father as a victim to the divine command; and let this consideration dispose thee to give up thy spirit at the altar with fervent supplication and pious resignation, that thou mayest be translated to the realms of bliss, and be rendered supremely happy in the Fountain of the Divine Presence. By these means thy remembrance will console me to my latest days, when I reflect that though I have lost the aid and comfort of a son, I shall ever be guarded by the shield of Omnipotence."

Isaac, animated by the same sense of duty as his pious father, listened to his address with fixed attention and glowing ardour, eagerly replying, that he should deem himself unworthy of birth, if he should hesitate to obey the command of God, or murmur at the requisition of his father; nay, that he would without reluctance, have submitted to the sacrifice even at the command of his father alone, from the immutable regard he had ever entertained for filial duty and obedience." Having thus said, he approached the altar with alacrity, and placed himself thereon in a proper position: the father's arm was uplifted, and prepared for the decisive stroke, when, at the critical moment, that very voice from above that had given the command founded the prohibition, and arrested the blow. The merciful Parent of the universe was pleased to declare, that his command arose not from a delight he took in human sacrifices, or depriving him of a son whom he had bestowed on him as a peculiar favour, but a desire of putting his faith and obedience to the severest test; that as he had given such singular proofs of his piety, his family should be the particular objects of his paternal regard; that his son should live to a good old age, leave his dominions to his posterity, who should increase the same, and possess domains to a vast extent. It was added, that they should expel the inhabitants of Canaan by force of arms, inhabit the land themselves, and become the wonder and envy of surrounding nations.

When the Divine voice ceased, a ram suddenly appeared, and presenting itself as a victim, Abraham and his son mutually embraced, as a token of joy of so signal a deliverance, and the promise of such inestimable blessings, proceeded to the oblation with most fervent devotion, and then returned to their house with all the complacency of an applauding conscience, and an approving God, to reap the benefits arising from their piety and obedience.

CHAP. XIV.

Death of Sarah, Abraham's wife. Her sepulchral monument at Hebron.

SOON after this important event Sarah died, having attained to the age of 127 years, and was interred at Hebron. The inhabitants of Canaan freely offered him a burial-place for his wife, but he declined acceptance, and purchased a spot of ground of a private person for four hundred shekels of silver, where the sepulchral monuments of himself and posterity still remain.

CHAP. XV.

Origin of the Troglydites. Abraham deputed a messenger to demand Rebecca in marriage for his son Isaac. Manner of swearing amongst the Jews. Conference between the messenger and relatives of the virgin. Consummation of the marriage.

ABRAHAM, on the demise of Sarah, took to wife a woman called Chetura, by whom he had six children, endowed with equal powers of body and mind. Their names were Zambran, Jazar, Madan, Madian, Josabac, and Sous. The latter had two sons, Sabathan and Dadan, to whom were born Latufim, Affur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were Ephas, Ophren, Anoch, Ebidas, and Eldas. All these and their successors, at the direction of Abraham,

Gen. 22. 1-19. God requires Isaac from Abraham.

Herein were manifested both the faith and obedience of Abraham.

Mount Moriah is famous now for the sacrifice of Isaac, as it was afterwards the temple of God.

Abraham's pathetic address to his son.

Isaac's submissive reply and ready acquiescence.

God spares the youth, and makes him abundant and prosperous.

A ram is offered instead of Isaac. Abraham advanced years, had numerous progeny.

(a) Here is a plain error in the copies which say, that King David afterwards built the temple on this mount Moriah, while it was certainly Solomon that built that temple. But if the word *altar* is substituted for that of temple, the error will be

rectified; for it certainly was David, and not Solomon, who erected the first altar there, according to the account given by Moses the Jewish legislator.

founded colonies in the country of the Troglodytes, and that part of Arabia Felix which is bounded by the Red Sea. Tradition reports that Ophir entered Lybia at the head of an army, took possession of it, and that his successors, taking up their residence in it, called it in process of time by the name of Africa. This report is, in some measure, confirmed by Alexander Polyhistor, who alludes to an history of the Jews, written in the style and manner of Moses, by the prophet Cleodemus, or Malchus. This writer relates, "that Abraham had several children by Chetur-
"ra, of whom he names three, Ophir, Surim, and
"Japher. The Syrians derive their appellation from
"Surim, as do the city of Aphra, and the country of
"Africa, from the two others. He adds, that they
"fought under the command of Hercules, in his
"expedition in Lybia against Antæus; and that
"Hercules, taking to wife the daughter of Apher,
"she bore him a son called Debor, or Deden, who
"was the father of Sopho, founder of a barbarous
"race, known by the appellation of Sophaces."

An ancient
fable con-
cerning Her-
cules.

Abraham
seeks a wife
for Isaac
when forty
years old.

Isaac having now almost attained to the age of forty years, his father became anxious to provide him a wife, and therefore deputed a trusty servant as messenger to demand in marriage Rebecca the daughter of Bethuel, his brother Nachor's son. Having previously bound him to a faithful discharge of his commission by an oath, (which ceremony was performed by the servant's putting his hand under his master's thigh,) Abraham dismissed him with valuable presents to dispense at his discretion upon his arrival. After a tedious and fatiguing journey through Melopotamia, where the traveller is impeded in the winter by deep bogs, and by a scarcity of water in the summer, as well as constantly exposed to the depredations of robbers, he at length arrived at the city of Charan, and in the suburbs met several young maidens going to a well to draw water. This induced him to offer up an ejaculation to God, that if the intended alliance had his sanction, Rebecca, whom his master had sent him to demand in marriage for his son, might come forth amongst the rest, and that the token by which he should distinguish her might be the immediate compliance with his request of some water to appease his thirst, after a general denial from the rest. Possessed with this idea, he approached the well, and applying individually to each to give him to drink, was refused on different pretences by them all, one excepted, who reproaching her companions with their uncourteous behaviour to a stranger, as well as want of deference to the male character, with the greatest humanity presented him the pitcher.

Rebecca's
humanity
and affabi-
lity.

This propitious event encouraged the messenger to pave the way for the introduction of his commission: therefore after commending her humanity and generosity, in relieving a distressed traveller even at the expence of her own labour, he proceeded to enquire concerning her parents, whom he pronounced happy in such a daughter, adding an earnest prayer to the Almighty that she might be blessed with a pious and affectionate husband, and become the mother of a numerous and virtuous offspring.

The innocent maid, without reserve, ingenuously replied, "My name is Rebecca: Bethuel, my father, is long deceased; so that the concerns of our family are under the direction of my mother and my uncle Laban, who are the guardians of my youthfulness."

Inferring from what had passed, that the negotiation was favoured by the interposition of Providence, he presented the maid with several female ornaments, requesting her acceptance as a recompence for her singular courtesy on the most pressing occasion, and adding an earnest intreaty that he might be vouchsafed an asylum in her uncle's house, as night coming on, he could not prosecute his journey without danger of sustaining the loss of jewels of immense value, which could not be in any place with such assurance of security as at the house of those whose benevolence and humanity he conceived to firm an opinion of, from the open and ingenuous behaviour of their beautiful relative; and concluded with declaring, that if her uncle and mother would

deign him reception, he would make them ample recompence also for his entertainment.

Rebecca returned for answer, that his opinion of the humanity of her relations was well founded, but not his suspicion of their liberality, assuring him that if admitted, he would be entertained without expence; and then entreated permission to acquaint her uncle with the circumstance, previous to his introduction. Laban being thus apprized of the arrival of a stranger, received him with the frankest hospitality, giving orders to his servants to take care of his camels, while he was entertained at his own table. Supper being removed, the messenger thus addressed the mother and uncle of Rebecca; "I am
"deputed on especial embassy from Abraham the son
"of Thares: for Nachor (addressing himself to the
"woman) the grandfather of your children, was
"brother to Abraham by the same father and mother.
"I am authorized by him to ask your daughter in
"marriage to his legitimate son and heir, whom
"he hath refused to the most powerful and opulent
"of his country, preferring an alliance with those
"of his own kindred. Frustrate not, therefore, his
"well-founded intentions, especially as the Divine
"interposition appears so evidently to have formed
"the design, in directing me first to the maiden, and
"then to your habitation; for when I entered the
"city, and perceived many virgins approaching the
"well, I offered up a fervent prayer that I might
"find the maiden of whom I was in quest, which the
"Almighty was pleased to grant. Ratify, therefore,
"by your authority, an union manifestly approved
"from on high, and render my master happy in
"acceding to the purport of my commission, by the
"voluntary resignation of your daughter to the pos-
"session of his beloved son." The match appear-
ing, on the shortest reflection, so conducive to the welfare of the virgin, the honour and dignity of the family, as well as conformable to the will of God, he obtained the consent of the parties concerned. Rebecca was therefore consigned to the care of the trusty messenger, by whom she was conducted to Isaac, now become lord of his father's possessions; as all the sons of Abraham by Chetura had departed, and fixed their residence in remote countries.

Elazar, the
messenger,
opens and
enforces his
commission.

Obtains the
consent of
the parties.
Rebecca is
consigned to
his care,
and they
depart to-
gether.

CHAP. XVI.

Death and Burial of Abraham.

ABRAHAM, soon after the consummation of the marriage between his darling son Isaac and the beautiful Rebecca, which he had so devoutly wished, paid the debt of nature in the hundred and seventy-fifth year of his age. His piety and virtue were so eminently conspicuous throughout the transactions of his whole life, that he was not only singularly favoured by his God, but revered by his contemporaries as an ornament to human nature, and a character worthy of universal imitation. He was buried at Hebron, near his wife Sarah; the funeral rites being performed by his sons Ishmael and Isaac.

CHAP. XVII.

Births of Esau and Jacob. Famine in the land of Canaan. Isaac intends to return into Egypt. Diverted from his design. Repairs to Gaza. Abimelech treats him with hospitality, afterwards renews the treaty of friendship. Esau supplanted by Jacob in his father's blessing, at the instance of his mother.

SOON after Isaac had performed his last office of duty to his deceased parent, his wife Rebecca became pregnant, and being of most extraordinary bulk, her husband, as the time of her delivery approached, was extremely anxious for her safety, and enquired of the Lord the cause of so singular an appearance. He was informed that this wife should bear twins (a) who should give names to two several nations, and that in process of time, he who at first seemed to be the less significant should become the most important. At length, according to the Divine

(a) The births of Esau and Jacob are, by Josephus, said to be after Abraham's death; but it should have been expressed as after Sarah's death. The order of the narrative in Genesis, not al-

ways exactly according to the order of time, seems to have led Josephus into the mistake.

Births of
Esau and
Jacob.

The prince
of Palestine
envies Isaac.

Renews the
treaty of
friendship
and amity.

Isaac sends
his elder son
Esau on
hunting.

intimation, Rebecca was delivered of twins, the elder of whom was covered with hair from head to feet, and the younger came into the world holding his brother by the heel. The former, called Esau, (and by some Seir, from the hairiness of his body,) was the favourite of his father; but the latter, whose name was Jacob, engrossed the affection of his mother.

A dreadful famine raging at this time in Canaan, Isaac was inclined to retire to Egypt; but being diverted from his purpose, at the Divine command, he repaired to Gerar. King Abimelech at first gave him a kind reception, according to the league of friendship and amity which had subsisted between that monarch and his father Abraham. But soon perceiving the peculiar interposition of Divine Providence in favour of Isaac and all his concerns, his envy and jealousy were excited to such a degree, that he expelled him from his environs. Isaac withdrew to a place called Pharan, or the Valley, not far distant from Gerar; where his servants, on attempting to dig, in order to discover a spring of water, were opposed by some of the king's shepherds; and as Isaac determined not to contend with them, they imagined they had carried their point. Removing to a more distant place, Isaac's servants renewed the attempt, and were annoyed in the same manner as before; but his prudence again inducing them to avoid extremities, he at length obtained permission from the king to dig, upon which he sunk a well, and called it Rooboth, signifying, in Hebrew, *large or spacious*. One of the two former places he named Escon, and the other Siennes; words implying, in the original, *contention and enmity*.

But the increasing power and riches of Isaac raised disquieting apprehensions in the mind of Abimelech, which added to reflections on the instances of his breach of friendship in the late circumstance of digging for the well, excited his fear lest Isaac should embrace the first opportunity of revenging the injuries he had done him. He had therefore recourse to dissimulation, and taking with him Picol, one of his principal officers, as arbiter, repaired to the place of Isaac's residence, and there proposed a renewal of the former league of friendship and amity. Isaac being of a most courteous disposition, readily complied. The ratification of the league put an end to all animosity; and Abimelech, having accomplished his purpose, returned home with perfect satisfaction.

Esau, Isaac's favourite son, having obtained to the age of forty years, took to himself two wives, Ada, the daughter of Elon, and Alibama, the daughter of Efebion, two of the most powerful persons amongst the Canaanites. In neither of these contracts did Esau consult the will and pleasure of his father, assured he should never obtain his consent, as Isaac was averse to any alliance with the people of the country. The error, however, being irremovable, such was the good father's candour and moderation, that he did not command their expulsion, but only enjoined his son to conceal his marriage.

When Isaac was stricken in years, and deprived of his sight, he called his son Esau to him, and having lamented the infirmities of age, and the loss of his eyes, which prevented him from serving God with his wonted alacrity, expressed an earnest desire of leaving him his blessing before his departure. To this purpose he ordered his son to proceed to the hunt, and to prepare him a repast (a) from whatever chance might throw in his way; adding, that upon such consideration, he would offer up his fervent prayer to the Almighty for his future protection and favour towards him, in the best manner he could employ the short interval between the present moment, and his entrance on an eternal world.

Esau immediately set forth; but (b) Rebecca overhearing what passed, and desirous of transferring the promised blessing from Esau to her favourite son Jacob, though in direct opposition to her husband's mind and will, commanded him instantly to kill a

(a) This repast, or supper, to be caught by hunting, was intended for a festival on a sacrifice; and Isaac expected that upon the prayers usual on those occasions, his son would be interested in the blessings supplicated for him. We find that after having, through deception, blessed Jacob, he attempts not to retract, conscious that the blessing came not from him, but from God, and that an alteration was out of his power.

kid, and prepare a repast for his father. Jacob, obsequious to his mother, obeyed her command; and having prepared every thing according to her direction, spread the skin of the kid over his neck and hands, that by those means he might elude the suspicion of his parent, aged and blind, and confirm him in the assurance of his being his brother Esau, as he resembled him in every other particular instance. In this disguise, therefore, lest he should be surprised before Isaac had finished his prayer, and through a detection of the imposition, incur a curse instead of procuring a blessing, he hastened to present what he had prepared to his sire. But the old man perceiving that his voice differed from that of his brother, desired his son to approach him. Jacob then putting forth his arms covered with the kid's skin, Isaac exclaimed, "Though thy voice be like unto Jacob, yet by the hairiness of thy arms thou seemest unto me to be Esau." Then without the least suspicion of deceit, as soon as he had eaten what was prepared, he thus invoked the God of heaven and earth. "Eternal, and supreme, and universal Creator, who to my father hast been pleased to promise, and on me to confer, many and important blessings, with assurance of continuing them to my posterity, let thy mercies be still extended towards me, nor let them depart from me in my present languid state, in which I most need thy Divine support. Vouchsafe to preserve this my son, protect him from evil, bless him according to thine abundant goodness, render him formidable to his enemies, and the joy and delight of his family and friends." Thus did the good old Isaac prefer his prayer to the Almighty, as he thought, in behalf of his favourite son Esau; but he had scarcely come to a conclusion when Esau returned from the hunt, which, though the father perceived, as he knew his intention was frustrated, he passed unnoticed. The elder brother, thus disappointed, intreated a similar blessing with the younger; but his father denied him, alledging, that he could neither recal nor transfer the blessing given to Jacob; so that Esau had only to lament the severity of his fate. Isaac, moved by his tears, in order to console, assured him, that he and his posterity should excel in, and acquire vast renown from, personal strength, activity in hunting, and martial exercises, though he must ever act in subordination to his brother. Jacob, apprehensive of his brother's resentment, for having by stratagem supplanted him in so important a concern as his aged father's blessing, was freed from his fears by means of his mother, who prevailed on his father to send him into Mesopotamia, to select a wife from amongst her kindred: whilst Esau, conscious of having displeased his father in forming an alliance with the Canaanites, determined to make some reparation for his errors by marrying Bassamath the daughter of Ishmael, to whom he was in future more affectionately attached than to either of his other wives.

CHAP. XVIII.

Jacob sets out for Mesopotamia. Visions of the ladder. He arrives at Haran, and enters into conversation with Rachael; is introduced to, and cordially received. Asks Rachael in marriage. Obtains Laban's consent. Deception practised by Laban. Jacob's servitude. Marriage with Rachael. Explication of the names of his sons. Jacob's flight. Is pursued and overtaken by Laban. His accusation against Jacob. Jacob's vindication. Laban's duplicity. The parties enter into a covenant of amity.

JACOB having received orders from his father, through the persuasion of his mother Rebecca, to set out for Mesopotamia, to form an union with the daughter of his uncle Laban, proceeded on his journey through the country of Canaan. But as the inhabitants maintained a most inveterate aversion to

Jacob, by the advice of his mother, deceives both Isaac and Esau.

The father now blind prays to God for that son whom he thought to be Esau.

Esau's posterity were to be famous for hunting; while Jacob supplanted him of the intended blessings.

Jacob flies to avoid the resentment of his brother.

Gen. xxviii. 1, &c.

(b) Whether Jacob, or his mother Rebecca, were most to be censured for this imposition upon Isaac in his old age, is not easy to be determined. However, the blessing being delivered as a prediction of future events, and foretelling things to befall the posterity of Jacob and Esau in future ages, was certainly providential.

his family, he used the utmost precaution as indispensably necessary for his security; inasmuch, that he would not take up even a temporary residence amongst them, chusing rather to repose upon stones, as a pillow, under the canopy of heaven. One night as he slept in this manner, a vision represented to his imagination a ladder fixed on the earth, and reaching with its summit to heaven. On the steps descended certain beings, surpassing in form the ordinary part of mankind. At the upper extremity appeared the Almighty, who calling Jacob by his name, addressed him in words to the following purport. "Descendant of a pious father, and a grandfather eminent for his exalted virtues, be not dismayed by dangers or difficulties that may now present themselves, but be encouraged by the prospect of my future favour and protection. I am He who conducted Abraham hither, when he was expelled Mesopotamia by his kindred; who crowned thy father with blessings, nor shall they be wanting to thee. Prosecute, therefore, thy journey under my immediate direction. The event of thy intended marriage shall be prosperous in a numerous and virtuous offspring, to whom and their descendants I will give not only the possession of this land, but they shall increase the population of the whole earth, throughout every part to which the beams of the sun extend their genial influence. Proceed, then, with confident reliance on my guidance, and be assured of my continual assistance."

Animated by these great and important promises, which the Almighty was pleased to communicate to him in the vision, Jacob anointed the stones on which he had rested his head, while he received the happy tidings, and vowed, if he returned in safety, to sacrifice to God on that very spot, which he accordingly performed, by offering up a tenth part of all his substance. To perpetuate the remembrance of the place where the vision appeared to him, he called it Bethel, signifying, in the Hebrew, *House of God*.

Pursuing his journey, Jacob at length arrived at Haran; and meeting in the suburbs some shepherds and several young persons sitting on the bank of a fountain, joined, and requested them to let him drink. A conversation ensuing, he took an opportunity of making enquiry concerning one Laban, and was informed that the fame of Laban had long established his name, which was therefore well known throughout the country. They added that his daughter was expected there, being accustomed to feed her flock with them, and referred him to her for all the intelligence he wished to obtain.

Rachael at that instant appeared, and being made acquainted with the stranger's enquiries, indicated great complacency, asked him concerning his family and business, and discovered the utmost readiness to afford him her best information and assistance. Charmed by the beauty of her person, rather than attracted by the courtesy of her demeanour, or the alliance of kin, Jacob conceived the tenderest passion for the lovely maid, whom he thus addressed: "If, fair creature, thou art the daughter of Laban, our families were united by the ties both of consanguinity and friendship long previous to thine or my existence, Abraham, Arran, and Nachor, being the immediate offspring of Thares. Bethuel, thy grandfather, was Nachor's son; and Abraham, and Sarah, the daughter of Arran, were the parents of my father Isaac. But there is yet a nearer and dearer tie of affinity, for my mother, Rebecca, is thy father Laban's sister, by one and the same father and mother. The object of my journey, therefore, is to renew the ancient family league." The recital of these particulars recalling to her memory many circumstances she had heard from her father in her earliest years, respecting Rebecca, of whom she was assured her parents would gladly receive intelligence, moved an affectionate tear; so that having saluted the young man, she informed him, that nothing would more conduce to the happiness of her father and the whole family, than to receive tidings of his sister, and therefore de-

fired him to accompany her home, that the good old man might no longer be deprived of so exquisite a gratification.

Jacob being introduced by Rachael to her father Laban, was acknowledged, and saluted as his relation, passed his time in social tranquillity, and contributed much to the domestic felicity of the family. In process of time, Laban having expressed the utmost satisfaction in the society of Jacob, discovered a desire of learning the motive which induced him to leave his parents in their advanced age, when they required his most unremitting attention; assuring him at the same time that nothing should be wanting on his part to promote the design and intention of his journey. Jacob then frankly disclosed the whole matter, informing him, "that Isaac had twin sons, Esau and himself; that as, by his mother's contrivance and assistance, he had deprived his brother of their father's intended (a) inheritance, Esau sought his life, as having wrested from him his legal possessions, as well as the blessings for which his father imagined he had interceded in his behalf." He confessed that, with the advice of his mother, he had fled to him for refuge, and assured him that next to the care of Providence, he expected succour and assistance from one so nearly and dearly allied as himself.

Laban gave him the most solemn assurances of support and protection, not only on account of the alliance of their ancestors, but the cordial affection he entertained for his mother; in proof of which he appointed him overseer of his numerous flocks, and superintendent of all his shepherds, till such time as he should be desirous of returning home, when he would dismiss him with every token of respect that could bespeak a regard for his alliance.

Jacob expressed the highest sense of such singular proofs of esteem, professed himself bound to the best services of his liberal patron, as his supreme delight; but intimated that the only compensation he desired, was the bestowal in marriage of the beautiful Rachael, whose person and virtues were the objects of his admiration, and the spring of all his words and actions.

Jacob's ingenuous behaviour was highly pleasing to Laban, who readily consented to the marriage, preferring him to any other man as a son-in-law; but requested him to continue his abode with him some time, as he was rather disinclined to send his daughter amongst the Canaanites, having often repented his sister's forming an alliance in so remote a country.

Jacob readily acceded to the proposal, and entered into a covenant to serve his uncle seven years, expressing a satisfaction in having an opportunity of testifying his fidelity in such a manner as to prove himself worthy of the alliance.

The covenant was ratified, and being fulfilled, Laban prepared the nuptial feast; but night drawing on, he found means, without the suspicion of Jacob, to convey his other daughter, Leah, less beautiful and more advanced in years than Rachael, to the bridal bed. Jacob, through the deception of the night, and the insensibility of intoxication, had intercourse with her; but the return of morning discovering the delusion, Jacob reproached his uncle with the treachery of his behaviour, when he exculpated himself from any evil intention, by urging necessity as a plea, as the custom of the country precluded the younger sister from marrying before the elder. He added that he should still possess Rachael, on condition that he would serve him the other seven years. Such was his passion, that he agreed to servitude for the same term as before; at the expiration of which his labours were compensated by receiving the object of his admiration as his own.

Their father appointed two handmaids to attend his daughters: Zilpah waited on Leah, and Billah on Rachael: these were not treated as slaves, but as subjects. The warmth of Jacob's affection for Rachael wounded Leah with jealous pangs; yet she consoled herself at intervals with hopes that if she should

Jacob opens to his uncle Laban the cause of his flight.

Jacob serves his uncle two seven years out of his love to Rachael.

(a) This inheritance, by some learned commentators, is called kingdom, as promised to Esau the first-born; and it seems that Josephus thought it due to him whom Isaac should bless as his first-born. But if by the inheritance, or kingdom, we are to

understand that expected under the Messiah, Jacob, by obtaining this blessing of the first-born, became the genuine heir of that kingdom in opposition to Esau.

bear children, she might thereby conciliate his esteem, and therefore put up incessant prayers to God, that he would grant her issue. The event confirmed her hope; she brought forth a son, who being the means of restoring her husband's affection, was called REUBEN, or *The Son of Vision*, because she obtained him through the mercy of God.

Explication
and names
of Jacob's
sons.

She afterwards brought him three other sons; Simeon, implying, that *God had heard her*; Levy, meaning the *Band of Society*; and Judah, signifying *Thanksgiving*. Rachael, apprehensive that Leah's fruitfulness might supplant her in the esteem of her husband, caused her handmaid Billah to have intercourse with Jacob, by whom she conceived a son called Dan, or *The Judgement of God*; and after him another, named Naphtali, or *Artifice*; because she had recourse to subtilty to requite her sister's fruitfulness. Leah in resentment adopted the same stratagem against Rachael, and gave up her maid Zilpah to her husband, who by her had two sons; Gad, or *Son of Chance*; and Aser, or *Blessed*; because Leah was preferred for her fruitfulness.

Reuben, the eldest son of Leah, brought to his mother some apples of mandrake, which Rachael perceiving, she expressed a longing desire to taste the fruit. Leah churlishly denied her, alledging, that she ought to rest contented with the ascendancy she held in her husband's affection. To sooth her sister into compliance, and gratify her own inclination, Rachael told her she would resign Jacob to her that night; in consequence of which he had again children by Leah, viz. Issachar, or *gained by Hire*; and Zebulon, or *Token of Good Will*; and a daughter, called Dinah.

Rachael at length brought forth a son, who was called Joseph, or *Addition*. As Jacob had now served his father-in-law for the space of twenty years, he became desirous of returning with his wives to his own inheritance; but as he could by no means obtain Laban's consent, he determined to effect his flight by stratagem. To this purpose he founded the disposition of his wives, who both encouraged him in the attempt. Jacob departed, and took with him privately half Laban's flocks, while Rachael conveyed off her father's idols, not through any veneration, as she had been taught by Jacob the wickedness and absurdity of worshipping images, but thinking if Laban should pursue them, a reconciliation might be accomplished, by restoring them. She was accompanied in her flight by her sister, the four handmaids, and all their children.

Jacob, with
his wives
and flocks,
departs se-
cretly from
Laban.

Rachael
conveys a-
way her fa-
ther's idols.

Laban over-
takes Jacob,
but refrains
from vio-
lence at the
Divine com-
mand, only
accusing
him with
ingratitude.

Laban, on the first notice of their escape, pursued them with a strong party, intending to assault them, and in the evening of the seventh day overtook them as they were resting themselves on a rising ground. But Divine Providence interposing, he was forbidden in a vision to use violence either against Jacob or his daughters, assuring him that if from a presumption of the weakness of the inferior party he should dare to assail them, the Almighty would espouse their cause, and lift up his Omnipotent arm in their defence.

Laban, duly impressed with the Divine command, appointed a conference with Jacob the ensuing day; and having mentioned the particular circumstances of his dream, expostulated with him on the impropriety of his conduct in attempting to depart secretly from one, by whom, in a state of indigence, he had been so liberally supplied with every thing of which he stood in need. "I have (said Laban) given thee my daughters in marriage, hoping thereby to have confirmed our friendship; but you, on the contrary, regardless of your duty to your mother, to me, to your wives, or to your children, have treated me as an enemy, in ransacking my property, seducing my daughters to abandon their father, and carrying off my household gods, which I and my progenitors have held in such profound veneration. This is the treatment I have received at the hand, not of a professed enemy, but at the hand of a nearly allied relative, the son of my sister, the husband of my daughters, the covenanted friend of my bosom."

Jacob de-
fends his
conduct, and
reproves the
fallacy of
Laban.

Jacob urged, in vindication of himself, that the love of his country was a passion common to mankind, and stamped as it were with the Divine Image on his mind; that it was therefore natural for him, after so long an absence, to feel a desire of returning: that with respect to the robbery of which he was ac-

cused, he had a right to the effects he had taken, as a compensation for his long servitude; and that his daughters had accompanied him in lawful obedience to the command of an husband, and from motives of an affectionate regard for their children. He proceeded to observe, by way of just reproach, that Laban, who was the brother of his mother, and who had given him his daughters in marriage, had subjected him by artifice to long and most laborious servitude, to toils, from which, had he borne him any resentment, he might long since have delivered himself. Laban had certainly dealt unjustly by Jacob; for perceiving that God was pleased to favour him with tokens of his protection and blessing, he promised him at one time all the whole cattle that should be produced in the year; and at another all the flock; but at the expiration of the respective terms, he refused to fulfil the agreement. Jacob gave him full liberty to search for the images; but Rachael had hidden them under her camel's saddle, and evaded the searching, by pretending to a periodical indisposition. A reconciliation now ensued, the terms of which were, that past injuries should be buried in oblivion, and that Jacob should love and cherish his daughters. They then entered into a solemn covenant, which was ratified on a mountain, where they erected a pillar in the form of an altar, stiling that spot and the surrounding country Galaad, or *The Hill of Witness*; which name it retains to this day. The treaty was succeeded by a festival, after which the parties set out for their respective habitations.

Reconcilia-
tion effect-
ed, and a
compact en-
tered into
between the
families.

CHAP. XIX.

Jacob dispatches messengers to Esau, previous to his return. In a vision wrestles with an angel, and overcomes. Amicable interview with Esau.

DURING his journey to the land of Canaan, Jacob had many propitious visions; wherefore he named the place where they occurred, *The Field of God*. But still apprehensive of Esau's resentment, he dispatched messengers to discover the situation of affairs at home, and charged one of them with this intimation to his brother, "That having, on a former occasion, roused his indignation, he had chosen to abandon his country, and now hoped that time had erased former animosities. That he was upon his return, with his wives, his children, and the effects he had by his industry acquired; that he had sent some of the most valuable as a token of his submission, and would esteem it his greatest happiness to have the blessing God had imputed to him, with his beloved brother."

Gen. xxxii.
1, &c.

This frank and ingenuous behaviour was highly pleasing to Esau, who set forth at the head of four hundred armed men to meet his brother. Jacob was alarmed at the intelligence of the approach of a formidable body of men, yet fixing his confidence in the aid of Omnipotence, he determined to repel force by force; and dividing his company into two compact bodies, ordered one to advance, and act as occasion might require, and the other to proceed slowly in the rear, in order to sustain them in case of an assault.

Good effects
of Jacob's
sending
messengers
to his bro-
ther Esau.

Having taken such necessary precaution, he again sent messengers with presents to his brother. These consisted of curious animals, which marched in procession, the better to display their size, properties, and numbers, enhance their value, and thereby conciliate the esteem of his brother, to whom the messengers were charged to shew every token of respect and submission. The day being spent in making these dispositions, he caused his company to march by night; and when they had passed a brook called Jabboch, Jacob, who brought up the rear, had a vision, in which he seemed to wrestle with an angel, and came off victorious. The angel then addressed him, assuring him that his having atchieved so extraordinary a feat as that of overcoming an heavenly messenger, presaged much future success; that his posterity should be invincible, and conquer in all their enterprizes. He therefore enjoined him by the Divine direction, to assume in future the name of Israel, which, in the Hebrew, signifies *struggling* or *resisting*.

As

As Jacob had importuned a relation of his future fortune, he requested of the angel, when he became sensible of his Divine commission, to be explicit in every circumstance; which done, the vision disappeared. Jacob, animated by so joyful an event, named the place Phanuel, or *The face of God*. But one of the sinews of his thigh being strained in the contest, he ever after abstained from eating the hind part of any animal; a custom still observed by our nation.

On receiving intelligence of the approach of Esau and his company, Jacob ordered his wives and their attendants to keep at a distance from the main body, as a security for their persons, if there should be a necessity for coming to action.

When he perceived the pacific disposition of his brother, Jacob ran to him, and threw himself at his feet. Esau, on the other hand, cordially embraced him, kindly enquired after the welfare of his wives and children, and humanely offered to conduct them to his father. Jacob declined the offer, on pretence of the fatigues his cattle had sustained through a tedious journey, so that they separated for the present; his brother retiring to the town of Seir, so called from the thickness of Esau's hair; while Jacob repaired to a place called at this day *The Tents*, and from thence to Shechem, a city of the Canaanites.

CHAP. XX.

Violation of Dinah's chastity. Discovery of Laban's idols. Death of Rachael, and afterwards of Isaac.

THE inhabitants of Shechem were at this time engaged in the celebration of a festival; and Dinah, Jacob's only daughter, repaired thither, to gratify her curiosity, by observing the female customs and fashions of the country. Shechem seeing Dinah, and becoming enamoured of her beauty, first violated her chastity, which the more enflaming his passion, he asked permission of his father to take her to wife. The king not only complied with the prince's request, but made application himself to Jacob for his concurrence. The overture threw Jacob into the greatest perplexity; not daring, on the one hand, to dispute the authority of a monarch, nor deeming it lawful or expedient, on the other, to form an alliance with a stranger. He therefore evaded an explicit answer, and intreated time for mature deliberation. The king thereupon retired, hoping to obtain consent. Jacob immediately referred the matter to his sons, communicating to them, at the same time, the rape of their sister, and the request of

Dinah, that she might be given in marriage to the prince his son. Those of them who were not immediately interested, were silent upon the occasion; but Simeon and Levi, descended from the same mother with the injured female, vowed revenge. The present season, being entirely devoted to festivity, was very proper for the execution of their design; so that the brothers, in the dead of the night, having first fallen upon and slain the guards, entered the city, and massacred all the males, (the king and his son amongst the rest,) but offered no violence to the women. Finding their sister, they conducted her home; and having discovered the transaction to their father, he was greatly displeased, and signified his disapprobation in the severest terms: but the Almighty was pleased to console him in a dream, and commanded him to perform the sacrifice he had vowed at the time he saw the vision in his journey to Mesopotamia. In making the necessary preparation for these solemn rites, he casually discovered Laban's idols, which Rachael had stolen, and concealed under an oak tree in Shechem, without his knowledge.

Taking his departure from thence, he offered an oblation to the Almighty in Bethel, on the very spot where he had seen the vision at the commencement of his journey into Mesopotamia. As he was pursuing his course in the land of Ephrata, Rachael, his wife, died in child-bed, and was there interred, being the only one of the family who had not a place in the sepulchre at Hebron. Jacob having made great lamentation for the loss of his beloved wife Rachael, called the child she bore on that melancholy occasion Benjamin, or *the Son of Sorrow*, from the mortal pangs his birth had given his mother. The children of Jacob were twelve sons and one daughter, of whom eight were legitimate; six by Leah, and two by Rachael; and two by each of their handmaids, whose names have been already mentioned.

From Ephrata Jacob returned to Hebron, the residence of his father Isaac, by whom he was informed of the death of his mother Rebecca, a short time before his arrival. Nor did the good old Isaac long survive his beloved consort, but paid the debt of nature soon after his return, and was buried by Jacob and Esau, near his progenitors, in the sepulchral tomb in Hebron. Isaac imitated the virtues of his pious father, and experienced the peculiar affection and favour of the Almighty on the demise of Abraham. After a life devoted to the honour of God, and the good of mankind, he closed a scene of transient existence, in the 185th year of his age, leaving an example worthy the imitation of posterity.

Simeon and Levi, brothers of Dinah, avenge the injury done her sister by the Shechemites.

Death of Rachael.

Brotherly salutation of Esau and Jacob.

Gen. xxiv. 1, &c. History of Dinah, Jacob's daughter.

End of the FIRST BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK II.

From the Death of Isaac to the Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt.

[Containing a Period of above 220 Years.]

CHAP. I.

Esau and Jacob divide their inheritance, and quit their former places of residence. Esau sells his birthright, and is therefore called Edom. His progeny.

ON the demise of Isaac, his sons, Esau and Jacob, divided his inheritance, and, in consequence thereof, quitted their former habitations. Esau leaving the city of Hebron to his brother, took up his abode in Seir, and became chief of the country of Idumæa, called Edom from the name he himself acquired on the following singular occasion.

Returning on a certain time, during his juvenile days, from hunting, much oppressed with fatigue and hunger, and finding his brother preparing for himself some lentil-pottage, the colour of which being red, the more created his appetite, he earnestly requested that he might participate of his fare. But Jacob, availing himself of his brother's urgent necessity, peremptorily refused him, unless he would resign to him his birthright, to which Esau being stimulated by hunger, was constrained to accede, and the covenant of assignment was confirmed by a solemn oath. Hence his contemporaries called him in derision Edom, from the red hue of the pottage; for, in the Hebrew language, Edom signifies *red*. Hence also this country was denominated Edom; but the Greeks, for the sake of rendering the sound more agreeable to the ear, call it Idumæa.

Esau had five sons, of whom he had three by his wife Alibama, Jaus, Jolam, and Chore; by Ada, Alipazes, or Aliphates; and Mosametha, or Basematha, by Raguel. Aliphates had five legitimate children, Theman, Omer, Opheus, or Opher, Jotham, and Cenez, or Canaz. Amelech was illegitimate, being born of one of his concubines, whose name was Thesma. These inhabited that track of Idumæa called Gobolites, and another part named, from Amelech, Amelechitis. But Idumæa being a country of vast extent, retained its name in a general acceptance, though some particular provinces derived their appellations from their respective founders.

Esau sells his birthright, and is called Edom from the red pottage which was the price of it. Hence came the name of Idumæa.

Esau's descendants.

CHAP. II.

Joseph incurs the envy and hatred of his brethren. His dreams. Interpretation of that respecting the sun, moon, and stars. His brethren conspire against his life.

JACOB having been peculiarly favoured by the Divine protection and blessing, and surpassing all the inhabitants of the country, not only in the number and virtue of his children, but also in opulence and dignity, became at once an object of reverential awe and rankling envy. His progeny were endowed with extraordinary mental and corporeal abilities, and equally adept in such exercises as required their respective exertions. Indeed the Almighty seemed so peculiarly to superintend his concerns in general, that events to human wisdom, apparently adverse, were, by an overseeing Providence, rendered subservient to his benefit, and that of his posterity, as is evident from our ancestors quitting the land of Egypt on the following occasion.

Joseph, the son of Rachael, from his mental and personal accomplishments, became the peculiar favourite of his father Jacob. This partiality, together with the dreams he had related, presaging his future success, naturally created the envy and hatred of his brethren; for it is a foible (not to call it a vice) too incidental to mankind to behold the prosperity of others with an eye of jealousy. The visions which roused such malevolent passions were these.

Being sent by his father with the rest of his brethren to work at the harvest, a vision appeared to him of so extraordinary a nature from dreams in general, that being induced to consult them on the occasion, he related to them the particulars. "Behold (said he) I saw last night in my sleep the sheaf of corn which I had bound, standing firm on the very spot where I had fixed it, and those of your binding moving towards it, in an inclining reverential posture." His brethren clearly inferred, from thence, that his future undertakings should be crowned with success, and that he should acquire power and superiority

Jacob becomes eminent for his riches and endowments of his children

Joseph the envy and version of his brethren from the affection of his father, and his own mental and personal qualities.

superiority over them; and though they concealed their opinions from Joseph, instantly conceived the most inveterate aversion for him, and concerted the means of averting events so mortifying to their own pride and ambition.

But it pleased God to render abortive all their malicious schemes, by causing a second and more extraordinary vision to appear unto Joseph. He beheld in his dream the sun, moon, and eleven of the stars, descend on the earth, and do him reverence. This vision Joseph revealed to his father in the presence of his brethren (without suspicion of incurring ill-will) who intreated him to explain the meaning. The dream afforded Jacob satisfaction, as from revolving the circumstances in his mind, he perceived they presaged much good to his son: he thence inferred, that Joseph should be exalted to opulence and power, and should receive obedience from his father, mother, and brethren. The sun and moon seemed to him to represent the father and the mother, because the latter nourishes and increases all things, and from the former all things derive their form and force. The stars seemed to refer to his brethren, who were in number eleven, and derive their power from the sun and moon.

Jacob's interpretation seemed founded on probability, and therefore had a deeper effect on the minds of Joseph's brethren; for with respect to the blessings foretold, they considered him in the light of a stranger, not as a brother in whose success they would participate, and therefore formed a resolution of compassing his death.

Having concerted the means of accomplishing their horrid design, when the harvest was gathered in, they retired with their flocks into Shechem, a part of the country adapted to grazing, without giving their father any notice of their departure. Jacob receiving no intelligence respecting the state and condition of his flocks, and being also anxious for the welfare of his sons, sent Joseph to make the necessary enquiries, with orders to transmit him immediate information.

CHAP. III.

Joseph's brother Reuben concert's a scheme to save his life. He is sold to some Arabian merchants. Artifice used by his brethren to deceive their father, who bewails him as dead.

THE approach of Joseph was an event agreeable to his enraged brethren, not from motives of affection arising from the tie of consanguinity, but because they imagined it would afford them an opportunity of satiating their envy and malice by his immediate death, on which they had mutually resolved. But Reuben, the eldest, recoiling at so base a design, endeavoured to dissuade them from it, by representing its heinous and atrocious nature, and the universal detestation they would incur thereby. He enforced his advice, by observing, that if in the eye of God the murder even of a stranger in cool blood was a crime of the deepest dye, how aggravated and detestable must it be to embrace their hands in the blood of a brother, whose premature death would plant daggers in the breast of a doating father, and be to him a source of perpetual affliction. He proceeded to conjure them to desist from their wicked intention, to consider the consequences that must result from the murder of a person so justly admired for his mental and personal accomplishments, to dread the detection of such a crime, and the revenge of Omnipotence, and to remember that if they could be so abandoned as to perpetrate so horrid a deed, they would ever bear about them the intolerable load of conscious guilt, which would render them accursed beyond expression. He pleaded the innocence of the youth as an object of compassion, rather than malevolence; observed that envy being the motive, would be an aggravation of the offence, and contended lastly, that they would tempt the justice of God, and render themselves objects of his vengeance, by attempting the death of one so manifestly honoured with tokens of the Divine favour and protection.

By these and many other arguments did Reuben endeavour to divert his brethren from shedding the blood of the innocent youth; but finding that all

his intreaties had no effect, nay, that they rather incensed than appeased, he had recourse to other means, and proposed, that as his death was irrevocably determined, they should mitigate its manner, and thereby in some degree exterminate its criminality, alledging, that rather than stain their hands with his blood, it would be more advisable to cast him into a pit, and there leave him to the chance of death. This proposal being generally approved, Reuben took Joseph, and binding him with a cord, let him gently down into a pit, and then went in quest of better pasturage for his cattle.

After the departure of Reuben, Judah, one of Jacob's sons, perceiving the approach of some Arabian merchants, who from Gilcad carry spices and other Syrian merchandize into Egypt, proposed to his brethren to sell Joseph to these adventurers, by which means they would be exempt from the imputation of being accessory to his death, which would then in all probability happen in a remote country. Having obtained their consent, Joseph was drawn out of the pit, and sold to these merchants for twenty pieces of silver, being at that time 17 years old.

Reuben, unacquainted with this circumstance, and determined at all events to preserve the life of his brother Joseph, came by night to the pit, and called upon him by name; but from his not answering, conjecturing that his brethren had put him to death, he reproached them bitterly, till he was appeased by their confession of the truth. After these transactions, the brothers consulted on the means of evading their father's suspicion, and concluded first to tear the coat of which they had stripped Joseph when they cast him into the pit, and then having stained it with goat's blood, to present it to their father as a token of his having been slain by wild beasts. This point adjusted, they returned to the old man (who by this time had heard some tidings of his son being lost, or sold captive) and presenting the coat rent and bloody, confirmed him in the belief of what they wished him to entertain, especially as they assured him they had neither seen their brother, nor knew what had befallen him, more than from the token of the coat they had found rent and bloody, from which they conjectured he had been slain by wild beasts. Jacob, hereupon, became inconsolable, covered himself with sackcloth according to the custom of the country, and notwithstanding all that could be offered to mitigate his grief, lamented the death of his son, as if confirmed by the most indubitable testimony.

CHAP. IV.

Joseph is sold by the merchants on their arrival in Egypt to Potiphar, one of king Pharaoh's household. He obtains the affections of his mistress. Rejects her caresses. Various seducing artifices without effect. Joseph is accused to Potiphar, and thrown into prison.

THE persecuted Joseph was afterwards sold by the merchants to Potiphar, an Egyptian officer, and steward of king Pharaoh's household, who held him in high estimation, caused him to be instructed in the liberal arts, and at length promoted him to the superintendence of the concerns of his family. In this elevated situation he maintained his integrity, and, by a conduct uniformly just and virtuous, demonstrated that his piety was genuine, equally proof against the allurements of prosperity, or the trials of adversity. In a short time the graces of his person, and the affability of his disposition, captivated the affection of his master's wife, who, from the attraction of her charms, and her exalted rank, presumed on his ready compliance with her desires as his highest honour and happiness. But herein she had respect to his station only, and not to his virtue, which so splendidly shone forth throughout the whole of his conduct.

At length she discovered her passion, and entreated a reciprocal return; but Joseph spurned at all her overtures, alledging, that after the singular favour he had obtained from his lord, it would be as impious as ungrateful thus to injure him in the tenderest point. He then exhorted her to restrain her inordinate desires, repeating the former asseveration, and adding, that he would rather subject himself to the severest lot, than by acquiescence participate in the complicated

The several visions that Joseph had, laid the foundation of the desperate designs of his brethren against him, and the snares that were formed to take away his life.

Gen. xxxvii. 18, &c.

Reuben intercedes with his brethren in an eloquent and affectionate speech.

Joseph is let down into a pit at the persuasion of Reuben.

He is sold to the Ishmaelites when seventeen years old.

Jacob's sons most ungratefully and undutifully deceive and vex their father by an abominable project.

Gen. xxxix. 1, &c. Joseph is promoted in the house of Potiphar.

His mistress becomes enamoured with him.

Joseph rejects her warmest caresses.

complicated guilt. This repulse inflamed her desire the more, so that she concerted another plan for accomplishing her design.

A solemn day of festivity approaching, on which, according to the Egyptian custom, the women were accustomed to deck themselves out in all their splendour, she excused herself from appearing on that occasion on pretence of indisposition, that she might have a convenient opportunity for a private assignation with Joseph. Succeeding thus far in her design, she accosted him in the most endearing terms, observing, that he would have acted becoming his duty, and consistently with his interest, in complying with her first solicitation: but that omission could be amply atoned by his then obedience. She added, that she now did him peculiar honour, as well as afforded him the most striking proof of her affectionate regard, in foregoing the grandeur and pleasures of a public festivity, for the enjoyment of his company and intercourse. She enforced her address by exhorting him to immediate compliance, and assuring him that if, to her favour, he preferred his own scrupulous delicacy, he would become the object of her most rancorous hatred; impelled by which, she would accuse him to Potiphar of an attempt upon her virtue, who would readily admit the truth of her allegation, and not fail of bringing him to the severest punishment.

Joseph's distinguished chastity.

But neither her caresses, her vows, her tears, nor her threatenings, could prevail on Joseph to violate his master's honour, by receding from his virtuous resolve. Nay, he even took upon him to admonish his mistress to a due observance of the solemn rites of the marriage bed, which ought to be held sacred and inviolate, and should not be dispensed with on any pretence whatsoever. Inordinate gratifications, he added, were followed by repentance and shame; whereas conjugal fidelity brought with it the reward of a good conscience, and the approbation of the virtuous; and inferred, from the whole, that it was more praise-worthy in her to exercise command over him as a servant, than debase herself, by alluring him to the commission of a crime, which would so flagrantly redound to their mutual disgrace.

By these, and other arguments equally powerful, did Joseph still endeavour to abate the violence of his mistress's passion, and reclaim her from her criminal intention; but they produced a contrary effect; for his persuasions to chastity served only to inflame her desire; till at length she endeavoured to effect that compliance by force, which she could not obtain by the most flattering blandishments.

Joseph leaves part of his garment, and flies from the adulteress.

Lost to all sense of shame, she seized and held him by his garment, till the youth was under a necessity of leaving a part behind him, in order to extricate himself, and flee from her enchanting embraces. Fired by a repulse on the one hand, and impelled by fear of detection on the other, she determined to shield herself under a malicious accusation, as well as by that means to avenge herself on Joseph, for the supposed indignity he had offered her. She therefore assumed the guise of grief and indignation, excited by an attempt on her honour and chastity, which Potiphar perceiving on his return, afforded her an opportunity, on his enquiring into the cause, of addressing him in terms to the following purport:

He is accused to Potiphar, by his mistress, of having attempted to violate her chastity.

"Thou deservest no longer from me a return of conjugal affection, if thou dost not rigorously punish that audacious slave, who has attempted to violate the honour of thy bed; who, unmindful of every tie of duty and of gratitude, has endeavoured to injure thee in the tenderest point; and that too in thine absence, and on a day of festivity. Hence it is manifest, that his apparent modesty is founded on the deepest dissimulation, and that the favours you have conferred upon him have emboldened him to arrogate a claim even to the possession of thy wife."

To enforce this address, and confirm her husband in the belief of it, she produced the tattered remnant of his garment, which, as she declared, he left behind him, after a struggle to violate her chastity. Potiphar, affected by this declaration of his wife, accompanied with tears, and fired with resentment against Joseph, committed him, without enquiring into the merits of the cause, to prison, amongst the common malefactors: while he applauded the chastity of his wife, thus confirmed and approved, as he imagined, by the clearest evidence.

CHAP. V.

Joseph conciliates esteem in the prison. Expounds the king's butler and baker's dreams. Explains Pharaoh's dream concerning the famine. Is released from prison, and promoted to the highest dignities.

SUPPORTED by conscious innocence, Joseph did not attempt to exculpate himself, but patiently submitted himself to imprisonment, placing his sole reliance on the interposition of Divine Providence. Nor was he frustrated in his dependence: for in a short time the keeper of the prison, attracted by the courtesy of his behaviour, not only freed him from fetters, but shewed him singular marks of indulgence, and thereby alleviated the punishment of being confined. The prisoners, as was common in their circumstances, conferring together during their intervals of suspension from labour, on the causes of their commitments, and other topics, Joseph, by those means, became familiar with one who had been king Pharaoh's butler, once high in favour, but now, from some particular disgust of that monarch, cast into prison. This person, observing, in the course of conversation, that Joseph possessed uncommon penetration, related to him a dream, and requested an interpretation, lamenting, as an aggravation of the misfortunes fallen upon him, from having incurred his sovereign's displeasure, his perplexity arising from dreams, which constantly disturbed his repose. He informed Joseph, that, in his sleep, he saw three clusters of grapes, perfectly ripe, hanging from as many vine-branches; that having pressed the juice of the fruit into a vessel, which the king held for that purpose, his majesty drank, and was abundantly satisfied.

The confines of a prison cannot obscure the virtues and abilities of Joseph.

Gen. xl. 1, &c. The king's butler relates an extraordinary dream to Joseph, who expounds it to him.

The butler having thus related his dream, and repeated his desire of an explanation, Joseph bade him take courage, as within the space of three days he should be released from prison, and restored to the king's favour and service. The juice of the vine (said the interpreter) was given for the use and delight of mankind; the moderate and discreet use of it cements friendship, banishes anger, dissipates care, and disposes to complacency of mind. The king's receiving the wine favourably, which you had pressed from the three clusters, prefigures good, and indicates your deliverance within the three days represented by those distinct clusters. When you find my prediction fulfilled in the obtaining your liberty, let not it (said he) erase from your memory the bondage of your late fellow prisoners. It is not through guilt I thus suffer, but through an inflexible adherence to, and regard for, my master's honour, in preference to the gratification of my mistress's desires and my own emolument. Happy in this interpretation of his dream, the butler, with longing expectation, waited the event.

There happened to be at the same time in the prison another of the king's servants, who had been the chief baker, till, like the butler, he had incurred his displeasure, and became subject to the same punishment. Encouraged by Joseph's late interpretation, this man requested of him the explanation of a dream he had the night past, which he thus related. "I imagined, in my sleep, (said he,) I carried on my head three baskets, two of which were filled with bread, and the other with the choicest viands, prepared for the king's table; but the birds of the air hovered round me as I passed in spite of all my endeavours, and devoured the contents of the whole." This said, he expected a preface favourable as the former: but Joseph, having attended to the particulars, and premised that he could have wished to have been the harbinger of more welcome news, ingenuously assured him that he had only two days to live, for that on the third day he should be hanged, and exposed to the prey of those birds he could not drive from the basket of provision. Joseph's predictions were fully verified; for the third day, from that time, being the anniversary of Pharaoh's nativity, he ordered the baker to be hanged, and the butler to be restored to his former office.

Relation and exposition of the king's baker's dream.

Joseph had now lain two years in prison, unassisted in any degree by the ungrateful butler, when the following singular interposition of Providence procured him his liberty.

King

Gen. xli. 1, &c. Joseph, at the interposition of the butler, is delivered out of prison, after a confinement of two years.

Pharaoh relates to Joseph his prophetic dreams.

King Pharaoh having in one night had two dreams, which he conceived imported him evil, (though the interpretation that had been given of them at the same time had slipt his memory,) early in the morning summoned several of the Egyptian sages, and required of them an explanation. Their hesitation indicating doubt or inability, increased his anxiety, which the butler observing, and Joseph's expertness in such matters occurring to his mind, he immediately repaired to his master, and informed him of the singular manner in which his predictions, from the circumstances of his own dream, and that of the baker, had been respectively verified. He further represented to the king, that he had been formerly servant to Potiphar, treasurer of his household, and that, from his own account, he was an Hebrew, descended from honourable parents. Animated by this intelligence of the ability of Joseph, the king immediately sent for him into the royal presence, courteously took him by the hand, and thus addressed him. "I understand, by one of my attendants, that thou art remarkably expert in interpreting of dreams, of which thou hast given him a singular instance: reveal, therefore, unto me my dreams in the same manner as thou didst unto him; but do not exaggerate or extenuate any circumstance, from motives either of fear or flattery, but speak the truth plainly and impartially. In my sleep I fancied I was walking by the side of a river, (a,) and that I saw seven large and fat oxen, which went from the river towards a pasture: after which I saw seven lean meagre oxen, which seemed to come from the pasture towards the river, and, meeting the fat cattle in the way, devoured them, without any apparent increase in their own bulk. Upon this I awoke, and, as I was reflecting on the nature and import of my dream, fell insensibly asleep again, and saw a vision more extraordinary, and which affects me more than the former. I beheld, as it were, seven ears of corn spring out of one stem, which were so weighty with the grain they bore, that their heads inclined to the earth. Afterwards there appeared seven other ears, scanty and bare of grain, which, to my astonishment, devoured the former."

Joseph interprets the king's dreams of the lean kine, and the withered ears of corn, as preceding the long famine that happened in Egypt.

Joseph then informed the king, that one interpretation would suffice for both dreams. "The fat and lean oxen, and the full and scanty ears of corn, portended, that seven years of plenty would be immediately succeeded by as many years of famine, so that the abundance of the first seven years would not be adequate to the demands of the ensuing dearth, represented by the lean cattle devouring the fat, and the scanty ears of grain swallowing the full." He added, "that the Almighty was pleased to afford such intimations, not to terrify his creatures, but in order that they might provide for extremities, and alleviate distresses through prudence and forecast, and requested the king to make a due application of his remarks, as the most effectual means of averting the calamities which would otherwise ensue from so long a series of famine." The king, charmed with the sagacity of Joseph in the exposition of his dreams, requested his advice with respect to the precaution necessary to be taken, in order to guard against the impending calamity. He immediately recommended the strictest parsimony, and the retrenchment of all superfluity, in order to furnish a reserve for future exigencies; also that a number of magazines should be amply stocked, out of which the people should be supplied with no more than was barely sufficient for present subsistence.

(a) The river here alluded to was the Nile, so much celebrated in antient history. This river has its rise in Numidia, and after running many miles northward, through a country scorched with the violent heat of the sun, enters Upper Egypt with great force, and passes over a cataract or broken rock. From hence it continues its course still north, and, receiving the addition of many other rivers, falls over another cataract, and then continues its course to the Lower Egypt as far as Grand Cairo; after which it divides itself into three branches, in the form of a triangle, and then empties itself into the Mediterranean Sea. Once every year it overflows the greater part of Lower Egypt, and from that proceeds either scarcity or plenty. If the water rises too high scarcity ensues, because it lies too long on the ground; and if too low, then there is not a sufficiency to fertilize the soil.

No. 3.

Pharaoh was so struck with admiration at the extraordinary wisdom of Joseph in these important concerns, that he made him superintendant of his stores, with full authority to proceed in such manner as might appear to him most conducive to promote the general good; observing, that no man was so proper to put in execution a plan of public utility as the author. Being thus vested with authority, and all its splendid appendages, Joseph proceeded to the execution of his plan, making a tour in a chariot of state throughout Egypt, depositing the grain in the king's magazines, and distributing only what was necessary for a present supply, without assigning to any man the cause of his proceedings.

CHAP. VI.

Joseph forms an honourable alliance. The famine. His brethren arrive in Egypt. Art practised on his brethren. Supplies them with grain, and dismisses them home for their brother Benjamin.

AT the time of this distinguished prosperity Joseph was about thirty years of age, when, as a singular mark of his wisdom, the king called him by a name which, in the Egyptian language, signifies, *A Discoverer of hidden things*. He also, at the instigation of his sovereign, formed an alliance equally honourable and advantageous, by marrying the daughter of Potiphar, (b,) the priest of On, (c,) or Heliopolis, who brought him two children previous to the famine; Manasses, or *Oblivion*, alluding to his late miseries; and Ephraim, or *Restitution*, referring to his exalted situation at the time of his birth.

The years of plenty being expired according to Joseph's prediction, the famine began to rage, inasmuch that the multitude, sorely oppressed, repaired in crowds to the stores and magazines of the king. Being referred to Joseph, for redress, he supplied their wants with such discretion, and at the same time with such competency, that he acquired the venerable appellation of *Saviour of the People*. Indeed he had respect not only to natives, but foreigners, on the sublime principle of universal philanthropy, which naturally produces universal benevolence.

The famine not being confined to Egypt alone, but raging in Canaan, and, indeed, throughout the greatest part of the continent, Jacob, being informed that strangers were permitted to purchase grain in Egypt, deputed all his sons, Benjamin (who was born of Rachael, and brother on both sides to Joseph) excepted, with an especial commission to provide for his family. Upon their arrival in Egypt, the ten brethren applied, in the most submissive terms, to Joseph, intreating permission to purchase grain; being informed that their reception at court depended on the deference shewn to the king's dignified favourite. Joseph recognized them at the first glance, though they had not the smallest recollection of him. He therefore determined to put them to a severe trial, in order to sound their dispositions and intentions. To effect this, he not only refused them his permission to purchase grain, but ordered them to be apprehended as spies; alledging, that they appeared to him to be of different births, though they pretended to be kindred, as it was highly improbable that an individual subject should have so numerous and comely a progeny; a blessing rarely accorded to kings. This insinuation was to draw from his brethren the precise situation of his family, and particularly of his brother Benjamin, as he was apprehensive that youth had been exposed to the same treat-

(b) This is a different person from him who was captain of the guard, and was in a different quality; and therefore, as the learned Vossius justly observes, there is no reason, from the similarity of names, to think that Joseph married the daughter of him who had been his master; for he would certainly have abhorred an alliance with one that was born of so lewd a woman as his mistress.

(c) On was a famous city in Egypt, situated between the Nile and the Arabian Gulph, about twenty miles from Memphis, the metropolis of the kingdom. Here was celebrated an annual festival in honour of the sun, from which it was afterwards called *Heliopolis*. The word we translate *priest*, may signify one who ministers at the altar, or one who governs in civil affairs. Priests were antiently the chief men of the kingdom; for kings themselves were priests.

Gen. xli. 46. &c. Joseph, at 30 years of age, made director of the affairs of Egypt.

Joseph is the preserver of Egypt, and of many other nations.

Gen. xlii. 1, &c. Joseph treats his ten brethren with severity.

ment from them with himself. They were much alarmed at this stern and distant reception, as well as apprehensive that the design of their journey would be defeated, till at length Reuben, the eldest, undertook to plead the common cause, in terms to the following effect. "We come not hither (said he) as spies to annoy his majesty's subjects, but as constrained by dire necessity, to purchase corn for the subsistence of our family, at the hands of those who have signalized their humanity, not only in supplying natives, but opening a trade to strangers in general. That we are brothers, it is presumed, must appear from the similitude of our features. Our father, Jacob, is an Hebrew by birth; and we were in all twelve sons, born to him by four women. While they all lived, prosperity attended our family; but when our brother Joseph was taken from us, our calamities accumulated. Our father still laments his loss, and his sorrows render us inconsolable, as we were when mischance first deprived us of our dearest brother. During our absence on this commission, the care of our aged parent devolves on our youngest brother Benjamin. If you are still dubious of our sincerity, you have only to dispatch a messenger to our father's house."

Reuben's eloquent apology.

Joseph, being thus assured of the welfare both of his father and his brother Benjamin, committed them to close custody for further examination. Summoning them before him at the expiration of three days, he thus addressed them: "Since ye affirm that ye came not hither as spies, or to annoy his majesty's subjects, and aver that ye are brethren, and the sons of Jacob, to convince me of the truth of your assertions, let one remain here as a pledge of the integrity of all. The rest shall be supplied with corn, and permitted to go to Canaan, but under this positive injunction, that they bring back with them their youngest brother, Benjamin, as the surest test of their probity. You may be assured that the hostage who remains shall experience the kindest treatment."

The other brethren are sent to fetch Benjamin, but Simeon is retained as a pledge of their return.

Alarmed at this proposition, and dreading the extreme calamity approaching, as another instance of the Divine vengeance for their cruelty to their brother Joseph, they melted into tears: but Reuben reprehended their unseasonable repentance, and recommended to them a patient submission to the Divine will. This conversation passed in the Hebrew tongue, which they supposed none of the bystanders understood: but Joseph was so affected by the scene, that he thought it expedient to retire, lest he should be discovered by his sensibility. On his return, however, he selected Simeon (a) as his hostage; then gave them permission to purchase what grain they required; and having previously commanded his servants to put every man's money into the mouth of his sack, issued orders for their departure.

C H A P. VII.

The brethren arrive at Canaan. Relate the event of their journey to their father. Jacob delivers up Benjamin at the representation of Judah. Scheme of Joseph to prove the attachment of his brethren to Benjamin. Judah's oration affects, and is applauded by Joseph, who makes himself known to his brethren, and dispatches them for his father and family

Gen. xlii. 29, &c. and xliii. 1, &c.

THE brethren proceeded to Canaan, and, on their arrival, related to their father the singular events which had befallen them in Egypt; particularly that they had been taken for spies, and impostors in their pretence to affinity of blood, inasmuch, that, at the special requisition of the governor, Simeon was left behind as an hostage, till their return with their brother Benjamin should confirm the truth of what they

(a) It is particularly assigned as a reason why Simeon was selected from the rest of his brethren as Joseph's prisoner, that he was one of the most inveterate of all his brethren against him.

(b) It was the custom among the ancients for all the provision to be placed on one table, and the master of the feast to distribute to every one his portion. Joseph certainly did this, not only to shew his particular regard to Benjamin, but also to observe whether the rest would look upon their younger brother with the same envious eye as they had formerly done upon him-

averred. They therefore intreated Jacob to consent to their younger brother's departure with them, as a matter of indispensable necessity. The old man was much dissatisfied with the conduct of his sons, and greatly affected by the loss of Simeon; but became inconsolable at the thought of resigning Benjamin, whom he prized dearer than life: nor could Reuben, with all his solicitations, enforced by offering his own children as pledges for the security of Benjamin, obtain his consent. In this state of confusion their anxiety was increased on discovering the money they had paid for the grain enclosed in their sacks. When their provision began to fail, and famine to stare them in the face, Jacob was induced to deliberate on the injunction his sons had received of bringing with them their brother Benjamin, without whom they dared not, on their peril, to return to Egypt; but still inclining to hesitate at parting with his best beloved, Judah, of a temper more vehement and resolute than the rest, thus addressed his father on the pressing occasion. "You are too anxiously, as well as partially, solicitous for the safety of Benjamin, whom nothing can befall, either at home or abroad, without the interference of Divine Providence. Do you not hazard the loss of your own and our lives through famine, and also leave our brother Simeon in a most perilous situation, in thus hesitating to comply with what is so indispensably necessary for the preservation of us all? Resign, therefore, your son to the care and protection of the Almighty, and rest assured that I will either restore him to you in safety, or perish myself in the attempt."

Jacob, being at length wrought into a compliance, delivered up Benjamin to his brethren, together with a double portion of money for the purchase of the grain, and the choicest produce of Canaan, such as balm, myrrh, turpentine, and honey, as presents for the governor. The separation was mutually affecting; the father being anxious for the welfare of his sons, and the sons apprehensive that their departure and absence might put a period to their father's existence before their return.

It was with the greatest difficulty that Jacob permitted Benjamin to depart at the urgent intreaties of his nine brethren, and the distress of the famine.

Upon their arrival in Egypt they repaired to Joseph, and, lest they should be accused of having fraudulently conveyed away with them the purchase money for the former portion of grain, represented to the steward, that, without their privacy, the money had been put into their sacks, which, as bound in duty, they now brought back with them on their return. The steward disclaimed any knowledge of the matter; so that they were not only freed from anxious apprehension, but greatly encouraged in their expectations, by Simeon's being set at full liberty, and thereby having the opportunity of constant intercourse with them. As soon as Joseph returned from attending on the king, they presented their respective gifts, and he was made happy in hearing, on enquiry, of the welfare of his father; but when he beheld Benjamin, and the brethren replied in the affirmative, on his asking, Is this your youngest brother? he could not refrain from exclaiming, "The providence of God directeth all things," which having pronounced, such was his agitation of mind, that he withdrew, lest his tears should betray him to his brethren. In the evening he invited them to a banquet, and causing them to be placed in the same order as they were wont to be at their father's table, treated them courteously; but discovered a particular attachment to Benjamin, in allotting him a double portion of whatever was served up, (b).

Jacob's sons arrive in Egypt, and Simeon is set at liberty

Joseph entertains his brethren at a feast.

During the time of repose, after the banquet, he ordered every man's sack to be filled, and the money to be deposited as before; but the steward was directed to convey into Benjamin's sack the goblet, out of which the governor himself usually drank. This

Gen. xliii. 1, &c. Joseph, in order to try the minds of his brethren, pretends that the youngest of them had been guilty of theft.

self. The custom of allotting the largest portion at the banquets of the ancients to any particular person, by way of preference, was practised in Homer's days, as appears from Agamemnon's speech to Idomeneus:

For this in banquets, when the generous bowls
Restore our blood, and raise the warriors' souls,
Tho' all the rest with stated rules are bound,
Unmix'd, unmeasur'd are thy goblets crown'd.

Pope.
WAS

was done in order to put to the test the affection of his brethren for Benjamin, in standing by him in case of an accusation of theft, or to detect their hypocritical collusion in deserting, and leaving him to be punished as a malefactor, and returning to their father unconcerned at the event.

The necessary preparations being made, according to Joseph's orders, they set out on their journey early in the morning, rejoicing in the view of restoring both Simeon and Benjamin to the arms of their aged, doating parent: but their joy was soon damped, by being suddenly overtaken, and assaulted, by a troop of horsemen, amongst whom was the party who conveyed the goblet into Benjamin's sack. Reproaching the soldiers with violating the laws of hospitality, by so sudden a reverse of behaviour, they were loaded by them with the severest invectives for returning evil for good, and trespassing on the humanity of the governor, in the commission of a theft, which, however they might have concealed from the observation of the officer who attended at table, they could not hide from God's all-seeing eye; and demanded how they could be so stupidly insensible, as to indulge a hope of escaping the punishment due to so flagrant a crime?

In this manner were they reviled and tormented by the Egyptians; whilst, armed with conscious innocence, they expressed the greatest surprize that even a suspicion should be entertained of their integrity, after having offered to restore the money formerly deposited in their sacks, without, at least, the confessed privacy of any person whatever; and this they repeatedly alledged to invalidate the accusation.

To give, however, their assailants ample satisfaction, they desired them to search their sacks, subjecting themselves individually to condign punishment, if any one of them was proved guilty of the theft with which they were charged. The proposal was agreed to, with this exception, that punishment should only be inflicted on the guilty. They then proceeded to the search, and making the scrutiny according to seniority, they at last came to Benjamin's sack, where, according to their previous knowledge, the goblet of course was found. The rest being exculpated, and assured of the integrity of Benjamin, were upbraiding their pursuers for detaining them so long from their journey, at the very instant the goblet was found in his sack, a circumstance equally surprising and afflictive, from the consideration of their brother's being exposed to immediate death, and their consequent inability of producing him, according to solemn promise, to their father, on their return. To aggravate their grief, this calamity befel them when they least suspected it; nor could they but consider themselves, from their pressing importunity with their father to consent to Benjamin's departure, as the authors of these remediless evils.

The Egyptians having secured Benjamin, conducted him, accompanied by his sorrowful brothers, unto Joseph, who, to carry on the design, thus sternly upbraided them: "Basest of men, (said he,) is it thus you acknowledge the bounty of Providence, or requite my hospitality, in so glaring an instance of injustice and ingratitude?" They all mournfully replied, they were really ready to suffer in the place of Benjamin, reproaching themselves, at the same time, in their own language, with their treatment of Joseph, who was happy, (if dead,) in being exempt from the casualties incidental to human life, and inferring, (if living,) that the Almighty had inflicted this punishment on them for his sake. Reuben also awakened in their minds a most poignant sense of their cruel behaviour towards their virtuous and innocent brother.

Joseph then dismissed them all as exculpated, the convict Benjamin excepted, declaring, that as he could not conscientiously punish the innocent for the guilty, or release the guilty at the requisition of the innocent, he should therefore only detain Benjamin, and desired that the rest might depart in peace, assuring them of safe conduct in their way. Equally alarmed and affected by these expressions, they stood, as it were, speechless. Judah, who had before signalled himself in the very occasion of prevailing

with his father to send Benjamin with them, thus replied, in the name of the rest:

"We acknowledge, my Lord, that the crime of which our youngest brother stands guilty, merits the severest punishment; and should absolutely despair of his life, were it not for the proofs we have had of your clemency and goodness. Suffer yourself, therefore, to be actuated in this matter, not by the rigid maxims of distributive justice, but by that god-like benevolence which so eminently adorns your character. Let not those perils who throw themselves on your mercy; and as you have delivered us from the famine, the most horrid of deaths, by a liberal supply of our wants, deign to extend your compassion, and spare the lives you vouchsafed to preserve. By these means (as preserving and sparing life are equally objects of mercy) your goodness will be enhanced; and to you we shall stand indebted, not only for the means of subsistence, but for existence itself. It seems that the Wise Disposer of Events has now afforded you a singular opportunity for the display of that most amiable of virtues, the pardon of an injury: let it be known then, that you are as humane as liberal; as merciful as charitable. It is praise-worthy to relieve the distressed of the indigent; but exalted characters display a clemency almost divine, when they remit punishment to offences committed against themselves. I am induced to be thus importunate, from a consciousness of our father's inexpressible grief for the fate of our brother Benjamin, as well as a desire of your adding to the honours you have already acquired. Our own lives we consider of little moment, and would willingly resign them, were it not for the anxiety our deaths would surely give an aged parent. For his sake, not our own; for the sake of a father eminent for his piety and virtue, and to avert the miseries our punishment must inevitably entail on him, we are now your humble supplicants. The tidings of our fate, with the infamy of the cause, would put a period to his existence. Let lenity, then, for our venerable parent plead in our favour. It is yours either to take or spare our lives. Pronounce the pardon, and live long to reap the reward of conscious goodness, of imitating the brightest of all the Divine Perfections: so shall the Almighty and Universal Father crown you with numberless blessings, for compassionating the case of the aged Jacob. In pardoning our brother, you give life to us all; inasmuch as our lives depend upon his. We cannot return to our father but with Benjamin. If you remain inexorable, we only request to be included in the punishment, as if we had been accomplices in the guilt; a more eligible death than, in consequence of the loss of our brother, laying violent hands on ourselves. I here might plead his youth and want of experience, but these considerations your candour will suggest: so that I will close the address I have the honour to prefer, with shewing, that, whether we are condemned through the inability of the advocate, or absolved through the spontaneous clemency of the judge, the merit will be wholly yours. If, after all, my Lord, you adjudge him to death, admit me as his substitute, and vicarious victim; but if you are pleased to sentence him to slavery, I offer myself in his place to bear the severest hardships, (a)."

Judah and his brethren now fell prostrate at the feet of Joseph, (b) whose feelings were so strongly impressed, that, having dismissed his attendants, he thus disclosed himself:

"I cannot but applaud the affection you have shewn for your brother Benjamin, especially as, upon former occasions, you have been so much wanting in fraternal regard for me. In this instance I have put your disposition to the test, and, from your present behaviour, am disposed to impute the evils which, through your proceedings, befell me, to the will of God, for wise and gracious purposes. The information I receive of my father's welfare, together with the manifest proofs of your ardent affection for my youngest brother, afford me the supremest pleasure; so that I blot from my re-

Judah's oration, in behalf of Benjamin, bold and masterly.

Gen. xiv. 17. &c. Joseph makes himself known to his brethren.

(b) Herein we see Joseph's dream of the wheat-sheaves amply fulfilled in the very humiliating and singular submission shewn to him by his brethren.

"inembrance

The brethren are interrupted on their journey.

Accused of theft.

Benjamin is detained for theft.

"membrance all former transactions, esteeming you the agents of Providence, in raising me to my present exalted situation, and convinced that it thus pleased God to bring good out of evil. Return home with these joyful tidings to your father, and share with him the common blessing a bountiful Providence has imparted, lest he die with grief, and I am deprived of the happiness of an interview. Now depart, and bring back, as speedily as possible, your father, with all your respective families, into Egypt, that you may participate with me the blessings of plenty, during the five years of the famine yet unexpired."

This happened in the second year of the famine.

The Israelites go back to their father with royal presents in their hands.

Stung with remorse at their former treatment of so affectionate a brother, tears suppressed their verbal acknowledgement of his extraordinary goodness. Joseph, however, cordially embraced, and prepared for them a magnificent entertainment; after which they were honoured with tokens of the royal munificence, as presents for themselves, their father, and families; and then dismissed by Joseph, with many presents of fraternal regard; which was shewn to his youngest brother, Benjamin, in a most distinguished manner.

CHAP. VIII.

Divine appearance to Jacob upon an extraordinary occasion. He prosecutes his journey into Egypt with his family. Their names. Affecting interview between Joseph and his father, who is well received by Pharaoh. The famine produces dreadful calamities, which at length ceases. Joseph's policy increases the national revenue. Death of Jacob, and afterwards of Joseph.

Gen. xlv. 1 to 34.

WHEN Jacob learnt from his sons, on their return, that Joseph was not only alive, but had attained to a degree of pre-eminence in Egypt next to the king himself, he returned unfeigned thanks to the Supreme Governor of the Universe for his infinite mercies towards him, after he had been tossed a long time to and fro on the billows of adversity, and then made the necessary preparations for paying him a visit.

When he came near the Well of the Covenant, he offered an oblation to God; but apprehensive that the fertility of the soil of Egypt might induce his posterity to fix their residence on that spot, by which means they would of course lose possession of the promised land of Canaan, he began to entertain doubts whether his proposed journey had the Divine sanction, and also whether his life should be prolonged to see his darling son Joseph, till it pleased the Almighty to give him an extraordinary manifestation of his Divine will.

Jacob seeks the Divine direction as to his journey into Egypt.

He is favoured with the Divine appearance.

One night on the journey he fell into a profound sleep, and being twice distinctly called on by name, and asking who it was that called him, he received from the Divine voice the following intimation: "Dost thou not know, O Jacob, that I am the God who protected thee and thy ancestors, who appeared for thee in all thy exigencies? who, contrary to thy father's intention, secured to thee thine inheritance? who brought about thy marriage in Mesopotamia, and effected thy return into thine own country, crowned with opulence and a numerous progeny? When Joseph, to all appearance, was lost, did I not raise him in Egypt to a dignity exalted next to that of the king? The design of my present appearance is, to direct thee in thy journey, and to foretell that thou shalt depart this life in the arms of thy son Joseph, and that your descendants shall become a mighty nation, and possess the land which I have promised them."

Animated by this vision, he prosecuted his journey into Egypt with greater alacrity, having with him his sons with their families, amounting to threescore and ten persons. Their names, on account of their harshness, I should have omitted, were it not necessary to mention them, in order to convince those to

the contrary, who imagine that we are not Mesopotamians, but Egyptians.

The sons of Jacob were twelve, of whom Joseph went long before the rest into Egypt. The others are these, with their sons: Reuben, who had four sons, Hanoch, Phallu, Assaron, and Charmi. Simeon, who had six, Jamuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zoar, and Shaul. Levi, who had three, Garson, Chaath, and Merari. Judah, who had also three, Salah, Pharez, and Zarah; and two grandsons by Phares, Efron and Amyr. Issachar, who had four, Thulas, Phuas, and Samaron. Zebulon, who had three, Saran, Elon, and Jalel. These were the children that Jacob had by Leah, who carried with her Dinah, her daughter; the number of whom, with their offspring and attendants, amounted to thirty-three persons. Jacob had, by Rachael, two sons, Joseph and Benjamin. From the former descended Manasses and Ephraim; from the latter, Bolau, Bacharis, Asabel, Gera, Naaman, Ies, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, and Arad, who, added to the other thirty-three, amount to the number of forty-seven.

The progeny of Jacob are enumerated.

These were the legitimate issue of Jacob. By Bilhah, his concubine, he had two sons, Dan and Naphtali. The former had only one son, Ussis; but the latter had four, Jefel, Guni, Issares, and Sellim, which, added to the above number, make fifty-four. By Zilpah, his other concubine, Jacob had two sons, Gad and Affer. The former had seven sons, Sophonias, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, and Ariel. The latter had one daughter, Sarah, and six sons, Jomnes, Isus, Isuis, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel; which sixteen, added to the former, amount to seventy persons, without including Jacob himself.

As they drew near their journey's end, Judah was dispatched to announce his father's approach unto Joseph, who immediately set out to meet him. The interview happened at a place called Heros, or Heliopolis, and was of so affecting a nature, that both father and son almost sunk under mutual transport.

Joseph desired his aged parent to proceed by slow and easy journeys, while he himself, taking five of his brethren, hastened to the king to pay their devours, before the arrival of the rest of the family in his dominions.

Affecting interview between Jacob and his son Joseph.

Pharaoh, pleased with the news, enquired of Joseph into the nature of their occupations, in order that he might assign them proper employment. He replied, that they had, in general, been trained to rural pursuits, and that the pastoral life was what they mostly affected. The design of this answer was, that, by living contiguously, they might be the better able to concur in their assiduities to their aged father; and also to suppress any envious emotions in the minds of the natives, that might arise from the family interfering with their professions, as the Egyptians had little or no knowledge of pasturage.

When Jacob was introduced to the king, and had paid his obedience with the usual formalities, Pharaoh courteously raised him, and enquired his age. Being answered one hundred and thirty, and expressing much surprise, Jacob gave him to understand, that the lives of his ancestors had been extended to a much greater length. The king then gave permission to him and his family to reside at Heliopolis.

As the earth received no moisture, either from the kindly rain of heaven, or the usual overflowing of the Nile, the famine raged, of course, with more severity, and horrid were the calamities thereby entailed. The situation of the poorer and common sort was piteous beyond description; for, having laid in but a very scanty store, and not being able to obtain a supply without ready money, when that was exhausted, they were reduced to the necessity of exchanging their cattle, slaves, lands, nay their last little all, to procure grain from the king's granaries, to protract a needy miserable life. When, by these means, they became totally destitute, they were abandoned to a desolate world, that the king might secure their bartered possessions: but the priests (a) were

The famine increases in Egypt.

(a) The Egyptian priests were the whole body of the nobility of the land. They were the king's counsellors, and (according to Diodorus Siculus) in some things his joint agents. They were the most learned body of the nation, particularly in astronomy. They also acted as magistrates, and filled the chief offices of state; for the original word equally signifies prince and priest. Hence we see the reason why Joseph did not purchase

their lands, namely, from the greatness of their authority, which rendered their persons, and consequently their estates, too sacred to be taxed, or alienated to the crown. The king, during the famine, distributed to them provisions sufficient for their subsistence; so that they were not under the necessity of selling their lands.



Metz delin.

Teekey sculp.

THE EGYPTIAN MIDWIVES
drowning the Male Children of the Hebrews.

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exempted from this rigorous treatment, and permitted to continue in the possession of their landed property. Such, however, was the general calamity of the nation, that the minds and bodies of the people were affected to the greatest degree, and equally embarrassed to devise means of subsistence.

But when, at length, the river overflowed, watered the earth, revived drooping nature, and produced a fertile aspect, Joseph made the tour of the kingdom, and summoning the respective landholders, restored to them such parts as they had sold to the king, on condition of their paying a fifth, as tribute to him by virtue of his prerogative; and then enjoined them to the same diligence in their improvements, as if they were to derive the emoluments resulting from the whole.

Transported at the returning prospect of plenty, and the restitution of their landed property, the people applied themselves to agriculture with unremitting assiduity; so that, by this well-timed act of policy, Joseph established his own authority in Egypt, and increased the standing revenue of all its succeeding monarchs.

The good old Jacob, having resided with his family in Egypt seventeen years, at length expired in the presence of his sons, in the 147th year of his age. After commending them to the Divine blessing and protection, and prophesying that the posterity of each of them should hereafter possess a part of the land of Canaan, as well as bestowing the highest encomiums on Joseph, for his singular piety towards God, and parental and fraternal affection towards him and his brethren, he enjoined them to receive Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasse into their number, and admit them to a participation of the land of Canaan, when it should be divided according to the Divine prediction. His last request was that he might be interred in Hebron.

Jacob, in piety and virtue, followed the example of his worthy progenitors, and was as eminently favoured by especial tokens of the Divine regard and protection. By the king's permission, Joseph caused his body to be conveyed to Hebron, and there interred him, with due honours, in the sepulchral tomb of his ancestors. When the funeral rites were performed, his brethren expressed much reluctance at returning to Egypt; still apprehensive, from conscious guilt, of Joseph's resentment, especially as they had lost their advocate in the death of their father; but he quieted their suspicions, brought them back, endowed them with large possessions, and continued to shew them every instance of brotherly kindness.

This eminent character paid the debt of nature when he had attained to the age of 110 years. Joseph possessed very singular and shining talents, equally adapted to acquire and maintain the highest preferments. The rest of the brethren lived with honour, and died in peace in Egypt, and were, at the respective periods of their demise, conveyed, by their surviving relatives, to Hebron, in order to be interred in the tomb of their ancestors. The bones of Joseph were afterwards conveyed by the Hebrews, on their departure out of Egypt, into Canaan, according to his own express injunction, (a). But of this, and other transactions relative to the Jewish nation, we shall treat in due order.

CHAP. IX.

The Hebrews incur the envy of the Egyptians. Are subject to slavery for 400 years. Prophecy respecting Moses. Pharaoh's edict for the destruction of the male children of the Hebrews. Birth of Moses. His miraculous preservation. Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter.

THE Egyptians being addicted to luxury and effeminate pursuits, and of course averse to laborious exercises, it was natural for them to conceive an ill-will and hatred towards the Hebrews, who, by dint of industry, crowned with the Divine

blessing, had rendered themselves a numerous and formidable people.

The advantages resulting from the political administration of Joseph being now forgotten, and the crown transferred to another line, it became the study and delight of the Egyptians to devise means for oppressing the Hebrews; such as cutting trenches for carrying off the river Nile in small streams, encompassing the city with walls, and raising fortifications and banks, to prevent any damage that might arise from inundations. The stupendous pyramids, monuments of Egyptian folly and vanity, which remain to this day, were raised by the art and labour of our nation, which was subjected to Egyptian vassalage for the space of 400 years.

In process of time an event occurred which exasperated them more against the Hebrews; for one of their scribes, or magi (to whose judgment and opinion the people in general paid a most implicit deference,) informing the king, that, about that period, an Hebrew male child would be born, who should humble the power of the Egyptians, and exalt that of the Israelites to so great a degree, as to acquire immortal honour, Pharaoh, alarmed at such intimation, instantly issued his royal edict, commanding that all male children, henceforward born to the Israelites, should be immediately cast into the river and drowned. He likewise commanded the Egyptian (b) midwives minutely to attend to the state of the pregnancy of the Hebrew women, and annexed the penalty of death to the whole family of such as should dare to attempt an evasion of the purport of the edict, by concealing the birth of any child.

The calamity of the Hebrews, on this occasion, was beyond description; not only as it subjected them to the loss of their children, and, in some degree, rendered them accessory to their deaths, but as it must eventually have tended to the extirpation of their race. Human efforts, however, opposed to the Divine will, must at length prove abortive. The Hebrew child, alluded to by the scribe, was born, and brought up, notwithstanding the terror of the edict, and the scrupulous investigation of the king's spies, and lived to fulfill what was predicted concerning him to the utmost extent.

Amram, an Hebrew of noble birth, anxious, at the last stage of his wife's pregnancy, both from motives of natural affection, and the loss the nation must sustain through want of male progeny, had recourse, by prayer, to the Father of Mercies, the all-wise God, that he would vouchsafe his protection to his long favoured people, and avert the impending ruin that threatened their nation.

The Almighty appeared to Amram in a dream, exhorting him to be of good courage, nor despair as to future events; for the piety of his ancestors being ever before him, he would, in due time, accomplish the deliverance of their descendants, as he had formerly interposed in their favour. He was pleased to remind him, that he had brought up Abraham alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and there placed him in a blissful situation; that he had favoured him with a son by his wife, who had long been barren; that he had rendered his children rich and powerful, bestowing Arabia on Ishmael, on the sons of Chetura the country of the Troglodytes, and upon Isaac the land of Canaan; and that the name of Jacob had not only acquired renown amongst foreign nations for his personal achievements, and the immense possessions of his descendants, but that, from the inconsiderable number of 70 persons in family, who accompanied their father into Egypt, they were now increased to upwards of 60,000. He then assured him of his care and protection, both as to the nation in general, and himself in particular; that the male child, whose life the Egyptians sought, should be born, elude their artifices, effect the deliverance of the Hebrews from their bondage, and obtain thereby an immortal name, not only amongst his own people, but throughout most distant realms; and lastly, that this victorious instrument should have a

not Israelites, which is highly probable, it not being easy to suppose that Pharaoh could trust to the Israelitish midwives to execute so barbarous a command against their own nation.

H

brother,

The policy of Joseph, the governor, proves fortunate.

All Egypt pays a fifth part of its fruits to the king, excepting the lands of the priests.

Gen. xlix. 33. etc. Death of Jacob.

Joseph makes a magnificent funeral for his father.

Dies himself at the age of 110 years. Gen. 1. 26.

Exod. i. 1. Envy of the Egyptians towards the Hebrews.

The Israelites spend 400 years in bondage in Egypt.

Prediction concerning Moses causes the king to issue an edict for the extermination of all the male children of the Israelites.

God answers the prayer of Amram by a vision in his sleep.

(a) The bodies of the Patriarchs were earlier buried at Hebron; but the bones of Joseph were not carried out of Egypt till the exit of the Israelites.

(b) Josephus is clear that these midwives were Egyptians and No. 3.

brother, who would fill the office of high priest with such dignity, as to render it perpetual in his family.

Amram relates his Divine revelation. The birth of Moses.

Amram revealed these particulars to his wife Jo-chabel, which, on the first reflection, rather increased their suspicions; not only with respect to the fate of the child in its infancy, but in advanced life. The manner of her delivery, however, soon confirmed the Divine intimation; for a gentle labour, unattended with the usual pains and exclamations, afforded an opportunity for eluding the vigilance of the spies; so that the infant was cherished at home three months without detection, till Amram, fearing the result of a discovery, determined to commit him to the care and protection of Divine Providence, rather than expose his life, and, indeed, the lives of the whole family, to continual danger.

Moses cast into the river.

Forming this resolution, they made a cradle (a) of wicker, and, after tempering it with pitch to keep out the water, placed the child therein, launched it into the stream, and committed him to the mercy of an over-ruling Providence. As it floated down the stream, Mariam, the child's sister, by command of the mother, walked on the opposite bank to watch the fate of its innocent, but precious inhabitant, when an event took place, that, amongst others, singularly manifested the superiority of Divine wisdom and power, and that the will of God must be accomplished in spite of all opposition.

Thermuthis the king's daughter discovers the infant, procures his mother for his nurse, and takes care of him as her own son.

It happened that Thermuthis, (b) the king's daughter, walking by the river side, observed the cradle floating with the stream, and ordered some of her attendants to bring it on shore. When it approached the bank, and the princess discovered the features of its beauteous inhabitant, she broke into a rhapsody of delight and complacency; for such were the personal attractions of this favourite of heaven, that even those, who, at his birth, appeared determined on his destruction, were, on beholding the serenity of his countenance, disposed to shew him favour and protection.

A woman, at the command of the princess, being brought to suckle the child, he rejected her breast, as he had those of several other Egyptian women; on which Mariam, who had now mixed with her retinue, representing the cause of disgust as arising from their being of another nation, and recommending an Hebrew nurse, the princess committed that branch of his nurture to her care, declaring an acquiescence in her choice. She therefore introduced the mother, unknown to any of the attendants, who, with the permission of the princess, both suckled him, and took care of his education.

To preserve the memory of the accident which befell this extraordinary person at his birth, he was called Moses, or Moyse, which, in the Egyptian language, signifies *Water*, and *Yse* served. Indeed he became, according to the Divine prediction, the most shining character that ever adorned the Hebrew nation. According to lineal descent he was the seventh from Abraham, being the son of Amram, who sprung from Caleb, whose father was Levi, the son of Jacob, who was born unto Isaac, the son of Abraham. In his childhood, he gave proofs of knowledge far superior to his years; and so eminent were his mental abilities, and personal attractions, that he became an object of admiration to all who beheld him. Thermuthis, therefore, having no issue, adopted him as her heir, and presented him to the king her father, with this address: "I have trained up an infant, as singular for his genius as the symmetry of his person; and having miraculously received him from the

The extraordinary mental and personal endowment of Moses.

(a) Though this cradle, or boat, is said to have been made with rushes, it is most probable that it was formed with flags of the tree *papyrus*, of which the Egyptians made their paper, and which grew particularly on the banks of the Nile. Clemens Alexandrinus expressly says, that the vessel was made of papyrus, the product of the country; and his assertion is confirmed by several other profane writers.

(b) Philo says that this princess was the king's only daughter; and that being some time married, without having issue, she pretended to be big with child, and to be delivered of Moses, whom she owned as her son. That he was esteemed so is evident from what the apostle to the Hebrews says, namely, "That when Moses was grown up, he scorned to be thought the son of Pharaoh's daughter. See Heb. xi. 24."

(c) Moses excelled in wisdom and conduct; Aaron, his brother, in eloquence. Such is the wise order of Providence, which

"river to which he was committed, am determined to adopt him as my son, and establish him as thy successor on the throne of Egypt." Having thus said, she conveyed him to the arms of her father, who, after many fond embraces, to conciliate the mind of his daughter, put the crown on the child's head; but Moses, with a look of contempt, snatched it from his head, cast it on the ground, and spurned it with his feet; an act supposed ominous to the state. The scribe, who, from his nativity, had predicted the decline of the Egyptian empire, recommended, from this event, his immediate destruction; observing, in most pointed terms, to the king, "that the prelude concerning this child was amply confirmed by the insult offered his dignity in spurning the crown, and that nothing but his death could deliver the Egyptians from the direst apprehensions, as well as disappoint the Hebrews in their towering expectations of his mighty achievements." But Thermuthis, to secure the life of her favourite, caused him to be conveyed off; nor did the king seem disposed to follow the advice of the scribe. Moses was therefore educated under the immediate care of the princess, and grew up the hope and glory of the Hebrews (c). Indeed the Egyptians themselves began to abate in their prejudices; and concluding, on mature reflection, that there was no apparent heir better qualified to promote the interest of the state, than the successor appointed by the king, desisted from their design on his life.

CHAP. X.

The Ethiopians make inroads on the Egyptians. Moses undertakes the conduct of the war. Obtains a victory over the Ethiopians. Invests Saba their metropolis. Marries Tharbis, the king's daughter, on condition of its being surrendered to the Egyptians.

AN opportunity soon offered for putting the wisdom, as well as prowess, of this extraordinary Hebrew to the severest test. The Ethiopians, who inhabited the lands that lay contiguous to Egypt, having made inroads into their country, committed depredations on the Egyptians, who, to retaliate the injuries they had sustained, levied an army, and marched against them; but victory declaring in favour of the plunderers, the Egyptians were under a necessity of making an ignominious retreat. Elated with success, the Ethiopians pursued their fortune, and determining to avail themselves of the advantages they had already obtained, entered the country, laid all waste before them, and meeting with no effectual opposition, extended their victorious arms towards Memphis and the sea, still encouraged in their ravages by the pusillanimity of the inhabitants, who tamely submitted to the most flagrant injuries.

In this perilous situation the Egyptians had recourse to the oracle, in order to obtain intimations of the means to extricate themselves from their present calamities. Being given to understand, "that they should make choice of an Hebrew to conduct the war," the king immediately dispatched his mandate to his daughter to deliver up Moses, in order that he might vest in him the command of the Egyptian army (d). Having exacted an oath from her father to secure the indemnity of his person, the princess delivered him up, esteeming it a fortunate event for Moses to be thus singled out for the defence of the country, as well as a just reproach on those scribes, in calling for the assistance of one, whom they adjudged to death, as a common enemy. Moses, at the in-

The Ethiopian war.

The Egyptians require Moses to be their leader.

has dispensed different gifts to different persons, that they may each be assisting to one another, and knit more firmly the band of society! Thus Polydamus, in Homer, Iiad 13, tells Hector, God gives to different men different accomplishments:

To some the powers of bloody war belong;
To some sweet music, and the charm of song;
To few, and wondrous few, has Jove assigned

A wife, extensive, all-confiding mind. POPE.

(d) The history of Moses, as General of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, is not to be found in the sacred records, but is cited by Irenæus, who says, "that when Moses was nourished in the king's palace, he was appointed general of the army against the Ethiopians, and conquered them; when he married the king's daughter, because, out of her affection for him, she delivered the city up to him."

stance of the king and princess, cheerfully undertook the command, which gave much satisfaction to the priests of both nations: to those of the Egyptians, as they cherished a hope, that the conquest he might obtain over their enemies, would facilitate the means for dispatching him by guile; to those of the Hebrews, as if he proved able and expert in the manoeuvres of the field, he might deliver them from their tedious bondage.

Moses
marches
against the
Ethiopians.

Moses, therefore, before the enemy was apprised of the appointment, mustered his forces, and led them, not along the banks of the river, but through the main land, in which he displayed a striking instance of military skill. Foreseeing that an inland march would expose the troops to great danger, from the multitude of serpents with which the country was infested, and which are of the most destructive and malignant kind, he had recourse, by way of prevention, to an admirable device. Having ordered some baskets to be prepared, in the shape of coffers, he filled them with certain birds, called Ibis, [Storks,] and ordered them to be carried as part of the baggage. These birds being mortal enemies to serpents, those reptiles ever seek to avoid them; but are sometimes overtaken in flight, when they infallibly become their prey. In other instances the birds are harmless and tractable; but, as the Greeks are acquainted with their species and instinct, a further description is unnecessary.

Obtains a
complete
victory.

On arrival, therefore, in that part of the country infested with these serpents, he caused the birds to be dispersed, thereby totally obviating the annoyance; and coming up with the Ethiopians, lulled in security, suddenly charged, routed them, and not only blasted their hopes of conquering Egypt, but retaliated amply on the foe the depredations and slaughter they had so lately experienced from them.

Elated also with success, under the conduct of Moses, the Egyptians pursued their conquests, especially as the enemy seemed driven to a state of despair, till at length, having followed them to Saba, their metropolis, (so called by Cambyfes Meroe, in honour of his sister,) they laid close siege to them in the garrison, whither they had betaken themselves for shelter. This place was deemed impregnable, being almost encompassed with the river Nile; and the rapid current of the rivers Astaphus and Astabora, on the other side, nearly stopping up the passage to it. Besides, it was environed with a very stout wall, between which and the rivers ramparts were erected; so that it seemed formed by nature and art to repel the most vigorous attack.

Tharbis,
the king's
daughter,
delivers up
Saba, and
herself to
Moses at the
same time.

As the enemy would not face him in the open field, and his army was incompetent to the reduction of their city, Moses remained in a state of embarrassment, till relieved by an extraordinary incident. Tharbis, the daughter of the king of Ethiopia, struck with admiration of the military achievements and personal accomplishments of Moses, who, in so short a time, had reversed the fortunes of the Ethiopians and the Egyptians, became passionately enamoured of the young hero, and sent some of her suite to offer him her hand. Moses acceded to the proposal, on condition of the surrender of the city; solemnly promising to consummate the marriage as soon as the terms should be fulfilled; so that this point being settled, without delay, he fully accomplished the purport of his commission, celebrated his nuptials; and sent back the Egyptians to their own country.

CHAP. XI.

The Egyptians seek the life of Moses, who flies into Midian. He is protected by Jethro, and marries his daughter.

THE Egyptians, notwithstanding the very important services they had so lately derived from Moses, in the total defeat of their Ethiopian enemies, could not suppress the envy and hatred they had imbibed; inasmuch, that, fearful he would assume too great a power, to the prejudice of their state, and the aggrandizement of his own people, they prosecuted their design of compassing his death. To this end, they accused him of murder before the king, who, indulging former suspicions, and prevailed on by a jealousy he entertained from his late acts of valour, as well as the instigation of all present, used that as a

pretence to justify his mandate for causing him to be apprehended.

But Moses, apprised of their design, withdrew; and to elude the vigilance of the soldiers, who were posted in the roads to intercept him, directed his flight through the deserts, where he encountered the greatest difficulties with invincible fortitude and magnanimity. Arriving near a city of the Midians, which is situated upon the shore of the Red Sea, and takes its name from one of the sons of Abraham by Chetura, he sat down near a well to refresh himself after the fatigues of his journey; it being then about noon, and the city within sight. An incident afforded an opportunity of displaying his courage, and the improvement of his fortune.

Moses flies
to the city of
Midian.

A drought often prevailing in these climates, the shepherds are extremely anxious to reach the wells, in order to procure a sufficient supply of water for their own herds, lest they should be anticipated and deprived of it by others. To this well repaired seven virgin daughters of Raguel, otherwise Jethro, the priest, a man of respectable character. These daughters, according to the custom of the Troglodytes, having the care of their father's flocks, were busily employed in serving them, when they were rudely interrupted, and driven from the well, by some shepherds, that they might engross the water. Moses, incensed at a behaviour so unbecoming the male character, espoused the cause of the virgins, protected them from the assault of the shepherds, whom he drove from the spot, and thereby left the well free and unincumbered.

Deserves
well of the
daughters of
Raguel, or
Jethro.

On their return, the virgins, retaining a grateful sense of this signal interposition in their favour, related the circumstance to their father, and intreated him to shew some token of regard for the brave and resolute stranger, who had thus vindicated their right, when invaded by a number of dastardly males. The father commending his daughters' gratitude for their intrepid deliverer, sent for Moses, in order to confer on him a reward due to his merit. He attended, and was assured of the grateful sense his daughters entertained, both of his humanity and his courage. After passing many encomiums on his virtues, he added, that his good offices had not been shewn to such as were insensible of them, or incapable of rewarding them, and that he should soon meet with an adequate compensation. Soon after he adopted Moses as his son, gave him in marriage to his daughter Zipporah, and made him superintendant of his flocks; an honourable station in those days, when pasturage was the general source of wealth.

Jethro
adopts
Moses, and
sets him
over his
flocks.

CHAP. XII.

Divine appearance to Moses in the bush. His rod turned into a serpent. Divers miracles wrought to confirm the Israelites in their belief of God's promises.

MOSES, having received these honourable tokens at the hands of Jethro, resided with him as superintendant of his flocks. Happening to lead the cattle to a mountain, called Sinai, which, though abounding with the choicest herbage, and most commodiously situated for pasturage, had never been grazed upon, from an opinion which prevailed, that it was the peculiar residence of the Deity, an extraordinary prodigy appeared to him upon this spot. A flame of fire seemed to seize the whole substance of a bush, without affecting the verdure of the plant, the variegated colours of the flowers, or the fruit pendant from the branches. To add to his surprize and amazement, he heard a voice, issuing from the fire, call him distinctly by name, reprehend his audacity in daring to tread upon ground hitherto inviolate, and admonish him to depart, nor stay to indulge a criminal curiosity, lest, though he was a good and virtuous man, awful consequences might ensue. The same voice also assured him, that, through the Divine protection, he should attain to the highest honour and dignity amongst men; and commanded him to go boldly into Egypt, where he should be the guide and deliverer of the Hebrew nation from the usurpation and bondage of the Egyptians: for (continued the voice) they shall possess that fertile country once inhabited by your father Abraham, and, through your direction, enjoy the most important and invaluable blessings. It further commanded him

Exod. iii. 2.

A most au-
spicious ora-
cle delivered
out of the
burning
bush.

him, that, having rescued the Hebrews from Egyptian bondage, an oblation should be offered on this very spot.

Such were the intimations communicated to Moses out of the flame, after which he thus expressed his wonder and adoration: "To distrust thy power, manifested to me and my ancestors, would, O Father of Mercies, be culpable in the highest degree; yet may I presume to express my doubts of my ability, through want of power of speech, to persuade my countrymen to leave the place they now inhabit, and follow me whither I am to conduct them; also, of the possibility of prevailing with Pharaoh to permit them to depart, as, through their toil and industry, the Egyptians daily increase in opulence."

Moses ex-
cuseth him-
self from
going
against the
Egyptians.

Exod. iv. 1,
&c.

Moses's rod
turned into
a serpent,
his right
hand be-
coming le-
prous, and
the water
turned into
blood, three
miracles en-
courage him
to under-
take the
conduct of
the Israe-
lites.

The Almighty was then pleased to animate him with the promise of every necessary aid, whether of speech or action, for the accomplishment of the great and important purposes of his will; and, to confirm the same, ordered him to drop his staff upon the ground, which having done, a serpent crept upon the place, and, winding itself into a circular figure, erected his crest, as if in defiance of those who should assail him, and then resumed its former figure of a staff. He was then commanded to put his hand into his bosom, which having obeyed, he drew it out white as chalk, and soon after it recovered its natural colour. He was next commanded to draw water out of an adjoining well, and pour it on the ground, when it appeared of the colour of blood. Whilst he was lost in amazement at these wonders, he was exhorted to assume resolution, and assured that he should meet with such aid as should enable him to overcome every difficulty. He was also enjoined to display these signs in the face of men, to establish them in a belief that he executed the Divine commands at the Divine will, and by the Divine power and authority. The voice commanded him to hasten with all possible speed into Egypt, to the relief of the Hebrews, thus grievously oppressed.

Moses, encouraged by these extraordinary revelations of the Divine will and pleasure, entreated the exertion of the same power in Egypt, if it should be necessary. He also supplicated, that the Divine Being would deign to communicate to him the appellation by which he should invoke him, when he offered the oblations according to command, and this favour was most graciously vouchsafed. By this especial power vested in Moses, and the signs which appeared to him in the burning bush, he was confirmed in the truth of God's promises of his protection, and rendered fully confident that he should deliver his countrymen from the calamities they suffered in Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

Moses departs from Midian to go into Egypt. Entertained by the Hebrews. Displays his miracles. Solicits the king to dismiss the Israelites. Shews wonders to Pharaoh, who oppresses the Hebrews the more, and remains inflexible in his resolution of detaining them.

HAVING received authentic intelligence of the death of Pharaoh, from whose tyranny he had fled, Moses requested of Jethro permission to go into Egypt, to attempt the deliverance of his countrymen; and, taking with him his wife Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro, and the two children, Gershom and Eleazar, whom he had by her, set forward accordingly. Gershom, in the Hebrew language, signifies *foreign*, and Eleazar *favoured by God*; and these names were given them as a token that Moses had escaped from amongst the Egyptians by the assistance of the God of his fathers.

As he approached the borders, he was met, on special appointment, by his brother Aaron, to whom he communicated the revelation of the Divine will, as he had received it on the mountain. As they advanced, the principal men of their nation came forth to meet them; when it was found requisite for Moses to display his power of working miracles, as the most effectual means of gaining their confidence in the Divine promise, that they should be delivered from their

Moses de-
parts from
Midian to
go into
Egypt.

(a) This was a sufficient demonstration of the superior power by which Moses acted above theirs; which might have convinced

oppression. When he found that the Hebrews, animated by a spirit of liberty, were disposed implicitly to obey whatever he should enjoin them, he presented himself before the king, (who had lately succeeded to the throne,) and having laid before him the signal services he had rendered the Egyptians, at the very juncture of their sustaining the most ignominious treatment from the Ethiopians, who had ravaged their country, and rendered them a bye-word amongst nations, recapitulated the dangers he had encountered for their deliverance, and recited the occurrences that had passed on Mount Sinai, together with the extraordinary revelations communicated to him there, he exhorted the king by no means to oppose the Divine will.

Moses opens
his commis-
sion to the
new king,
and declares
the wonders
he had seen
at Mount
Sinai.

Pharaoh treated his representation with raillery; whereupon Moses proceeded to display the miracles as wrought upon the mount: but this, instead of convincing, incensed him the more, inasmuch that he reviled Moses as a slave lately escaped from Egyptian bondage, who now endeavoured, by the aid of magic, to impose himself on the credulity of the people, as a mighty man of wisdom and valour. To confirm his opinion, the king ordered some magicians to be called in, and to demonstrate that the Egyptians were skilled in those arts, which, though Moses declared them to be Divine operations, were, he affirmed, mere human devices to delude the vulgar. The magicians, at the royal command, casting their rods on the ground; they became, to appearance, serpents. Moses, unaffected by this circumstance, coolly assured the king, that, though he by no means despised the learning or abilities of the Egyptians, the signs he had wrought as far surpassed their magic art, as the Divine power transcends the human. To demonstrate this, he dropped his staff on the ground, commanding that it should change into a serpent. The transformation was instant; and that particular (a) serpent having devoured those produced by the art of the magicians, Moses took it up, and it reassumed its form of a staff.

He was shew-
ed in all the
arts of the
Egyptians,
as well as
endowed
with a Di-
vine power.

Moses's rod
devours the
fictitious
serpents of
the Egypt-
ian magi-
cians.

The He-
brews are
enjoined
more griev-
ous tasks.

But this effort, on the part of Moses, had the same effect with the king as the former: therefore, to retaliate what he judged an imposition to reflect disgrace on the Egyptians, he issued immediate orders to the superintendants of the works to double their tasks, nor grant them the least intermission from the severest labour. To add to their toil, they were no longer indulged with straw to make bricks, but reduced to the necessity of providing that material in the night time, after they had been fatigued with the excessive hardships of the day.

Moses, however, was not in the least dismayed, either at the menaces of the king, or the vexatious importunity of his countrymen; but bravely persevered in the design he was determined to accomplish. To this end he applied to the king for permission for the Hebrews to go to Mount Sinai, to offer up a solemn oblation to God. He urged his importunity, by representing the importance of the Divine favour on the one hand, and the indignation and consequent calamities he would entail on himself, his children, and people, on the other hand, should he, by persevering in his obstinacy, render them objects of the Divine vengeance. He concluded, however, with declaring, that, at all events, the Hebrews would effect their deliverance, and the Egyptians meet with the punishment due to their obstinacy and disobedience.

Moses en-
deavours
once more
to work up-
on the king's
obstinate
temper, but
without
effect.

CHAP. XIV.

The ten plagues of Egypt. Institution of the Passover.

AS Pharaoh still continued obdurate, and despised both the menaces and admonitions of Moses, the severest calamities soon befel the Egyptian nation. To these I shall circumstantially attend for three distinct causes, viz. as they were punishments never inflicted on any nation before; as they confirmed the predictions of Moses; and as they afford a lesson to mankind, not to incur the Divine displeasure, by an obstinate perseverance or disobedience to his will.

The first calamity that befel the Egyptians was the river Nile being turned into blood, so that the people

2d plague.
The Nile
runs with
bloody wa-
ter.

Pharaoh, if his magicians had not persuaded him that they would in time shew a power superior to Moses.

were

were deprived of all means of quenching their thirst, as they had no other fountain of water: besides, the water was not only changed in colour, but in quality, and affected those, whose parching thirst compelled them to drink, with the severest pains. To the Hebrews its former taste remained, and it therefore answered its former purposes.

Prevailed on by this alarming incident, Pharaoh issued his licence for the departure of the Hebrews; but the cause no sooner ceased than he revoked it. The whole country was then infested with frogs (a), which abounded in the river to such a degree, that, dying and becoming putrified, the water was rendered nauseous and loathsome. They also corrupted their food of every kind, and caused a stench to exhale deadly and poisonous in its effects. This calamity inclined the king to recoil again; and he no sooner consented that Moses should proceed on his journey with the Hebrews, than it ceased, and the face of nature re-assumed its wonted form. But this plague was no sooner removed, than the obstinacy of Pharaoh brought on a third, which was a swarm of lice, that corroded the bodies of the Egyptians in a most miraculous manner; nor could any means be found to counteract the malignity of these pestiferous vermin, or effect their extirpation. Pharaoh, again dreading the extermination of his subjects in a manner of all others most infamous, gave the Hebrews assurance of their departure, on condition that their wives and children should be left behind as hostages for their return. This incensed the Almighty the more, as it carried with it a presumptuous hope of over-ruling his Divine will, and argued a belief that it was Moses, and not Providence, that interposed in behalf of the Hebrews. The land was therefore covered with a vast variety of flies and insects, which not only proved fatal to many persons, but totally suspended the pursuit of agriculture; for what they did not destroy was killed by a distemper, that was also baneful to the cattle. Notwithstanding these distresses, Pharaoh remained inflexible, nor would suffer the Hebrews to depart, but on the beforementioned conditions. The Almighty was therefore pleased to punish his contumacy with forer afflictions. The bodies of the Egyptians were covered with ulcers, which proved mortal to many: but the king still persevering in his obstinacy, an extraordinary kind of hail, such as had never been seen before in Egypt, poured down in torrents, and instantaneously destroyed the fruits of the earth. This was followed by a swarm of locusts (b), which nipped the rising grain, and blasted all their hopes of harvest.

Such judgments might be deemed sufficient to soften the most obdurate heart, and enforce acquiescence with the Divine will; but Pharaoh, instigated by malice, sacrificed his subjects to his obstinacy, and impiously set the Almighty at defiance. He at length enjoined Moses to lead away the Hebrews with their wives, but to leave their effects behind them, as an equivalent for the loss the Egyptians had sustained on their account.

Whilst Moses was remonstrating with him on the injustice of this proposal, which, if complied with, would take from them the means of offering an oblation to God, an impenetrable darkness, or fog, overspread the land of Egypt, which deprived many of their sight, and, by stopping respiration, proved mortal to others. The darkness having continued three days, and as many nights, without producing the due effect upon Pharaoh, Moses at length thus addressed him. "How long will you persist to tram-

"ple on the counsel of the Most High? It is the Divine command that the Hebrews depart; nor can you be freed from the curses of the Almighty but by obedience to his will." Incensed at this peremptory observation, the king threatened him with the loss of his head, if he even dared to renew his importunities in his presence. Moses replied, that he should urge him no further, but that, in a short time, both himself and the principal of his subjects would entreat the Hebrews to depart; which said, he withdrew.

But the Almighty, being pleased to give another proof of his vengeance against the Egyptians, commanded Moses to enjoin the people to prepare the sacrifice by the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, that it might be celebrated on the fourteenth of the same month, and that he should then lead the Hebrews away, with all their effects. This month is called by the Egyptians Pharmuthi, by the Hebrews Nisan, and by the Macedonians Xanthicus. Moses accordingly caused the necessary preparations to be made; and, on the dawn of the fourteenth day, the whole people (drawn up ready for a march) offered sacrifice, and, with small bundles of hyssop, purified their houses, sprinkling them with blood. Having supped, they burned the residue of the meat, as being on the point of departure. To this day we retain this custom, calling the festival *Pascha*, that is to say *Passage*; because, on that night, God having in mercy spared and passed by the Hebrews, struck the Egyptians with a terrible plague, which, in the course of a few hours, exterminated all their first-born; so that Pharaoh was harrassed with importunate solicitations to dismiss the Hebrews. Sending, therefore, for Moses, he gave immediate orders for their departure, supposing that their absence would exempt the country from its accumulated plagues. The Egyptians made them ample presents to hasten their journey, and as a token of the intercourse and familiarity which had so long subsisted between them.

CHAP. XV.

The Israelites leave Egypt under the conduct of Moses. Institution of the feast of the Azymes, or unleavened bread. The Israelites pursued by the Egyptians. Make to the Red Sea. Much perplexed. Exhorted by Moses to rely on the Divine protection.

THE Hebrews had no sooner taken their departure than the Egyptians discovered much remorse for the cruelties they had exercised over them. Having taken their route towards Letopolis, at that time deserted, though the spot on which Babylon was afterwards built, about the time that Cambyzes depopulated Egypt, they arrived on the third day at Beelzephon, near the Red Sea. In this desert they lived upon cakes, lightly kneaded, and prepared with small heat, for the space of thirty days; for they had brought no more provision out of Egypt, than what was barely sufficient to serve them for that time. In commemoration of this scarcity, we still observe a feast for the space of eight days, called the feast of Azymes, or of (c) UNLEAVENED BREAD.

The numbers of the Israelites, who came out of Egypt, including such only as were able to bear arms, are computed at six hundred thousand.

They took their departure from Egypt on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus, 415 years from our father Abraham's settling in Canaan, 250 years from Jacob's arrival in Egypt, and in the 80th year

for three, four, five, and six weeks. There are many accounts given of these devouring insects. Pliny says, that these creatures generally made their appearance while the strong east winds continued; and we read that, in 1527, a vast swarm of locusts were driven by an east wind out of Turkey into Poland, where they did much mischief. We read further that, in 1536, a prodigious swarm of locusts were driven from the Euxine Pontus to Podolia, where they destroyed every thing that came in their way for twenty miles round. In August, 1747, a swarm of these insects, so numerous as to darken the air, settled in Transylvania, where they devoured the vegetable productions of the country to the very roots.

(c) The use of unleavened bread might be enjoined to remind them of sincerity; leaven being a kind of corruption. But others think it was ordered to commemorate their hasty deliverance, which did not allow them time to leaven it.

The Hebrews pass over signifies a passage.

10th plague. The slaughter of the first-born.

Exod. xii. The Israelites depart out of Egypt

The feast of unleavened bread.

Number of the children of Israel.

Time of their departure.

(a) This plague of the frogs, as well as that of the water being changed into blood, was excellently adapted to subvert the superstitions of Egypt, and to demonstrate the over-ruling power of the Almighty; for, as the banks of the river Nile was the grand scene of the magical operations of the Egyptians, in which blood and frogs made a principal part of the apparatus, so, by commanding that river to produce such an infinite multitude of these creatures to annoy them, the Almighty adapted their chastisement to the nature of their crimes: for frogs were not only the instruments of their abominations, but likewise the emblems of those impure demons whom they invoked by their incantations.

(b) In the year 1748 great numbers of these insects visited different parts of England, but happily their stay was of short duration. Many of them were taken alive, in the months of August and September, of the length of two inches and a half to that of four inches, some of which were taken and kept alive

of the life of Moses, whose brother Aaron was three years older than himself. They also carried with them the bones of Joseph, according to the injunction he had laid on his descendants.

Bones of Joseph carried away with them.

They are pursued by the Egyptians.

Moses prudently leads the Hebrews near the Red Sea.

The Egyptians soon began to repent them of the dismissal of the Israelites; and Pharaoh to conclude, that all their calamities arose from the enchantment of Moses. Forming, therefore, a resolution to pursue them, they provided the necessary implements of war, not doubting but to overtake and bring them back to their late bondage, especially as they were unprepared for an attack, and harassed with the fatigues of their journey. Enquiring their route, they pursued them with alacrity; though the badness of the roads was such, as not only to obstruct the progress of an army, but inconvenient to single passengers. Moses conducted them this way, in order to foil the Egyptians, if they should be maliciously disposed to follow them; as well as to evade the discovery of the Philistines, who had conceived an ancient grudge to the Hebrews, their country bordering upon Egypt. Travelling, therefore, through the desert, where he knew they must undergo many hardships, his intent was to bring them into Canaan, that he might afterwards lead them to Mount Sinai, there to offer up the oblation, according to the Divine command.

As soon as the Egyptians had overtaken the Israelites, they drew up in order of battle, amounting, in number, to fifty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, attended by six hundred chariots. They had obtained every advantage; blocked up the Hebrews between inaccessible rocks on the one side, and the sea on the other; and, by pitching their tents at the mouth of the aperture, cut off all possibility of their escape. In this embarrassed situation, unable to sustain a siege through want of provision, to effect their flight from being blockaded, or to maintain a battle through want of arms, they had no apparent resource but to surrender at mercy to the enemy. They now began to inveigh most severely against Moses, totally unmindful of the wonders performed by the Divine Power through his agency: nay, they were driven to such despair, that notwithstanding his exhortation to rely on the arm of Omnipotence, they were ready to express their resentment by stoning him, and then voluntarily resigning themselves to the thralldom of the Egyptians. To this they were instigated by the piercing cries of the women and children, who had nothing in view but immediate destruction. Moses bore the invectives of the multitude with the calmest composure, nor discovered the least diffidence of the Divine promises. Assuring them that the Almighty would not suffer them to be subjected to their enemies, he thus addressed them: "If your interests and concerns had been under the direction of human prudence only, you would have been justified in your doubts and suspicions of the event; but your distrust of the Divine Power shews at once your impiety and your folly, especially as you have had such convincing tokens of his care, in your deliverance by me, at a time most unexpected. This should encourage your hope, that God will extricate you out of present difficulties, as he has out of former, though they appear both to you and your enemies insurmountable, in order to display his goodness and power. Rely, then, on the aid of Omnipotence, which can either elate or deject at pleasure. Be not dismayed at the terrific numbers of the Egyptians, nor despair of your lives, though escape seems impracticable; but remember that the Almighty, if consistent with his Divine will, can level the mountains, and turn the sea into dry land."

A tumult arises among the Hebrews from their desperate situation.

Moses exhorts the people to rely on the Divine protection.

C H A P. XVI.

The prayer of Moses. The Red Sea divided. The Hebrews secure their retreat. The Egyptians are drowned.

(a) There have been many objections made to this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea in one night; but the most eminent geographers, and ablest mathematicians, inform us, that this sea, for about five days journey, is no where more than about 8 or 9 miles across, and in one place but 4 or 5 miles,

Song of Moses. The arms of the Egyptians driven into the camp of the Hebrews, who sacrifice on Mount Sinai.

MOSES, having concluded his address, conducted the Hebrews towards the sea, in full view of the Egyptians; who, tired with the fatigues of the pursuit, declined the combat till the ensuing day. As soon as Moses arrived at the bank, he invoked the Divine assistance, to the following effect:

"Thou well knowest, Almighty Father, that human force can never effect our escape from the calamities impending. Thou, alone, canst save this multitude, who have forsaken Egypt at thine especial command. We therefore commend ourselves to the protection of thy Providence, assured that by that means alone we can be delivered from the rage of the Egyptians. Manifest, therefore, thy power in our weakness; relieve and animate thy people, though, through distrust, they have offended thee. Thou canst free us from the difficulties with which we are surrounded. The sea is thine, the dry land is thine, the expanse of the universe is thine. The sea shall divide itself at thy command; the powers of the air shall also obey."

Having thus invoked the Divine protection, he struck the sea with his rod, which suddenly dividing (a) and retiring back, left a dry passage for the escape of the Hebrews. Moses immediately entered, and commanding the multitude to follow him, they boldly marched through the passage thus opened, congratulating one another on the danger of their enemies, and their own miraculous preservation, through the interposition of Divine Providence. The Egyptians at first thought, that, raving with despair, they had precipitated themselves into perdition; but, observing them make a considerable progress, without the least obstruction in their passage, they also determined to follow, and, ordering their cavalry to keep in front, marched with their whole army. While the Egyptians were employed in putting on their armour, the Hebrews had reached the opposite shore, which further animated the former to follow them, without the least suspicion of danger or difficulty; ignorant that the passage was opened for the Hebrews alone, and impassable to any others. As the whole body of the Egyptians was proceeding up the channels, the sea again diffused itself, and, with a force reverberated by the driving winds, overwhelmed them in the waves. Impetuous showers, attended with roaring peals of thunder, and almost incessant flashes of lightning, added to the horrors of the scene, which exhibited the most tremendous tokens of the Divine vengeance; and so total was their destruction, that not one escaped to carry back the tidings of this awful catastrophe.

The Hebrews were transported beyond degree at their own signal deliverance, and the overthrow of their enemies, and, as a testimony of their gratitude, passed the night in offering up praises and thanksgivings, and singing hymns, which Moses had composed and adapted to the occasion.

I have recited these occurrences as they stand recorded in holy writ; nor let any person suspect the credibility of them, since, not long ago, the sea of Pamphylia divided itself, and opened a passage for Alexander, king of Macedon, when the Almighty was pleased, by his means, to subvert the Persian empire. This fact is attested by the several historians who have recorded the memorable deeds of that renowned monarch.

The next day the arms and baggage of the Egyptians were carried, by the force of the waves, to the Hebrew camp, which Moses considering as a token of the Divine regard, he caused to be collected for future use, and then led the Hebrews to Mount Sinai, to offer up their oblations to the Almighty for their signal deliverance, according to his own especial command.

Moses's fervent prayer, an instance of his faith and piety. Exod. xv. 13, &c.

The Red Sea divides itself.

The Hebrews pass through, but the Egyptians are drowned.

Moses leads the Israelites, now they were armed, to Mount Sinai.

according to De Lisle's map, which is made from the best travellers themselves, and not copied from others. De Castro, a mathematician, who surveyed this sea with great exactness, declares that there is no great flux or reflux in these parts. Vain and groundless are the subtleties of sceptics and unbelievers.



PHARAOH and his Host of Egyptians DROWNED
in the Red Sea.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK III.

[Recording a Period of about Two Years.]

CHAP. I.

The Israelites distressed for water in the desert. The water purified at the intercession of Moses. The people murmur for want of sustenance. Moses enumerates the Divine favours to appease them. Implores the Divine aid. They are relieved by a flight of quails. Manna sent. Command respecting the manner of gathering it. Support of the Israelites for forty years. Drought prevails. Moses produces water.

xod. xv.
1, &c.
The Hebrews undergo the severest hardships in the desert.
THE joy resulting from the Israelites late deliverance was soon damped by a succession of difficulties in their progress to Mount Sinai (*a*), the country being desert, and destitute of food, water, and provisions of every kind, for man and beast. The water that, by command of their leader, they had brought with them from the places through which they lately passed, being now expended, they were under the necessity of sinking wells, at immense toil, through the hardness of the ground; and after all their labours the water was by no means adequate to their wants, either in quality or quantity. Proceeding on their journey, they arrived, about dusk, at a certain spot, which, from the brackishness of its water, they called Marah, that is, *bitterness*, and, being fatigued with travel and fasting, resided there for some time. To this they were induced on account of the well, which, though incompetent to the full supply of so numerous a body, afforded them considerable relief. Besides, they were

given to understand, by their scouts, that, in their progress, they would find the water wholly unfit for their own use, as well as that of their cattle.

When Moses observed the general despair that prevailed amongst the multitude, and reflected that his people were not composed of a body of men possessed of fortitude to sustain hardships, but comprised a promiscuous collection of women and children, who could not suppress the feelings of nature, he was extremely concerned, as if he had been the author of this calamity; which, added to the intreaties of the women in behalf of their children, and of the men in behalf of their wives, he had recourse, by supplication to the Father of Mercies, that he would graciously interfere in their present exigency. His request being granted, he took a piece of wood, cleft, and cast it into the pit, assuring the people, that the Almighty was disposed to accord to their desires, provided they would with alacrity perform that which should be commanded. On their expressing their conformity, he enjoined the strongest men amongst them to draw water, assuring them, by way of encouragement, that when the well was nearly exhausted, the residue would be potable. The event justified his declaration; for the water, purged by agitation, became agreeable to the palate, and refreshed the parching multitude.

They hence removed to Helim, or Elim, a region which, at a distance, afforded a pleasing prospect, being adorned with palm-trees, but, on a nearer survey, presented a barren aspect; for these palm-trees

The bitter waters of Marah made sweet.

(*a*) There is now a convent at Mount Sinai, founded by the empress Helena, and dedicated to the celebrated St. Catherine. It stands at the bottom of the mountain, and is an irregular, aukward building, of unburnt brick, walled round, and stopped up at every entrance, to prevent the incursions of the roving Arabs. The principal entrance is by a window, that is upwards of thirty feet from the ground, and to which people are drawn up in a machine by a windlass. Here is the shrine of St. Catharine. The relics are deposited in a marble chest, whereon are carved several pieces of foliage in basso relievo. Adjoining to the east end of the church, wherein these relics are preserved, is the chapel of the Holy Bush, which the monks assert grew

on the same spot whereon now lies a flag of white marble, which Christians approach and most devoutly kiss; nor will they enter this chapel with their shoes on. Here are two wells: one is called the Well of Moses, which hath a very fine cool water, and is drank in summer; the other is called the Well of the Holy Bush, and is of a warmer temperature. The church, containing the relics of St. Catharine, is called the great church of the transfiguration, and is situated to the north east of the convent. The Turks destroyed the pavement of this church, digging it up in hopes of discovering treasures; but it was elegantly repaired by bishop Athanasius in the last century.

were but seventy in number, and those reduced in growth and sap from the dry and gravelly quality of the soil. There were also twelve springs; but the avenues were so contracted, that, instead of flowing, they could only be said to drop; and, on removal of the clogging sand by digging, the water was so muddy as not to be potable. The trees too, from continued droughts, yielded no fruit.

The wants of the Israelites increase on their removal to Helim. Again they threaten Moses.

The multitude again exclaimed against Moses, as the author of all their miseries; and their provision being exhausted, and no hope left of a supply, were reduced to their former state of despair, and threatened to vent their fury upon him in the same manner as before. But though he found the people thus wickedly incensed against him, he doubted not of the Divine assistance; for, conscious of his integrity, he presented himself in the midst of those who were most clamorous, and were preparing to stone him. Being well acquainted with human nature, and endeavouring to touch the passions by the prevailing force of his elocution, he found means to appease their indignation, by exhorting them not to suffer present ills to obliterate from their minds past blessings, but rather to expect deliverance from their woes by the providential interference of that God, who, to make trial of their resignation to his will, and to impress them with a just sense of former miracles wrought in their behalf, permitted them to labour under these adversities. He represented to them, that, to repine under their trials, argued at once the highest impiety and ingratitude, as well as contempt of the Divine will, in obedience to which they forsook Egypt; and added, that they were very culpable in persecuting, with unabated rigour, the agent employed in bringing about the Divine purposes, as he had ever acted with uprightness, and in strict conformity to the Divine command.

Moses expostulates with the multitude on their rashness and ingratitude.

Enumerates many instances of the Divine favour and protection, and draws from thence the most pertinent inferences, by way of counsel and advice.

He then proceeded to enumerate these particulars: That the Egyptians were first tormented, and then exterminated, for endeavouring to detain them in opposition to the decree of the Almighty; that the water of the very river, to their enemies rendered noxious, to them remained sweet and refreshing: that the very sea, which retired and opened to them a passage, again diffused itself, and overwhelmed the Egyptians in one general inundation: that, being without arms, they were amply supplied: that they had been frequently delivered from imminent danger, nay, from death itself: that since the power of God was infinite, they should not despair of its effects, but sustain their ills with patient resignation, persuaded that their deliverance, though late, was certain: that the delay, in redressing their grievance, was to make trial of their fortitude and constancy, in bearing the wants of natural refreshments as men, rather than have recourse to means, unbecoming the rank of creation in which they stood. And concluded with observing, that though he was less solicitous for his own life than their safety, he could not but dissuade them from rising against him, lest it should be deemed an impeachment of the Divine Wisdom and Government.

The multitude are appeased.

Having thus calmed their rage, and repressed their fury, he deemed it proper to address himself to the Father of Mercies: accordingly, therefore, ascending an eminence, he supplicated Him to shew compassion to the people in the relief of their exigencies, and implored his forgiveness of their repeated deviations from their duty, as they arose from a pungent

sense of their calamities. The Almighty, having vouchsafed to promise his speedy aid, Moses came down to the multitude, who, observing a transport of joy on his countenance, no longer gave way to despair, but changed their former melancholy for a habit of cheerful complacency. Moses then informed them, that he came to bring them immediate remedy for their wants; when a vast number of quails (*a*) (birds that abound in the gulph of Arabia) rapidly flew across the sea, and being wearied with a long flight, fell in the center of the camp of the Hebrews, who caught and devoured them as a repast sent by Providence to relieve their outrageous famine. Moses, as in duty bound, returned grateful acknowledgements to God for his present aid and future promises. This relief was succeeded by a supply of another sort; for while Moses stretched forth his hands in prayer, the dew fell, which adhering to them, he supposed to be a kind of food sent from heaven; and, on tasting, found it to be very pleasing to the palate. Addressing the people, who supposed it to be snow, as it was then the usual season for its descent, he informed them it was not the ordinary dew of heaven, but a substance providentially sent for their food and nourishment. Having eaten of it himself, he presented it to them, and they were greatly refreshed. In flavour it resembled honey, in odour bdellium, and in form the seed of coriander; so that it was gathered with the utmost care.

The Israelites relieved by a flight of quails;

Afterwards by the descent of manna.

No individual was permitted to gather in one day more than the measure of an assaron, (the tenth part of an ephah); a precaution taken to prevent the stronger from encroaching on the weaker, in gathering more than sufficed them. Those, indeed, who sought to provide more than the limited quantity, were frustrated in their expectations; for that which remained till the next morning became bitter, and overrun with vermin. So nutrimental was this food, that it was of itself sufficient sustenance; nay, to this day, a flower is to be seen in that country bearing some resemblance of that with which Moses was so peculiarly favoured. The Hebrews call it *manna* (*b*); for, in our language, the word *man* is an interrogation, signifying, *What is this or that?* Upon this food they lived forty years, that is, the whole space of time they were in the desert.

Upon their arrival at Rephidim they were much distressed for want of water, and again became incensed with Moses, who, as his never-failing resource, applied himself, in humble supplication, to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, beseeching him, that, as he had vouchsafed them food in the direst necessity, he would now be graciously pleased to afford them drink, without which they must inevitably perish. The Almighty was pleased to attend to his supplication, and assured him that a fountain should spring from a spot whence he least expected it. He then commanded him to strike, with his rod, an adjacent rock, in the presence of the people, and they should be supplied with water without the least pains or labour. Moses had no sooner obtained the promise, than he hastened to the multitude, who waited with the utmost impatience his descent from the rock, where he had addressed the Almighty in their behalf. He immediately communicated to them the Divine assurance of relief in their present calamity, by causing a fountain to flow from an adjacent rock. Whilst they were lost between doubt and expectation, Moses struck the rock (*c*) with his rod,

(*a*) It is to be observed, that this extraordinary descent of quails was at that time of the year when those birds are known to fly from Egypt across the Red Sea in prodigious numbers: so that this miracle did not so much consist in the number of the birds, as in their direction to the camp of the Israelites, and on that very evening when they were promised food.

(*b*) This manna, in several parts of scripture, is called Angel's Food. See Psalm lxxviii. 95. John vi. 31.

(*c*) The rock from whence this water flowed in so miraculous a manner is particularly noticed by Dr. Shaw, who says, "After we had descended, with no small difficulty, down the other, or western side of Mount Sinai, we came into the plain, or wilderness of Rephidim, where we saw that extraordinary antiquity the Rock of Meribah, which has continued down to this day, without the least injury from time or accidents. This is rightly called, from its hardness, Deut. viii. 15. a rock of flint; though, from the purple, or reddish colour of it, it may be rather rendered, the rock of amethyst, or the amethystine, or garnet rock. It is about six yards square, lying tottering, as it

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were but seventy in number, and those reduced in growth and sap from the dry and gravelly quality of the soil. There were also twelve springs; but the avenues were so contracted, that, instead of flowing, they could only be said to drop; and, on removal of the clogging sand by digging, the water was so muddy as not to be potable. The trees too, from continued droughts, yielded no fruit.

The wants of the Israelites increase on their removal to Helim. Again they threaten Moses.

The multitude again exclaimed against Moses, as the author of all their miseries; and their provision being exhausted, and no hope left of a supply, were reduced to their former state of despair, and threatened to vent their fury upon him in the same manner as before. But though he found the people thus wickedly incensed against him, he doubted not of the Divine assistance; for, conscious of his integrity, he presented himself in the midst of those who were most clamorous, and were preparing to stone him. Being well acquainted with human nature, and endeavouring to touch the passions by the prevailing force of his elocution, he found means to appease their indignation, by exhorting them not to suffer present ills to obliterate from their minds past blessings, but rather to expect deliverance from their woes by the providential interference of that God, who, to make trial of their resignation to his will, and to impress them with a just sense of former miracles wrought in their behalf, permitted them to labour under these adversities. He represented to them, that, to repine under their trials, argued at once the highest impiety and ingratitude, as well as contempt of the Divine will, in obedience to which they forsook Egypt; and added, that they were very culpable in persecuting, with unabated rigour, the agent employed in bringing about the Divine purposes, as he had ever acted with uprightness, and in strict conformity to the Divine command.

Moses expostulates with the multitude on their rashness and ingratitude.

Enumerates many instances of the Divine favour and protection, and draws from thence the most pertinent inferences, by way of counsel and advice.

He then proceeded to enumerate these particulars: That the Egyptians were first tormented, and then exterminated, for endeavouring to detain them in opposition to the decree of the Almighty; that the water of the very river, to their enemies rendered noxious, to them remained sweet and refreshing; that the very sea, which retired and opened to them a passage, again diffused itself, and overwhelmed the Egyptians in one general inundation: that, being without arms, they were amply supplied: that they had been frequently delivered from imminent danger, nay, from death itself: that since the power of God was infinite, they should not despair of its effects, but sustain their ills with patient resignation, persuaded that their deliverance, though late, was certain: that the delay, in redressing their grievance, was to make trial of their fortitude and constancy, in bearing the wants of natural refreshments as men, rather than have recourse to means, unbecoming the rank of creation in which they stood. And concluded with observing, that though he was less solicitous for his own life than their safety, he could not but dissuade them from rising against him, lest it should be deemed an impeachment of the Divine Wisdom and Government.

The multitude are appeased.

Having thus calmed their rage, and repressed their fury, he deemed it proper to address himself to the Father of Mercies: accordingly, therefore, ascending an eminence, he supplicated Him to shew compassion to the people in the relief of their exigencies, and implored his forgiveness of their repeated deviations from their duty, as they arose from a pungent

sense of their calamities. The Almighty, having vouchsafed to promise his speedy aid, Moses came down to the multitude, who, observing a transport of joy on his countenance, no longer gave way to despair, but changed their former melancholy for a habit of cheerful complacency. Moses then informed them, that he came to bring them immediate remedy for their wants; when a vast number of quails (a) (birds that abound in the gulph of Arabia) rapidly flew across the sea, and being wearied with a long flight, fell in the center of the camp of the Hebrews, who caught and devoured them as a repast sent by Providence to relieve their outrageous famine. Moses, as in duty bound, returned grateful acknowledgements to God for his present aid and future promises. This relief was succeeded by a supply of another sort; for while Moses stretched forth his hands in prayer, the dew fell, which adhering to them, he supposed to be a kind of food sent from heaven; and, on tasting, found it to be very pleasing to the palate. Addressing the people, who supposed it to be snow, as it was then the usual season for its descent, he informed them it was not the ordinary dew of heaven, but a substance providentially sent for their food and nourishment. Having eaten of it himself, he presented it to them, and they were greatly refreshed. In flavour it resembled honey, in odour bdellium, and in form the seed of coriander; so that it was gathered with the utmost care.

The Israelites relieved by a flight of quails.

Afterwards by the descent of manna.

No individual was permitted to gather in one day more than the measure of an assaron, (the tenth part of an ephah); a precaution taken to prevent the stronger from encroaching on the weaker, in gathering more than sufficed them. Those, indeed, who sought to provide more than the limited quantity, were frustrated in their expectations; for that which remained till the next morning became bitter, and overrun with vermin. So nutrimental was this food, that it was of itself sufficient sustenance; nay, to this day, a flower is to be seen in that country bearing some resemblance of that with which Moses was so peculiarly favoured. The Hebrews call it *manna* (b); for, in our language, the word *man* is an interrogation, signifying, *What is this or that?* Upon this food they lived forty years, that is, the whole space of time they were in the desert.

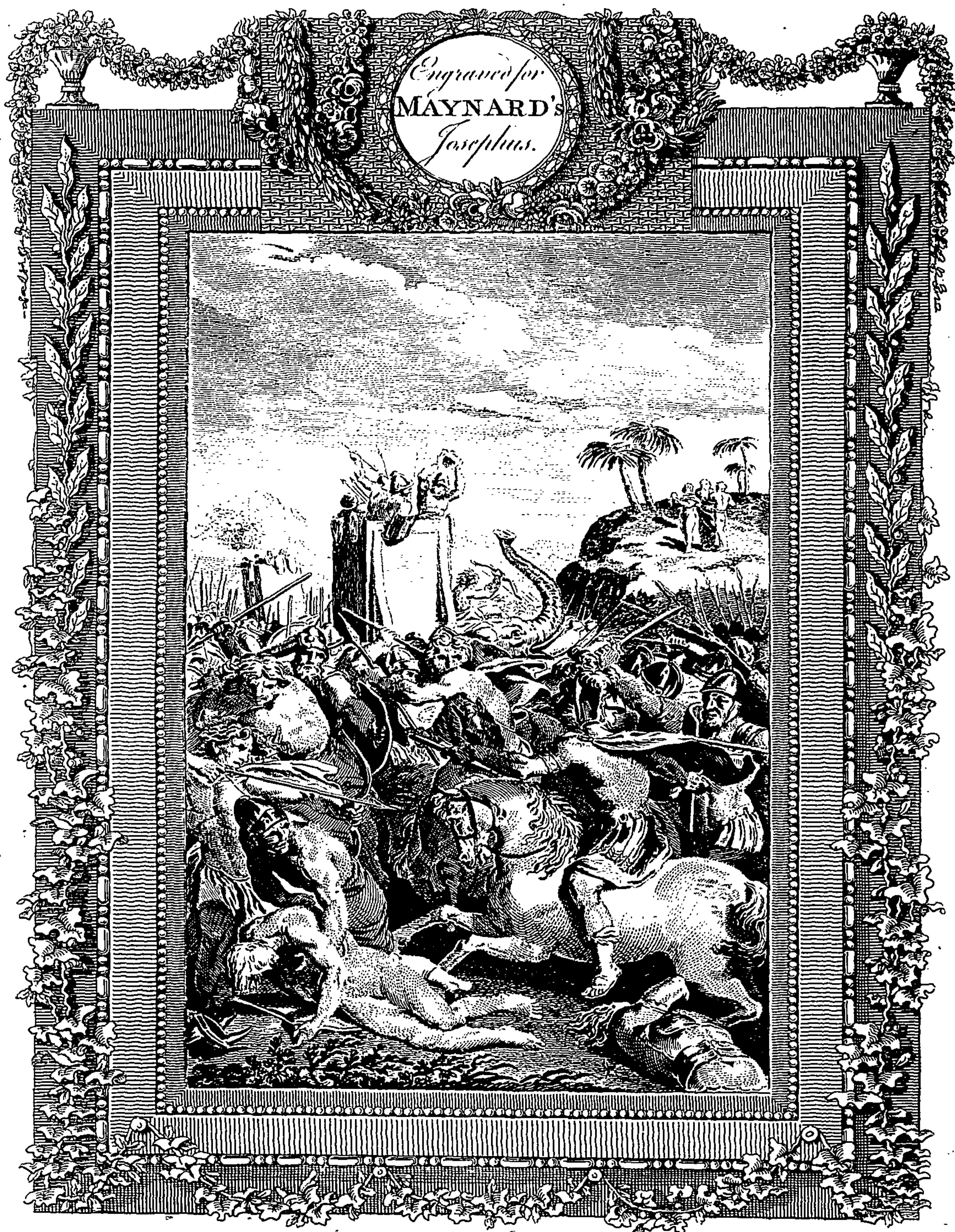
Upon their arrival at Rephidim they were much distressed for want of water, and again became incensed with Moses, who, as his never-failing resource, applied himself, in humble supplication, to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, beseeching him, that, as he had vouchsafed them food in the direst necessity, he would now be graciously pleased to afford them drink, without which they must inevitably perish. The Almighty was pleased to attend to his supplication, and assured him that a fountain should spring from a spot whence he least expected it. He then commanded him to strike, with his rod, an adjacent rock, in the presence of the people, and they should be supplied with water without the least pains or labour. Moses had no sooner obtained the promise, than he hastened to the multitude, who waited with the utmost impatience his descent from the rock, where he had addressed the Almighty in their behalf. He immediately communicated to them the Divine assurance of relief in their present calamity, by causing a fountain to flow from an adjacent rock. Whilst they were lost between doubt and expectation, Moses struck the rock (c) with his rod,

(a) It is to be observed, that this extraordinary descent of quails was at that time of the year when those birds are known to fly from Egypt across the Red Sea in prodigious numbers: so that this miracle did not so much consist in the number of the birds, as in their direction to the camp of the Israelites, and on that very evening when they were promised food.

(b) This manna, in several parts of scripture, is called Angel's Food. See Psalm lxxviii. 95. John vi. 31.

(c) The rock from whence this water flowed in so miraculous a manner is particularly noticed by Dr. Shaw, who says, "After we had descended, with no small difficulty, down the other, or western side of Mount Sinai, we came into the plain, or wilderness of Rephidim, where we saw that extraordinary antiquity the Rock of Meribah, which has continued down to this day, without the least injury from time or accidents. This is rightly called, from its hardness, Deut. viii. 15. a *rock of flint*; though, from the purple, or reddish colour of it, it may be rather rendered, *the rock of amethyst*, or *the amethystine*, or *granate rock*. It is about six yards square, lying tottering, as it

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The Combined Forces of
The AMALEKITES defeated by JOSHUA.

They are supplied by water issuing from a rock.

and there issued forth a most copious and limpid stream, to their great surprize as well as consolation; for they soon found that the water was grateful to their taste, and a peculiar instance of the Divine power and bounty. Moses was now held in the greatest veneration, as highly favoured of God, whose miraculous interposition they gratefully acknowledged, by offering up oblations and solemn thanksgivings. The sacred records, which are deposited in the temple of Jerusalem, declare that Moses, at the especial command of the Most High, in this manner caused water to issue from the rock.

CHAP. II.

The Amalekites wage war against the Israelites, who are encouraged by Moses with assurance of victory. Joshua appointed their commander. Defeat of the Amalekites. Distribution of the spoils. The Israelites again repair to Sinai.

Exod. xvii. 2, &c.

The Amalekites and neighbouring nations enter into a confederacy against the Israelites.

Moses, in an address, animates the army of the Hebrews.

Joshua is appointed general.

Necessary preparations for action.

THE increasing numbers and power of the Hebrews now spread an alarm throughout the adjacent countries, insomuch, that embassies were sent from one to the other to concert the means of their expulsion and extirpation. The inhabitants of the country of Gobel and the city Petra, called Amalekites, the most warlike of all the neighbouring nations, were peculiarly active in this expedition. The kings of those districts stirred up each other, as well as those who lived contiguous, to wage war against the Hebrews; alledging, that they were an army of aliens escaped from Egyptian bondage, and recommending it as a maxim of sound policy to make the attack in the desert, before their numbers and power increased, rather than, by delay, afford them an opportunity of possessing themselves of lands, and acquiring additional strength to sustain a conflict. These considerations having been duly weighed by the several combined parties, it was unanimously resolved to commence hostilities against the Hebrews. Moses, suspecting no hostile proceedings, was rather alarmed at receiving intimation of their design; but when the enemy was in sight, and there was an inevitable necessity for hazarding an engagement, a general panic and confusion prevailed throughout the Hebrew camp, from a dread of entering upon action with men well prepared, and trained to the exercise of arms. Moses, therefore, emboldened them to the conflict, by reminding them of former exertions of the Divine Power in their behalf; as a ground for reliance on future assistance; and observing, that however inferior they might be, in point of weapons and ammunition, to the enemy, as they had the arm of Omnipotence engaged for them, they need not doubt of success. This he enforced by adding, that, in the severest contests with famine and thirst, and the perils of blockade, they had been brought off more than conquerors through the same resolute power.

Having then animated the multitude, he summoned the chiefs of the respective tribes, and enjoined the younger to obey the elder, while he enforced an universal obedience to the command of the general. Spurning danger, and glowing to enter upon action, which they hoped would terminate their calamities, they anxiously pressed to be led against the enemy, that their ardour might not be abated by an untimely delay.

From the whole multitude he selected Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, as commander in chief, being a man expert in arms, patient of labour, and zealous for the honour of God, according to the instructions he had imbibed from Moses his preceptor. A party was ordered to take their stand round the water, and another stationed so as to guard the camp. They continued all night under arms, expecting the signal for a general attack. Moses passed the night without sleep, giving instructions to Joshua respecting the disposition of the army. At day-break he again encouraged the troops by an address, exhorting Joshua, as commander, to acquit himself in a manner worthy of the rank he held, and the cause in which he was engaged; and the Hebrews in general, whether superior or subordinate, to sustain the conflict as became good soldiers. Having given the necessary orders, he commended them to the protection of God, and delegating the command to Joshua, retired to a mountain.

No. 4.

The engagement was maintained for some time with equal fury and doubtful success. Whilst Moses extended his hands the Hebrews had the advantage; but, as he observed, that, when they dropped through fatigue, the enemy prevailed, he requested his brother Aaron, and Hur, the husband of his sister Mariam, to support his hands in an erect posture. This being done, the Hebrews charged the Amalekites with such resolution, that had not night put an end to the contest, a general slaughter must have ensued. Our ancestors, however, obtained a most glorious and seasonable victory; for, besides the renown they acquired by conquering so formidable an enemy, by becoming masters of their camp, they amassed immense riches; whereas, before, they were deprived of the means of common subsistence. But this victory was attended with prosperous effects, future as well as present, as it not only reduced their enemies to submission, but afterwards rendered them the terror of surrounding nations. The spoils taken were very considerable; for, besides a great quantity of gold and silver found in the camp, there were vessels and tables of brass, warlike implements, accoutrements for men and horse, with every requisite for the complete array of an army. The Hebrews, elated by this conquest, were ready to undertake the most arduous exploits.

The Amalekites are totally routed.

The next day Moses ordered the bodies of the slain to be rifled, and the scattered arms of those that fled to be collected. He conferred honours on those who had signalized their valour in the action, and, with the concurrence of the whole army, bestowed the highest eulogium on Joshua, their commander. Not one Hebrew fell upon the occasion. The hosts of the enemy were put to the sword. In token of their gratitude, an oblation was offered to the giver of all victory, and an altar erected with this inscription, TO GOD THE CONQUEROR. He denounced the extirpation of the Amalekites, for having assaulted the Hebrews in circumstances of singular distress, arising from their situation in a desert, and their want of all necessaries. A general festival was then prepared; and thus concluded their first engagement from the day of their deliverance out of Egypt. After the multitude had been refreshed, Moses caused them to be drawn up in array, in order to supply such as were deficient, with the arms and ammunition taken from the enemy. Proceeding by slow marches, they arrived, the third month after their departure from Egypt, at Mount Sinai, where Moses had the extraordinary visions already related.

Moses distributes praises and rewards according to merit, appoints a festival; dedicates an altar to God the Conqueror, and advances to Mount Sinai.

CHAP. III.

Jethro visits his son-in-law, Moses, at Mount Sinai, to congratulate him on his success.

JETHRO, the father-in-law of Moses, having received intelligence of his extraordinary success, came with his daughter Zipporah, and his two sons, to congratulate him upon the joyful occasion. Having offered an oblation to God, Moses prepared a banquet for the people, near the bush that withstood the flames, and thence took an opportunity for disposing them in ranks, according to the order of their respective tribes. Aaron, Jethro, and the multitude in general, in hymns of thanksgiving, ascribed to the Almighty the praises due for their mighty deliverance. They likewise, with united voice, extolled the wisdom and virtue of their leaders, which had brought events to so fortunate an issue; while Jethro passed equal commendations on the people, and on Moses, as concurring in the achievement of actions, at once honourable and serviceable to their country.

Exod. xviii. 1, &c. Jethro congratulates Moses, his son-in-law, on his signal successes.

They celebrate sacrifice, and festival together, as a token of gratitude for the Divine protection.

CHAP. IV.

Jethro counsels Moses respecting religious, civil, and military concerns.

JETHRO having remarked, in the course of observation, that Moses was much embarrassed, by reason that reference was made to him to decide in the disputes and controversies that arose amongst the people, who most implicitly submitted their causes to his arbitration, from a firm persuasion both of his ability and integrity, took an opportunity of offering his advice upon that subject. He counselled him

Jethro's judgment is counsel to Moses.

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to delegate matters of small importance to others, reserving to himself only those of moment, in which the national interest was essentially concerned; for there were many persons to be found amongst the Hebrews competent to determine in ordinary pleas, though he alone was adequate to the weightier concerns of the people, considered in a collective view. "Persuaded (said he) of your virtues, and the rectitude of your conduct towards the people, as the vicegerent of God, suffer them to submit their suits to the decision of others, whilst you are devoted to those matters which more immediately respect the service of God, and the defence and glory of the people committed to your care. If, therefore, you will listen to my advice in human affairs, muster the whole army, and appoint chieftains to preside over parties, composed of ten thousands, thousands, five hundreds, and fifties: over these, thus arranged, set judicial officers, who, dividing them into thirties and tens, may determine their suits and controversies. Let their titles signify the number over which they have charge, and let these speak by the people, as men of sound judgment, and inflexible integrity, hear and decide their differences. If any intricate matter arises, let it be referred to those who are highest in authority; and if it then remains undecided, let the last appeal be to yourself. By these means right will be preserved inviolate to the people, and you will have opportunity of attending to the service of God, and to your supplications for the general good."

The exemplary candor and justice of Moses.

Moses, convinced of the propriety of Jethro's counsel, made the respective arrangements, in exact conformity to his plan: nor did he arrogate to himself the merit of the service, but publicly ascribed it to the political talents of his father-in-law. Indeed, Jethro is recorded by him, in his writings, as the author of these regulations, esteeming it a duty to give merit its due praise, and thereby testifying a mind discerning, candid, and ingenuous.

CHAP. V.

Moses ascends Mount Sinai. Tempest, attended with tremendous thunder and lightening. Moses addresses the multitude. The Ten Commandments issued from the Divine Voice. Moses fasts forty days and forty nights, the time of his continuance in the mountain. Descends and displays, in the presence of the people, the two tables, containing the Ten Commandments.

Exod. xix. 1, &c. Moses ascends the tremendous mountain Sinai.

Moses, having convened the multitude, informed them, that he must ascend Mount Sinai, to receive the Divine Commands, which he would communicate to them. At the same time he commanded them to pitch their tents at the foot of the mountain, that they might be the more ready to receive such intimation as the Almighty should be pleased to afford.

In the mean time the Hebrews purified themselves, fasted, and invoked the Divine Favour.

He then ascended the mountain, which is not only the highest in that country, but, by reason of its craggy precipices, inaccessible, and formidable to the view; besides, an opinion prevailed, that it was the peculiar residence of the Divine Being. The Hebrews, in obedience to Moses, took their stand at the foot of the mountain, in full expectation of the blessings he had promised to procure. During the space they expected the return of their guide, they observed a strict temperance, abstaining from sensual gratifications, and purifying themselves for three days, according to command. They also besought the Almighty, that he would favour Moses with a gracious reception, and, through his means, vouchsafe, to confer on them the promised blessings. After this they held a sumptuous festival, and arrayed themselves, their wives, and children, in their best attire.

On the third day, before sun rise, a cloud (such as

(a) The meaning of this commandment is, that no object shall, at any time, so much attract our attention, as the service of that God, who is the universal Lord both of providence and grace.

(b) From the words of this precept it appears, that the worship of idols was then become general among the people in the east, and perhaps so in most other nations.

(c) The heathens were accustomed, on many occasions, to speak in an irreverend manner of those idols whom they worshipped; and, lest the children of Israel should have done so

never had been seen before) bore down upon their camp, and environed the place where they had fixed their tents. Though the sky, in every other part, appeared serene, a sudden tempest arose in that quarter, attended with boisterous winds, torrents of rain, peals of thunder, and flashes of lightening, which not only diffused universal horror, but indicated that the Almighty was there present in an especial manner. Let those who read what I have recited, judge for themselves whether it be lawful for us to deviate from the letter of Holy Writ.

A terrible tempest indicates the Divine Presence.

The Hebrews were greatly agitated by this tremendous event, and, as they gave into the common opinion repeatedly specified, it impressed their minds with an universal dread; so that they kept within their tents, concluding that Moses had fallen a victim to the Divine Displeasure, and momentarily expected their own extermination.

The people are anxious for the safety of Moses.

In this state of anxiety and consternation, Moses suddenly presenting himself to them, with a countenance full of joy and majesty, which dissipated their fears, and encouraged their hopes, especially as the late terrific appearances were vanished. Moses assembled the whole multitude in order that he might recite in their hearing the Commandments he had received from the Almighty; to which purpose he ascended an eminence, that he might be the better seen and heard, and thus addressed them:

"The Almighty God, O Hebrews, who has never rejected my prayers, hath at this time received me with singular grace and favour, and vouchsafed to communicate to you, by my means, such rules and laws as, if obeyed, will equally conduce to your interest and happiness. Estimate not the importance of what I am about to deliver by the intrinsic merit of the agent, but the respect you owe to him at whose command it is delivered. It is not Moses, the son of Amram and Jochabel, who is about to give you these admirable precepts, but that Almighty Being who caused the river Nile to overflow with blood, and overwhelmed the Egyptians in great calamities for your deliverance. He who opened a passage for you in the midst of the ocean; He, who supplied you with food from heaven, in the direst extremity; He, who brought water from the rock to quench your thirst; He, who gave Adam and his posterity dominion over all things, both in earth and sea; He, by whom Noah was saved from the deluge; He, by whom our ancestor Abraham obtained the land of Canaan; He, by whose indulgence Isaac was born to his father and mother in an advanced age, by whom Jacob was blessed with a numerous and honourable progeny, and by whom Joseph attained to the first dignities amongst the Egyptians. Let these, his precepts, therefore, be held inviolate, and esteemed more precious than your wives and children."

He appears and expounds the will of God to them.

This said, he led the promiscuous multitude (men, women, and children) to a spot from which they might hear the instructions from the Divine Voice, that their authority might not be invalidated by the weakness and insufficiency of a human tongue. An audible voice was then heard to proceed from the mountain, so that each individual distinctly comprehended the several precepts, which Moses has transmitted to us, in the two tables of laws. I shall not state them word for word, according to the precise form in which they were delivered to Moses, but endeavour to express the sense and meaning, which seem to be to the following purport:

The multitude hear the voice of God.

1. There is but one God, who alone is to be worshipped (a).
2. No image of any living creature is to be worshipped (b).
3. We are not to swear rashly by the name of God (c).

Summary of the Ten Commandments.

with respect to the name of the true God, they are here strictly prohibited from it. Every person is guilty of a breach of this commandment, who uses the name of God in an unnecessary manner; but the most aggravated breach is that of swearing falsely, or, in other words, going into a court of judicature to commit perjury. Holy and reverend is the name of God; and therefore let us never mention it but when necessary, either in prayer, or to decide, by an oath, controversies among our fellow-creatures.

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4. The seventh day is to be kept holy, and not prophaned by labour (*a*).
5. Father and mother are to be honoured (*b*).
6. We must not commit murder (*c*).
7. We must abstain from adultery (*d*).
8. No man must steal (*e*).
9. False testimony must not be borne (*f*).
10. No man must covet any manner of thing that is his neighbour's (*g*).

The people require a further system of laws.

The people having thus heard the declaration of God confirmed by the Divine Voice, were dismissed to their tents. But in a short time they importuned Moses to procure such laws as might serve for the better regulation of their government.

This he performed; but I pass them over at present, reserving them for the subject of a particular book.

Moses re-ascends the mountain, and continues there forty days.

Soon after these occurrences, Moses, having given previous notice, re-ascended the mountain in the sight of the multitude; but being absent forty days, they became apprehensive that some ill had befallen him. Various were their conjectures concerning his fate. Some were of opinion that he was devoured by wild beasts, and others that he was translated to the Divine Presence: but the wiser party, who neither listened to, or were affected by, mere surmise, bore his absence with patient resignation, from a persuasion of his integrity, and the favour of the Almighty so frequently displayed towards him; though they could not but regret even a temporary loss of so wise and virtuous a leader. They durst not decamp, because Moses had enjoined them there to fix their tents, and await his return.

At the expiration of the forty days he appeared, having, during that space of time, taken no human sustenance. His presence diffused a joy throughout the whole multitude, whom he assured of the Divine regard for their welfare; adding, that, while he was absent, he had received intimation of the means of establishing their government on an happy and prosperous basis; and that it was the Almighty's especial command to them to erect a tabernacle (*b*), into which he would occasionally descend, and which might be constructed on such a plan, as to be rendered portable from place to place, and thereby obviate the necessity of ascending Mount Sinai. He then displayed the two tables, including the Ten Commandments, as issued from the mount by the Divine Voice.

(*a*) Here God, by a written command, enjoins one day in seven for two of the most valuable purposes that could be imagined. First, to keep alive in the minds of the people the remembrance of all those wonders that God had wrought for them; and, secondly, that their beasts, such as horses and oxen, might enjoy a day's rest. We read, that when God had finished the works of creation, he rested on the seventh day; and there is no doubt but the same was observed by all those that feared him, to the time of Jacob's going down into Egypt, although not expressly mentioned. It seems, that while the children of Israel were in Egypt, they had either forgot the sabbath, or, perhaps, had been forced to work on that day by their cruel task-masters. This seems to have been the reason why God commanded Moses to set one day in seven apart: and the greatest divines, both ancient and modern, are of opinion, that the first sabbath kept by the children of Israel, answered exactly to the weekly return, of that day on which God finished the works of creation.

(*b*) Disobedience to parents is a crime of such a nature that it leads to many others. How is it possible that we can ever, consistent with the nature of subordination in society, pay obedience to our civil superiors, while we refuse to honour our natural parents? As to the promise of long life, it must not be understood to extend any further than God shall see proper for his own glory, and the good of the obedient person. God may, for wise reasons, see proper to remove, by death, a very obedient child; but, in a natural sense, perhaps the greatest number of obedient children to their parents, both prosper well in the world, and also arrive at a good old age.

(*c*) As God is the author, giver, and supporter of life, so none but he has a right to take it away. With respect to civil society, the power of taking away life is entrusted with the magistrate; but no private person has a right to do it without his consent. Murder is no less than high-treason, or open rebellion against God; for it is actually taking upon ourselves to exercise his regal power and authority.

(*d*) Adultery, or the seduction of a married woman, is not all

CHAP. VI.

Moses erects a tabernacle in the Desert. Form, and other particulars, of the structure, with their significations. Construction of the ark: Tables deposited therein.

THE multitude, overjoyed with what Moses had communicated to them, applied themselves, with the utmost assiduity, to the building of the tabernacle. They cheerfully contributed gold, silver, and brass, with store of wood of a durable nature; also goats hair, and sheep skins, dyed of different colours, and variously ornamented, together with wool, precious stones, and every material requisite for the completion of the work proposed. The materials, thus liberally furnished, Moses appointed artificers, whose names are to be seen in the Sacred Records, as follows: Bezaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah; and Miriam, Moses's sister; and Aholiab, the son of Aheliamath, of the tribe of Dan. The people were so zealous for promoting the undertaking, by contributing materially, that Moses was under the necessity of issuing a proclamation, that he was authorised, by the artificers, to declare, that they had already sent in what was fully adequate to complete the building. Moses, as he had been previously instructed, gave the necessary directions as to the model; and so zealous were the very women, as to emulate each other in preparing vestments for the priests, and every thing that could contribute to the honour and service of God.

Large contributions towards the building of the tabernacle.

Names of the chief architects.

The necessary preparations being made, a solemn festival and sacrifice were held at the particular institution of Moses, after which they proceeded to the accomplishment of their important undertaking.

Moses erects a tabernacle.

The model.

The outward court was to be 50 cubits in breadth, and 100 in length. On each side were to be 20 brazen pillars long-ways, and 10 a-cross: every pillar was 5 cubits in height, with rings and borders to it of silver. The bases were of brass, curiously wrought and gilt, fastened to the earth with pins of a cubit length, pointed at the end like a spear, which, by means of cords, that passed through the rings, connected the whole, and secured it against the most violent tempests. It was also encompassed by a veil of curiously wrought linen, that hung from the cornices to the bases, and subserved the purpose of a general enclosure.

These were the dimensions of three sides of the structure. It was 50 cubits in front, the space of

that is implied in this precept; for it includes all sorts of uncleanness, or the pollution of our bodies in any manner whatever. It prohibits the seduction of young women, and, by implication, forbids the indulging of impure thoughts, or making use of obscene expressions.

(*e*) It is certainly very wrong for a man to take away the goods of his neighbour, because they are generally either the fruits of his own industry, or what has been left him by his own relations. Were not theft prohibited in the severest manner, there would be an end of honest industry; and the preservation of civil society would be totally destroyed.

(*f*) To speak ill of our neighbour, when he has done some trifling fault, makes us appear mean-spirited wretches. To utter a falsehood against him while we know it to be such, is a thousand times worse: but when either his life or his property are at stake, to go into a court of judicature, and deliberately commit perjury, is what all nations have constantly abhorred; and the person guilty of it has, on most occasions, been driven out of society.

(*g*) All the other commandments depend upon this; for if we never covet, or think evil, we shall never be led to do criminal actions.

(*h*) The word translated tabernacle, signifies a portable tent, that could be removed from one place to another. This was in every respect suitable to the travelling state of the Jews, who, for forty years, had no fixed habitation, but were obliged to dwell in tents in the wilderness. The whole was contrived in such a manner, as to strike the eye of the beholder: and we find, from several passages of the New Testament, particularly in the epistle to the Hebrews, that the tabernacle was, in all respects, a type of the passion of Christ; and there is no wonder that it should be so, seeing he was to be the end of the law; or, in other words, he was to fulfil all righteousness. Indeed, almost every thing in the Mosaic law was typical of our Divine Redeemer, who, in the fulness of time, came and fulfilled all the ceremonies, as well as the ceremonial law.

twenty was left open for an entrance, with two columns on each side of the passage. These were covered with silver work; only the bases were of brass. To strengthen the work, six other planks, three on each hand, were conjoined, and a curtain, curiously wrought, drawn over them. The grand entrance being twenty cubits wide, and five in depth, was ornamented with an elegant embroidery of flowers and figures of variegated colours, but not one representing any living creature.

The position
of the taber-
nacle.

In the center of this court stood the tabernacle, fronting the east, that it might receive the radiant beams of the rising sun. It was 30 cubits in length, and 12 in breadth. One side of it looked towards the south, another to the north, and the back part of it to the west. The two sides were composed of 40 wooden planks, 20 on each side. They were of a quadrangular form, a cubit and a half in breadth, and in thickness four fingers. They were plated with gold; two tenons to every plank; and two silver bases, with mortises, to receive those tenons. On the west side were six other boards, likewise overlaid with gold, and connected in so masterly a manner, that they seemed an entire piece. These twenty boards being each of them a cubit and a half over, just amount to the length of thirty cubits. The six boards on the western side were no more than nine cubits; but then they were joined by two planks, one at each corner, in the same position, and of the same length and breadth with the other, but much thicker, the more effectually to secure that side of the tabernacle. There were golden rings, or staples, driven into every plank, and disposed in such order, that they answered each other in a direct line. Through these rings passed several bars five cubits long, and plated with gold, which reaching from end to end, kept the whole quarter firm and compact. At the lower end of this structure the boards were all arranged in the same manner, by passing a gilt bar through as many rings as there were plates, and accommodating one bar to another. There were, moreover, bolts and staples at the corners, to connect ends and sides, which, with the help of mortises, to bind one piece to another, secured the tabernacle from the violence of wind and weather.

The division
and mystery
of the taber-
nacle.

The inside of the tabernacle was divided into partitions of ten cubits in length. At ten cubits from the bottom there stood four pillars across, of the same workmanship, the same materials, and the same bases as those already described, but standing at equal distances from each other. Within these pillars was the *most holy place*, which was inaccessible even to the priests, to whom the rest of the tabernacle was open. The division of the tabernacle into three parts, seems to have borne some resemblance to the universe. The first part, into which the priests were not permitted to enter, represented heaven, sacred to the Deity alone. The space of twenty cubits, to which the priests only had admittance, had some resemblance to the earth and sea.

At the entrance of the tabernacle were five gilded columns, fixed upon bases of brass, and covered with curtains of fine yarn, dyed of variegated colours, and interwoven. The first of these curtains was ten cubits square, and served as a covering to the partition between the *most holy place* and the *holy*, to veil the former.

The cur-
tains.

The temple itself was called Holy; but the space between the four pillars bore the name of *Sanctum Sanctorum*. The curtain, or veil, was embellished with curious flowers and figures, living creatures only excepted. There was another veil in every respect equal to the former, which encompassed the five pillars at the entrance. It was fastened at the top with hooks and eyes, and so down to the middle of the five columns, leaving the rest open for the priests to enter. This veil had another over it of the same size, and almost contiguous, but of flaxen ground. It had rings, with a string through them, to draw at pleasure, especially on festival days, to indulge the people with a view of the under curtain, curiously embellished with embroidery. At other times, and particularly in boisterous weather, the upper curtain served as a covert to secure the inner, being composed of a stuff that was proof against rain. This kind of curtain has been used at the door of the temple, from the building of it to the present day.

The Holy of
Holies.

There were likewise ten pieces of hanging, in com-

pass twenty-eight cubits, in depth four cubits, and so nicely connected with golden loops, as to seem one entire piece. These hangings covered the whole tabernacle, within one foot of the ground. There were also eleven hangings more of the same depth, but thirty cubits in length, woven, with the same art, of hair, as the others were of wool. These were a covering to the other ten, and, as they negligently flowed upon the ground, in some degree resembled a canopy. The eleventh served to cover the entrance. These were covered with divers skins, as an outward tegument to preserve them from the effects of heats or rains. The spectacle, indeed, was an object of admiration, as the columns shone with such lustre as to resemble the firmament of heaven.

The tabernacle, thus finished, they proceeded to the construction of the ark of God, which was framed of a particular wood, durable and impenetrable in its nature, called, by the Hebrews, *heron*. The figure was as follows: It was two cubits and an half in length, one and an half in breadth, and as much in depth, and so covered with the purest gold, that no part of the wood was to be seen. The cover was cramped with golden hooks, so well finished, and so smooth in every part, that there was no danger of its sustaining any damage from rubbing. At the two ends were rivetted into the frame four golden rings, one at each corner. Through these rings were passed two gilded bars on each side, to remove the ark from place to place, as occasion might require; for it was never shifted but on the shoulders of the priests and Levites. On the cover were two figures, which the Hebrews call *cherubims*, having wings according to the description of what Moses saw about the Divine throne, and unseen by mortal before. In this ark were deposited the two tables of the decalogue. Each table comprised five of the commandments, two and a half in a column. The ark was laid up in the sanctuary.

Frame and
figure of the
ark.

The cher-
ubims.

The two ta-
bles depo-
sited in the
ark.

In this holy place was a table not unlike that at Delphi, two cubits in length, one in breadth, and a cubit and an half in height. The feet, from the middle downwards, resembled those the Dorians make use of for their beds; but from thence upwards, they were square, with a border projecting about four fingers, and a crown of gold over it and under it on every side. Under this border were four rings of gold, fastened into the upper part of the four feet, one at each corner; and gilt bars of the finest wood passed through them, and served as handles on its removal from place to place. This table stood in the temple towards the north, not far from the sanctuary itself. There were placed on it twelve loaves of unleavened bread, in two rows, six on each side. They were made of the finest flour, two assarons in quantity, or seven attic cotylas, after the Hebrew measure, each cake containing two omers. Over these loaves were two golden dishes of incense. At the end of seven days these loaves were taken away, and others put in their places. The seventh day we call our Sabbath: but of this hereafter.

The table of
show-bread.

The unlea-
vened bread.

Opposite this table, on the south side, stood a golden candlestick, of hollow cast. It weighed an hundred moises, which the Hebrews call *chinchares*, and the Greeks talents. This candlestick was wrought with bowls, lilies, pomegranates, and small cups, all in pure gold, to the number of seventy pieces, which shot from the shank into seven branches, answering to the number of the planets, and they were ranged in uniform order. On the top of these seven branches were as many lamps, which, according to the position of the candlestick, faced towards the east and the south.

The golden
candlestick.

Between the candlestick and the table was a little altar for incense, made of the same durable wood with the ark. It was in length and breadth a cubit, and in height two. It had a golden fire-hearth, and a crown of the purest gold round about from corner to corner, with rings and staves through them for the convenience of carriage.

The altar
incense.

There was also another altar before the tabernacle, of the same materials with the former, five cubits square, and three in height, and finished after the same design, excepting its being plated with brass, and its having in the middle, a brazen grate for the ashes to fall through. There were also funnels, phials, censers, cups, and other necessities for the service of the altar, all of pure gold. Thus much for

for the Tabernacle, and the vessels thereunto appertaining.

CHAP. VII.

Description of the vestments of the sacerdotal order. Signification of the structure of the Tabernacle, and the ornaments of the priests.

The priests' vestments.

Manachafe.

Chethemene.

Abaneth.

Maffaba-anzes.

Mafna-emphthes.

The high priest's Me-thir.

The Ephod.

The Effen, or Logion.

WE now proceed to treat of the vestments appointed both for the priests in ordinary, called Chaaneans, and the Anarabaches, or High Priest, and shall begin with the former. No priest could officiate, according to law, without being first purified. His under garment was of fine twisted linen, made in the form of drawers. The Hebrews call it a *manachafe*, or binder. The feet were put through it, and being drawn over the thighs, it was fastened at the waistband. Over this was a garment of very fine linen, which the Hebrews call *chethemene*, that is, a linen cloth, as Chethem is taken from the flax of which it was made. It sat close, had narrow sleeves, and reached down to the heels. It was fastened with a girdle round the middle, about four fingers broad; and so curiously adorned with needle-work of different colours, that it bore some resemblance to the skin of a snake. It was ornamented with variegated flowers and figures, but the ground was linen. This girdle went twice about the body of the priest, and, for the sake of a graceful appearance, hung from the breast to the feet; except when in the exercise of his function, on which occasion he cast it over his left shoulder, that it might not encumber him. Moses calls this girdle *abaneth*; but we now call it *emian*, a word borrowed from the Babylonians. This garment was made without plaits or folds, wide in the neck, and buckled before and behind. The Hebrew name is *maffaba-anzes*.

The priest wore a kind of mitre, or bonnet, resembling a small helmet, and covering rather more than half his head. It is called *mafnaemphthes*, made of linen, and bound with a fillet to keep it steady. This was covered with a cap of curious fine linen, which came so low, that the smallest part of it could not be seen; and every part was so secured, as to prevent its falling or encumbering the priest in his office. Such were the vestments of the priests in ordinary.

The high-priest, besides the ornaments already described, had others peculiar to his office. He wore a purple robe that reached down to his ancles, which we call *metbir*, with a girdle, for colours and figures, resembling the beforementioned, excepting the addition of an intermixture of gold. The skirt of this vest was trimmed with a fringe, and hung round with pomegranates, and golden bells of curious workmanship, interchangeably placed at equal distances from each other. This garment was without seam, and had no opening, except lengthways, a little below the shoulders, behind and about the middle of the breast before, with two borders, one to cover the opening, and another as a kind of ornament to that part of it that was left for the arms to pass through the sleeves.

Over this vestment was a third, called the *ephod*, and much the same with the *epomis* of the Greeks. It was a cubit in length, embroidered with variegated colours, intermixed with gold, and covered the whole breast. It had likewise sleeves, and was, in effect, a kind of additional ornament.

Upon the fore part of this robe, and in the middle of the breast, was left a vacant space for the *essen*, which the Greeks call *logion*, and the Latins, *rationale*, that is, the oracle. This square piece exactly filled up the vacant space. There were golden rings at each corner, through which ran purple ribbons, to connect the ephod and the rationale. The high-priest wore, upon each shoulder, a sardonyx, set in gold, which served as buckles to clasp one part of the ephod to the other. They had golden ringlets to bind them and the rationale together. Upon these stones were engraved, in Hebrew characters, the names of Jacob's twelve sons; the six elder on the right shoulder, and the other six on the left. The *essen*, or rationale, was distinguished also by twelve stones, of such extraordinary magnitude and lustre, that, for value and ornament, were inestimable. They were disposed in four rows, at three in a row, and so di-

No. 4.

vided from each other by little partitions of gold, as to secure them from falling out. In the first row was a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald; in the second, a ruby, a jasper, and a sapphire; in the third, a lygyrius, an amethyst, and an agate; and in the fourth, a chrysolite, an onyx, and a beryl. Upon these twelve precious stones were severally inscribed the names of Jacob's twelve sons, whom we deem the heads of our tribes; so that the names were inserted in the order of seniority. And as hooks were too weak to sustain the weight of these precious stones, stronger fastenings were fixed to the upper part of the rationale, that projected from the work of the garment. To this were annexed two wreathed golden chains, that were conveyed, by secret passages, up to the shoulder-piece. The upper end of these chains was carried about to the back, and hooked with a ring behind upon the border of the ephod; and by these means the whole was kept in a firm and uniform state. There was also fixed to the rationale a girdle, of the colour beforementioned, but interwoven with gold. It went twice about the body, and being tied in a knot before, the two ends were left flowing, with a curious gold fringe as an ornament to each.

The high priest's *tiara*, or mitre, was the same with that of other priests, excepting that it was covered with another of a purple colour, and encircled with a triple crown of gold, on which was raised, in gold, the resemblance of a cup, in form like the bud of a plant, by us called *saccharus*, and, by the Greeks, *hyoscyamos*.

For the information of those who may be ignorant of the nature of this plant, it may not be improper briefly to describe it. It commonly rises above three spans high: its root is like that of a turnip, and its leaf like mint: it branches out into a round bud, invested with a coat, which it sheds as the fruit ripens.

The cup, that was placed over the golden crown, was about the size of the joint of the smaller finger, round and hollow, like the inside of a goblet. In figure it was a kind of hemisphere, narrowing a little upwards, and then being dilated towards the brim into the form of a basin, like a pomegranate cut in two. To this there was annexed a round cover (a great natural curiosity) with sharp points, rising out of it like the prickles of a pomegranate. Within this cup and cover, the fruit was nourished and preserved. The seed is like that of the plant *Sideritis*, or Wall-sage; and the flower like plantane.

Thus was the mitre adorned from the back part of the head round to the temples; but the forehead had a golden plate over it, inscribed with the venerable name of the Deity. Such were the vestments of the high priest.

It is matter of wonder that other nations have imbibed a prejudice against us, as blasphemers of that Divine Being whom they profess to adore. Let any person attend to the structure of the tabernacle, the vestments of the priests, and the vessels used in the performance of our sacred rites, and he must be convinced that our lawgiver was a pious man, and that the clamours against us are mere calumny and slander. The particulars alluded to are a representation of the world, as will appear to every candid observer. The division of the tabernacle into three parts, that is, two for the priests in general, as a place common to all, and free of access, represents the earth and the sea; but the third place, accessible to no mortal, is like the heavens, the peculiar residence of the Deity. The twelve loaves of shew-bread upon the table, denote the twelve months of the year. The candlestick, composed of seventy pieces, refers to the twelve signs of the zodiac, thro' which the seven planets take their course; and the seven lamps, on the top of the seven branches, bears an analogy to the planets themselves. The curtains, with the four colours of their materials, represent the four elements. The linen may signify the earth from whence it was derived, and the purple the sea, from the blood of a shell-fish, called *murex*, that gives it the tincture. The violet colour is a symbol of the air, and the scarlet of the fire. The linen garment of the high priest, typifies the earth, and the violet colour the heavens. The pomegranates resemble the lightning, as do the sound of the bells the thunder. The four coloured ephod bears a resemblance to the four elements, and the interweaving it with gold,

The high-priest's mitre.

The tabernacle and priests' vestments are figures of the universe.

L

seems

seems to refer to the rays from which we derive light. The middle of the *essen*, or *rationale*, denotes the position of the earth in the center of the world; and the girdle about the body of the priest, the sea, which environs all things. The two stones of *sardonyx* signify the sun and moon; and the twelve other stones the twelve signs in the circle, which the Greeks call *Zodiac*. The purple coloured tiara, or mitre, hath an allusion to heaven; and the triple crown and plate may point out the glory of the Majesty on high.

This shall suffice for the present: the sequel will furnish ample matter for the display of the piety and wisdom of our incomparable lawgiver.

C H A P. VIII.

Aaron elected high priest. Tax, rites, and ceremonies. Dedication of the tabernacle and priests. Punishment of death inflicted on Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, for disobeying the injunction of Moses. Sacrifices and gifts of the heads of the tribes. Moses supplicates intimation of the Divine will in the tabernacle.

Levit. viii.
Aaron de-
clared high
priest by
Moses.

AFTER the tabernacle was completed, but before its consecration, Moses received the Divine command to appoint his brother Aaron high priest, being a man who, from his superior virtues, merited that dignity. To this end, having assembled the multitude, and, by expatiating on his virtues, his affections for them, and the dangers he had encountered in their behalf, obtained their unanimous applause and approbation of the choice of his brother, he thus addressed them.

"The work, O men of Israel, is now completed according to the will of God, through the means and abilities we have derived from his bounty; but as this tabernacle is the place which it pleaseth him to honour with his presence in an especial manner, the choice of a person to officiate in holy things, and make supplication for the people, becomes a main and principal concern. If this important matter had been committed to me, I might have deemed myself entitled to the office; not only from a principal of self-love, but a consciousness of the laborious tasks I have repeatedly performed to promote your interest: but it is the will of the Almighty, that Aaron be raised to the dignity of high priest, as a token of his approbation of his integrity. Let him therefore be invested with the sacred robes, the care of the altars, the performance of sacrifices, and the putting up supplications in behalf of the people. God will vouchsafe graciously to attend, from the singular regard he has shewn for your race, as well as the man appointed by his Divine command to the important office."

(a) The multitude, pleased with this address, unanimously acquiesced in the choice. Indeed, it must be admitted that Aaron, by reason of his descent, alliance to Moses, and many extraordinary qualifications, had superior claim to this honour. He had at this time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

Moses gave orders that the remainder of what had been collected for the building of the tabernacle, should be laid out in covers for the sacred vessels, and, indeed, for the general service of the tabernacle itself, to prevent the sustaining of any damage from rain or dust. Having once more convened the people, he levied, by way of impost, from each individual, half a shekel. The shekel is an Hebrew coin, equivalent to four Athenian drachms. They complied without the least reluctance. The number that offered amounted to six hundred and five thousand, five hundred and fifty. All these were persons of free condition, and from twenty to fifty years of age; and the money thus raised was appropriated to the service of the tabernacle.

Then followed the ceremony of the purification of the tabernacle and the priests in this manner. Having taken five hundred shekels worth of choice

myrrh, and the like quantity of iris, cinnamon, and balsam (of most fragrant smell) half of the above weight, he caused them all to be pulverized; and being mixed in an hin of oil of olives, (the Hebrew hin contains two Athenian choas) to be boiled up so as to compose an ointment. With this he anointed the priests, the tabernacle, and all the appurtenances, by way of purification. He also gave orders for the odours, and all necessary articles for the altar of incense: but these I shall not enumerate, lest I should be thought too prolix. It is necessary, however, to observe, that twice a day (that is before sun-rise and about sun-set) they were to burn incense, and supply the lamps with purified oil; three of which, in reverence to the Deity, were to remain burning every day upon the sacred candlestick, and the rest were to be lighted in the evening. The artificers, who acquired the greatest reputation in the performance of the various articles heretofore mentioned, were Bezaleel and Aholiab; for they improved and embellished the plans of others, as well as produced plans of their own; but Bezaleel, in the general opinion, had the preference. These grand and important works were finished in seven months; and this period completed a year from the time of their deliverance from out of Egypt.

In the beginning of the second year, in the month called, by the Macedonians, Xanthicus, and by us Nisan, upon the new moon, they dedicated the tabernacle, with all its appurtenances, to the immediate service of God, who vouchsafed to signify his approbation of the same, by the manifestation of his presence in an especial manner. The rest of the sky being serene, a kind of (b) cloud overspread the tabernacle, not dark and gloomy, as precedes a winter storm, but almost penetrable to the human eye: from this distilled a dew giving intimation of the Divine Presence.

Moses having recompensed the several artificers according to their respective merit, offered a sacrifice, at the Divine command, near the porch of the tabernacle, of a bull, a ram, and a kid, for the sins of the people. Of the particular ceremonies I shall speak hereafter. He then with the blood of the victims, sprinkled the vestment of Aaron; purifying both him and his sons with precious ointment and spring water, as priests of the Most High. This ceremony of purification, both of the tabernacle and the priests, was continued for seven successive days; but, on the eighth, a festival was appointed for the people, who, upon that occasion, vied with each other in shewing their liberality. No sooner were the victims placed on the altar, than a spontaneous fire issued from them, the flame of which resembled a flash of lightning, which consumed all before it.

Aaron at the same time was visited with an affliction poignant as could befall a father; but he bore it with becoming patience and resignation; persuaded that nothing could happen without the Divine permission to accomplish the Divine purposes. His two eldest sons, Nadab and Abihu, bringing to the altar other victims than those appointed by Moses, were so scorched by the violence of the flames, that immediate death ensued.

Moses gave orders for their funerals without the camp, and their sudden departure was universally regretted. Their relatives were strictly enjoined not to lament, as it would be unbecoming the sacerdotal office, by which they were solely devoted to the honour of God. Moses, rejecting all dignities proffered him by the people, gave himself wholly up to the service of the Most High. He went no longer to Mount Sinai, but entering the tabernacle, there sought intimation of the Divine will. He appeared in every respect in a private capacity, nor distinguished himself in any instance, but in his care and concern for the common weal. He enacted such laws, for the regulation of the state, as tended to the honour of God, and the interest of the community. These laws, which he gave them in writing, will be particularized on a future occasion.

But here I must digress a little, to make some re-

Consecra-
tion of the
tabernacle.
Exod. xl.

Nadab and
Abihu con-
sumed by
a judicial
fire.

A tax laid.

The puri-
fying oil.

(a) It is worthy of observation, that the two principal qualifications of the high priest were, that he should have an excellent character for virtuous and good actions, and also that he should have the approbation of the people.

(b) This cloud was afterwards a signal to the Hebrews, by which they knew when to march and when to rest. While the cloud remained on the tabernacle, they continued where it stood; but when the cloud left it, they proceeded on their march.

marks

marks on the priests' vestments, which, in reality, afford no scope to false prophets, or the circulation of their impostures, as they can never adduce proofs of the Divine sanction, though the Hebrews had so many indubitable testimonies thereof.

The miraculous lustre of the sardonyx, upon the high priest's right shoulder.

The sparkling of the high priest's jewels a presage of victory.

The sardonyx, which was fixed on the right shoulder of the high priest, shone remarkably bright whilst the Divine Being was propitiously present at the sacrifice; though the stone has no natural splendour; a circumstance that must raise the admiration of all, but those who effect to ridicule whatever is solemn and sacred. Another more extraordinary instance was the indication of victory by the singular brilliancy of the twelve stones affixed to the eflen upon the breast of the high priest, which had so powerful an effect as to assure the people of the Divine aid, upon the approach of a conflict with their enemies. The Greeks confirm, rather than dispute, this point, by terming the eflen, in their language, *logion*, or oracle. But these extraordinary appearances ceasing two hundred years before I undertook this work, as the Deity withdrew such manifestations of his favour from a people who proved unworthy, I shall refer them to future consideration, and revert to the former subject.

Oblations of the tribes.

The concerns of the tabernacle and priests being fully settled, the people, elated with assurance of the Divine favour and protection, vied with each other in presenting oblations, and shewing their gratitude to the Author of all mercies. The heads of the twelve tribes offered six waggons, with a yoke of oxen to each, to transport the tabernacle, as occasion might require; besides a silver charger, of an hundred and thirty shekels weight, and a silver bowl, of seventy shekels, both full of fine flour, mingled with oil, to be used in the sacrifices, with an incense cup full of perfumes, valued at ten daricks. They offered likewise a young bullock, a ram, and a lamb of a year old, for a burnt-offering, with a he-goat for a sin-offering. They brought besides their peace-offerings, that is, two bullocks a day, five rams, with as many lambs and he-goats of a year old. These sacrifices continued for twelve successive days.

As heretofore observed, Moses ceased to ascend the mountain, but received instructions for the formation of laws for regulating the government in the tabernacle. But this subject shall be discussed hereafter.

CHAP. IX.

Description of sacrifices, with their various forms and ceremonies.

Sacrifices particular and public. Leviticus.

SACRIFICES are of two kinds; one for private persons, the other for the people in general; and they are performed in two distinct forms. In the one, all that is placed on the altar is consumed, whence it is called *holocaust*, or burned. The other is in token of thanksgiving, and made as a feast to those who perform the ceremony.

A burnt-offering. Bullock.

With respect to the first; a private person brings an ox, a lamb, and a kid; each of the two last one year old; the former may be older; but they must all be males. These being killed, the priests sprinkle the altar with the blood; then having dissected the victim, and sprinkled it with salt, they lay it on the altar, where a fire is already kindled; after which, having cleaned the feet and intestines, they are laid with the rest. The skins are the perquisites of the priests. Such is the form of the burnt-offering, or *holocaust*.

A peace-offering. Levit. iii.

In sacrifices of peace-offering, or thanksgiving, the victims are of the same kind; but they may be more than a year old, and of different genders. When these are offered, the altar is sprinkled with blood; but the reins and caul, and all the fat, with the lobe of the liver, together with the tail of the lamb, are laid upon the altar. The breast, and right shoulder, are reserved for the entertainment of the priests: but what remains may be eaten during two days by the offerers, and the rest must be consumed by fire. The same ceremony is observed in sacrifices for sins: but those who cannot purchase larger victims, may offer two young pigeons or turtles; one of which becomes the perquisite of the priest, and the other is consumed.

A sin-offering.

A sacrifice of ignorance.

Those who sin through ignorance, offer a lamb and a female kid, of the same age. The priest besprinkles the altar with the blood, but not in the same

manner as before, confining it to the extremities, or horns of the altar. The perquisites of the priests, in this case, are the skins, and the flesh, which they must eat the same day in the tabernacle, as they are prohibited from reserving any thing for the ensuing day. He who is conscious of a sin, though unknown to others; is to bring a ram, to be eaten by the priests in the tabernacle the same day. Heads of tribes, making sacrifice for their own sins, offer in the same manner as private men, excepting that they bring a bull and a male kid.

Willful sin.

In sacrifices, both private and public, the finest flour was to be used: to a lamb, the measure of an epharon; to a ram, two; to a bullock, three. The flour is first mixed with oil; and then consecrated upon the altar. Those who sacrifice bring with them oil in proportion to the victim; for an ox, the half of an hin; for a ram, a third; and for a lamb, a fourth. They present wine in the same proportion as oil, and sprinkle it about the altar. If any person, without sacrificing, and only to accomplish a vow, brings fine flour, a small handful is put upon the altar, and the rest becomes the perquisite of the priest; but whatever the priest offers must be burned. It is forbidden to sacrifice the young of any beast with its dam, and also till it is eight days old. There are other sacrifices for the cure of maladies, where cakes are eaten with the victims; but nothing must be reserved till the next morning, after the priests have taken such parts as law allots them.

Laws for feasts and sacrifices.

CHAP. X.

Manner of celebrating festivals, with an account of divers solemnities.

ACCORDING to positive command, a lamb of a year old must be daily offered at the public charge; one in the morning, and the other in the evening: but two were to be sacrificed on the seventh, or sabbath-day, at the times stated above. Upon the solemnities of the new moons, besides the daily offerings, they present seven lambs of a year's growth, a ram, and a kid, as an expiation of those sins of omission, which happen through forgetfulness. Upon the seventh month (which the Macedonians call *Hyperberetus*) in addition to the above mentioned are offered a bullock, one sheep, seven lambs, and a kid. On the tenth of the same month they fast till evening, and sacrifice the same day a young bullock, two rams, seven lambs, and a goat for a sin offering. Besides these, two kids are brought, one of which is sent into the desert, as a scape-goat, or general expiation for sin: the other is carried a short space from the tents, and by fire reduced to ashes. In like manner they sacrifice the bullock, which is not produced at the public charge, but at the expence of the high priest. After the death, the blood both of the bullock and kid, being conveyed into the tabernacle, the priest sprinkles the cover, with his fingers dipped in it, seven times, upwards and downwards; and taking the remainder into the court, he pours it about the great altar. The high priest also presents a ram for a burnt-offering.

Numb. xxviii. & xxix.

Upon the fifteenth day of the same month (winter now approaching) the people were commanded to pitch their tents contiguous to each other, as more convenient during the extremity of the inclement season. On their arrival in the promised land, they were to repair to the metropolis as the seat of the holy temple, and there to celebrate a festival for the space of eight days, and offer oblations of various kinds unto the Almighty, bearing in their hands a bundle, composed of myrtle, willow, palm, and citron.

On the first of these eight days they were to sacrifice thirteen oxen, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a kid, for a sin-offering. The number of the lambs and rams, with the goat, were to be the same for six days; but one bullock was to be abated daily, till the number was reduced to seven. The eighth was to be a day of rest, and observed as before described. This was the Feast of Tabernacles upon the Hebrews erecting their tents, and is constantly observed by our nation.

In the month *Xanthicus*, (with us *Nisan*,) which commences the year on the fourteenth day after the

Levit. xxiii. Numb. ix. Dent. xvi.

new

The Passover.

The feast of unleavened bread.

The first fruits.

The feast of Pentecost.

new moon, the sun being then in the first sign of the Zodiac, called Aries, we are commanded to solemnize an anniversary sacrifice, called *pascho*, in commemoration of our deliverance out of Egypt. This feast is celebrated in tribes, without any reserve of what is offered. It is succeeded by that of the *azymes*, or unleavened bread, which commences the fifteenth, and continues seven days, during which are diurnally sacrificed two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, for a burnt-offering, which are all consumed by fire; to which is added a kid as a sin-offering, as a donation to the priests.

On the second day of this festival they begin to taste of the fruits of the earth, which, though gathered the preceding harvest season, remain till that time untouched. But previous to this, as a token of their gratitude to that Being from whom they derive every mercy, they offer the first fruits of the barley, in the following manner: having dried a handful of the ears, and, by beating, cleaned it from the chaff, they offer an assaron of the same upon the altar, leaving the rest for the use of the priests. After this ceremony they are allowed to avail themselves of the produce of the harvest at discretion. With these first fruits they likewise present a lamb for a holocaust.

Seven weeks (or forty-nine days) being elapsed after the passover, upon the fiftieth day, which the Hebrews call *assartha*, (of the same signification as *pentecost*, a fiftieth,) they offered two assarons of leavened bread made of the finest flour, and two lambs as a sacrifice. These being solely oblations to the Deity, after the ceremony devolve to the priests, who make a reserve of them to the next day. The burnt-offerings consisted of three calves, two rams, and fourteen lambs, besides two kids for a sin-offering. No festival is celebrated without a burnt-offering, and desisting from manual labour, and all their forms and ceremonies are prescribed by laws. The unleavened bread, composed of twenty-four assarons of fine flour, was furnished at the public charge. The loaves are prepared the day before the sabbath, and in the morning are placed upon the sacred table, in the same order, and devoted in the same manner, as before described. The incense being cast into the sacred fire in which the burnt-offerings were consumed, fresh was supplied upon fresh loaves. The high priest, at his own charge, offered twice a day of the finest flour, mixed with oil, and a little hardened by fire. The measure of the flour is an assaron. But of these ceremonies I shall treat more largely on a future occasion.

CHAP. XI.

Purification, with its particular laws, forms, and ceremonies.

Numb. iii. The tribe of Levi set apart to minister to the priests in holy things.

Levit. xiii. 14. Persons clean and unclean.

MOSESES, having separated the tribe of Levi, as selected for the immediate service of God, purified them with spring water and sacrifices adapted to the occasion. To their charge he committed the tabernacle with its appurtenances, and appointed them to minister to the priests, being consecrated and set apart to that office. An ordinance was likewise established, respecting abstinence from certain living creatures. The eating of blood was most solemnly prohibited, as containing the very life of the animal; as was also the flesh of beasts that died of themselves, together with the caul of goats, sheep, or oxen. Leprous persons were separated from society. Women, at certain temporary returns, were restricted from male intercourse for the space of seven days. Those who assisted at funerals were debarred from converse for the same space. In a word, such as laboured under any infection, or had rendered themselves by any means unclean and obnoxious, were either subject to certain modes of purification, or secluded from society. Those who recovered from leprosy, or any infectious diseases, were enjoined to testify their gratitude, by offering oblations according to the best of their abilities.

This proves the envy and fallacy of a fabulous report that Moses fled out of Egypt, because he was

infected with a leprosy; and that the Hebrews, whom he conducted towards the land of Canaan, laboured, in general, under that disease: for, had that been the case, Moses would not have formed a law that reflected disgrace on himself, or countenanced such a law if proposed by another. Besides, in many other nations, persons infected with that disease are not only exempt from the injunctions laid upon the Hebrews, but admitted to offices of the first dignity, both in the army and the state, as well as to religious privileges in general. Furthermore, admitting that Moses had been infected according to this report, he might have introduced causes in particular statutes to obviate the odium and penalty annexed to the same. It is therefore evident that malice is the source of this obloquy, and that the statutes were ordained from laudable motives. But let every man judge for himself.

Vindication of Moses.

Women, after delivery of a male child, were forbidden the temple for forty days. On their entrance they were to present their oblations, of which one part was consecrated, and the other belonged to the priests.

Levit. xii. Laws for women in childbirth.

If any man suspected his wife of adultery, he was to bring an assaron of barley meal, and casting an handful upon the altar, the rest was reserved for the priests. Then one of the priests, placing the woman in the porch opposite the temple, and uncovering her head, writes the sacred name of the Deity on a parchment, and causes her to swear, with deadly imprecations on herself if perjured, that she has not violated her chastity: but if the suspicion arises thro' excess of love or jealousy, to implore that in ten months after she may bring forth a son. After this solemnity the priest dips the parchment in water to erase the sacred name, pours it into a phial, and then taking some of the dust of the temple, and mingling it with the same, gives it to the woman to drink. If she has been unjustly accused, she should prove pregnant, and bring forth a child; but if guilty, she should die an ignominious death. These are the laws prescribed by Moses concerning sacrifices and purifications. Those respecting other particulars are as follow.

For adultery or jealousy.

CHAP. XII.

Various laws respecting adultery, incest, and the marriage of priests. Cessation from tillage every seventh year. The year of jubilee. Customs of war. Disposition of the army. Uses of the trumpets of silver.

ADULTERY was most solemnly prohibited, conjugal fidelity being justly deemed the basis of social happiness, as well as most effectual security of the property and interest of the state in general, and of private families in particular. Incest, deviations from the laws of decency, and unnatural propensities in general, were likewise strictly forbidden; and those who transgressed were severely punished.

But the priests were enjoined to observe laws more rigid (a) than the people in common, being commanded to abstain not only from enormous crimes, but interdicted from marrying women cast off, or such as were prisoners, that had dwelt in any house of common reception, or had been divorced from any cause whatever. The high-priest was not permitted even to marry a widow, (though lawful for the other priests,) but had liberty only to take a virgin to wife. He was also forbidden to approach a dead person, whilst other priests were allowed to see their deceased relatives.

Particular restrictions on the priests.

Priests, in general, were to be men of integrity, of manners, and of sound body. If any one received an accidental blemish, he was allowed his portion with the other priests, but not permitted to minister in holy things. Purity was not only enjoined them in the performance of their sacred functions, but they were to preserve a rectitude of manners throughout their general conduct. Those, therefore, who entered on the sacerdotal office, were to be men chaste and abstemious. They were forbidden the use of wine in

(a) These words of Josephus are remarkable, that the Law-giver of the Jews required of the priest a double degree of purity in comparison of that required of the people, of which he

gives several instances. This was also the case amongst the first Christians, of the clergy in comparison of the laity, as the apostolical constitutions and canons every where inform us.

their vestments, and were to offer up entire sacrifices without any defect.

These laws were to be observed during their continuance in the desert; but there were others that were not to take place till they should enter into possession of the land of Canaan. Every seventh year the earth was neither tilled or planted, as the people ceased from labour every seventh day. The spontaneous product was to be common without reservation, for the use of strangers as well as natives. The same decree was to take effect at the expiration of seven times seven years; and the year following being the fiftieth, was called, by the Hebrews, jubilee or liberty. All debtors, on this occasion, were to be released from imprisonment; bondmen, enjoined to servitude for transgressions of the laws, were to be set free; and all lands were to be restored to their first proprietors after this manner. Upon the approach of the jubilee, the seller and purchaser met together, and took an estimate of the profits and expences that had been derived from and laid out on the land. If the former exceeded the latter, the seller immediately received possession; but if the contrary appeared, the purchaser, on satisfaction made him for the deficiencies, reinstated the seller in his property. If the profits and expences were equal, restitution was made to the antient possessor. The same law held good with respect to houses; for if the seller, within the space of the year, refunded the purchase money, the buyer restored him the premises; but if the year was expired, and the money not deposited, it became the legal property of the purchaser. These laws Moses received from the Divine intimation upon Mount Sinai, and they were by him communicated to the Hebrews for their due observation.

All matters relative to civil government being thus adjusted, Moses turned his thoughts to such concerns as respected the army. He issued a mandate to all the heads of tribes (that of Levi excepted) to muster, and make a report of all who were able to bear arms, in consequence of which they were found to amount to six hundred and three thousand and upwards, between the years of twenty and fifty. In the place of Levi (whose tribe was exempt from military engagements) he raised Manasses, the son of Joseph, as leader, and for Joseph substituted

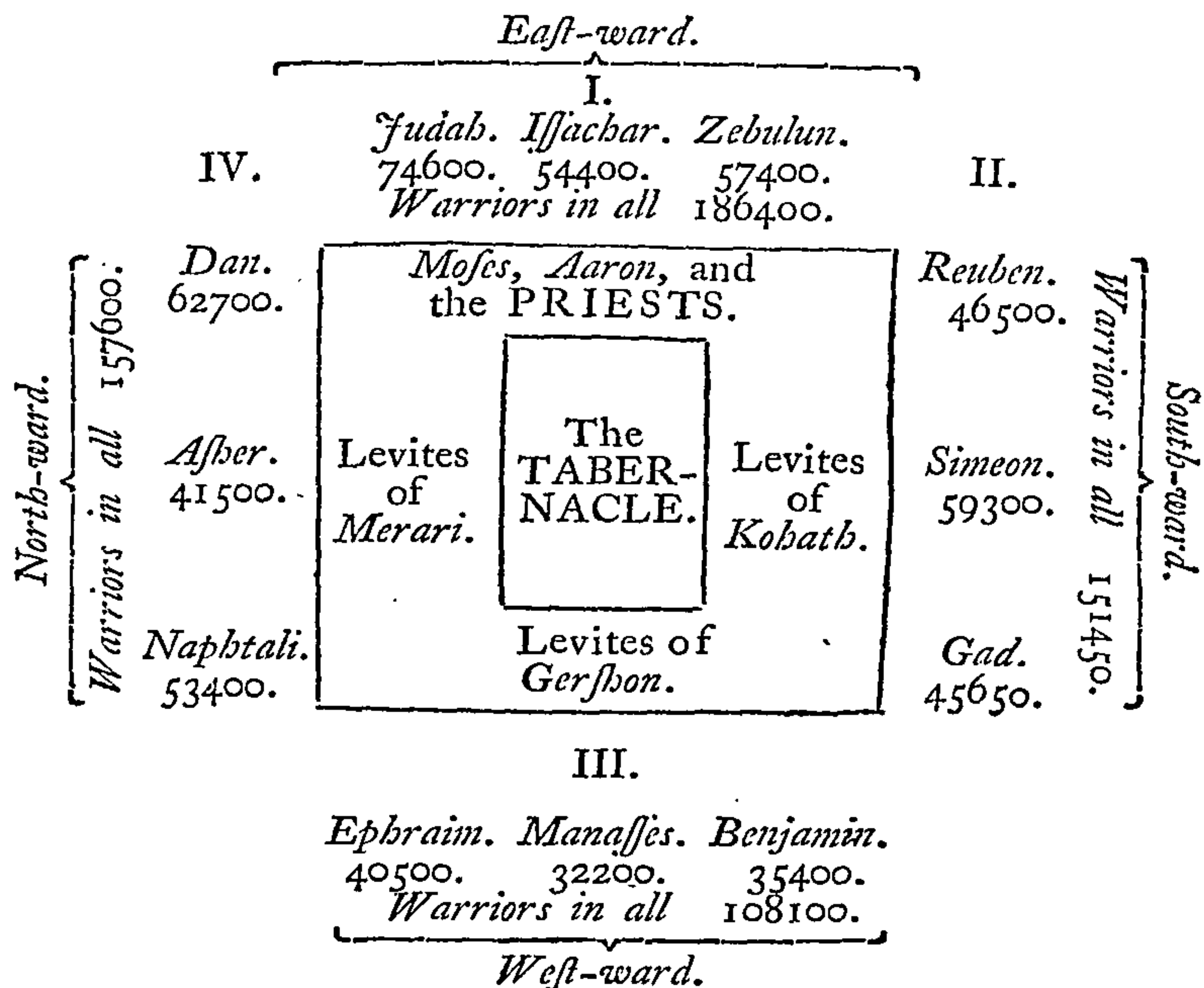
Ephraim. For Jacob, as before observed, obtained of Joseph a right to his sons by adoption.

While the army was encamped (a) the tabernacle was pitched in the center, and guarded by three tribes, who took their respective stations. Between them were left spaces to pass and repass. They had likewise a market, and goods exposed to sale by artizans of the different occupations, so that it resembled a trading city. The priests were assigned their posts round about the tabernacle, and next to them the Levites (for of them there were, by computation, males, exceeding the age of thirty, 23,880) as they officiated as assistants in holy concerns. During the time that the cloud hovered over the tabernacle, in token of the Divine presence, the people remained in the same places, and moved as they were directed by the cloud.

Moses invented a trumpet, made of silver, according to this model: in length it was almost a cubit; it was a little thicker than a flute; the pipe was strait; and the cavity, which was to convey and receive the wind, ended in the form of a bell, like trumpets in common. It is called, in the Hebrew language, a *sophra*. There were two of these trumpets made; one was to call the people to general assemblies, and the other to summon the heads of the tribes to hold consultation on the affairs of state; but at the sound of both, the princes, or heads, and the people, were to assemble in general.

The tabernacle was moved in this solemn order: On the first alarm of the trumpet, those who were encamped towards the east dislodged; on the next those to the southward; then the tabernacle was unfixed, and carried in the center, between six tribes in the front, and six in the rear, all the Levites officially attending. At the third alarm those to the westward moved; and at the fourth those on the north followed them. These trumpets were also used on sacred occasions, both on the sabbath and other days. Then also was the first passover celebrated by our ancestors, after that in the desert, in commemoration of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

The whole form, order, and mode of encampment of the Israelites, with the disposition of the twelve tribes, and the respective numbers of each, will be seen, at one view, by the following table.



(a) Each of these camps had its peculiar banner or standard, and each standard its motto or inscription. Each standard had likewise a distinct figure marked on it. Reuben's standard had the figure of a man; Judah's, of a lion; Ephraim, of an ox; and Dan's, that of an eagle. The same four creatures are used by the prophet Ezekiel in the description of his first vision. Every cherub is said to have had four faces; the face of a man, to shew his understanding; of a lion, to shew his power; of an ox, to shew his ministerial office; and of an eagle, to shew his swift-

ness in the execution of God's will. Under the same four, in the opinion of the Fathers, are represented the four Evangelists. The Man represents St. Matthew, because he begins his Gospel with the generation of Christ; the Lion, St. Mark, because he begins his Gospel from the voice of the lion roaring in the wilderness; the Ox, St. Luke, because he begins with Zacharias, the priest; and the Eagle, St. John, who, soaring aloft, beginneth with the divinity of Christ.

CHAP. XIII.

Sedition against Moses. Hebrews obtain relief. Punished for mutiny.

The people become sedition against Moses for want of food.

Second miracle of quails.

SOON after the Hebrews left Mount Sinai, and, after a few stations by the way, they arrived at a place called Jeremoth. There the people again began to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the hardships they had encountered in their travels; charging him with having persuaded them to leave a fertile country, and now reduced them to a necessity of wandering about in a state of misery and want, inasmuch, that they had not water to drink, and should it happen that manna failed them, they must inevitably perish. Whilst they were loading him with the bitterest invectives, notwithstanding his consummate abilities, one of the multitude stepped forth, and exhorted them to regard him with gratitude for the wonders he had done for them, nor ever despair of the aid and assistance of the Almighty. But this friendly admonition incensed them the more, and increased their spleen against Moses, who, nevertheless, encouraged them in their despairing situation, and assured them that, notwithstanding the obloquy he had received at their hands, he would procure for them a store of provisions, not for one, but for many days. When they remained incredulous, and one of them asked whence he could raise provision for so numerous a body, he answered, "The great God and his servant, notwithstanding your reproaches, will never cease to be careful for you, as you will shortly perceive." Scarce had he spoken this, when the camp was covered with quails, (a) of which they took great numbers. However they were soon punished for their insolent reproaches, by so great a (b) plague amongst them, that the place retains the memory of their destruction to this day, and is called Cabrothaba, or Kibroth-hattavah; or, *The Sepulchres of concupiscence.*

CHAP. XIV.

Spies sent to Canaan. Multitude differently affected by their report. Mutiny against Moses. Appeased by Caleb and Joshua. Moses and Aaron intercede for the people. Their prayers heard.

Numb. xiii. 14.

WHEN Moses had conducted the Hebrews from thence to a place called Pharan, or the Straits, upon the confines of Canaan, he summoned the heads to a council, and thus addressed them. "Of the two great benefits, liberty and the possession of an happy country, promised you by the God of truth, you already enjoy the one, and the other will speedily follow. We are now on the borders of Canaan, nor can the force of united nations deprive us of the acquisition of it. Let us, therefore, prepare for a vigorous exertion, as we cannot expect that the inhabitants will resign their title without resistance, or that we should obtain a conquest without resolution. My counsel is, that certain spies be sent out to survey the country, and the strength of the inhabitants. But above all things let me recommend unanimity, and a firm reliance on the power and protection of the Almighty."

Spies are sent to the land of Canaan.

The proposal of Moses met with general approbation, and twelve men of the first rank, one out of each tribe, were appointed as spies. Having surveyed the land of Canaan from the borders of Egypt, they came to mount Libanus, and having explored the nature of the soil, as well as the inhabitants, they returned after an absence of forty days. They

(a) Commentators have differed in their opinions what this food was, which we translate *quails*; some endeavouring to prove that our translation is right, whilst others attempt to shew, that, instead of *quails*, the word should have been rendered *locusts*. The original term implies both; and perhaps both were sent at the same time. They complained for want of variety, and therefore God might give them the variety they lusted after. The Psalmist seems to favour this interpretation, when he says, that God rained flesh upon them as thick as dust, and feathered fowls as the sand of the sea, Psal. lxxviii. 27.

(b) Or, as some writers say, the leprosy, which proceeds from

brought with them samples of the fruits of the land, pointed out their excellence, and gave so pleasing an account of the country in general, as to inspire the people with resolution to engage in a contest. But they were dismayed on the other hand by the difficulty of the acquisition, being informed that the rivers were so wide and deep as to be impassable, and the mountains so steep as to be inaccessible; also that their cities were strongly fortified with walls and bulwarks. They also reported that, in Hebron, they had found the posterity of the giants. Upon the whole the spies, intimidated themselves, represented the difficulties and horrors they had encountered in such a light, as struck the multitude with consternation; so that giving up the conquest as impracticable, they dissolved the assembly, and returned home to their wives and children deploring their fate, as if the great Arbiter of all things had promised that which would never be effected. They also blamed Moses, and reviled both him and his brother Aaron, the high priest. They passed the night in disquiet and reproaches, and in the morning re-assembled in a tumultuous manner, with an intention (c) to stone both Moses and Aaron, and then return to Egypt.

The multitude at first encouraged, but afterwards dismayed, at the report of the spies.

Another mutiny against Moses, with a resolution of returning to Egypt.

Caleb and Joshua endeavour to appease the people.

Moses and Aaron intercede for them. Their prayers prevail.

But two of the spies, Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, fearful of the consequences of these tumults, rushed into the midst of the multitude, whom they endeavoured to appease, by desiring them not to despair of the accomplishment of the Divine promises, from any rumours that had been spread respecting the situation of affairs in Canaan, and exhorting them to attend to those who would be the principal agents in bringing about the expected event. "For (continued they) neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, can deter men of valour from the attempt, especially when they rely on the Divine aid. Let us, therefore, go forward without dismay, and in full confidence of victory, having the arm of Omnipotence to protect and defend us." Thus did they endeavour at once to appease the multitude, and inspire them with resolution; whilst Moses and Aaron, falling prostrate, humbly besought the Almighty, not for their own safety, but that he would be pleased to restore the despairing people to a quiet mind, who were now in such a state of tumult and disorder. The cloud then appeared, and resting upon the tabernacle, gave testimony of the Divine Presence.

CHAP. XV.

Moses foretells that the Israelites should wander in the desert forty years. They repent. Instances of the authority of Moses.

MOSES now boldly presented himself to the multitude, and informed them, that the Almighty, provoked at their outrages, was determined to punish them; not, indeed, according to their deserts, but as tender parents chastised their children. For, that while he continued in the tabernacle, and besought Him in their behalf, he had recounted the benefits conferred upon them, and the many instances of their ingratitude and disobedience, particularly in giving more credit to the report of the spies than to his promise; for which cause, though he would not exterminate their whole race, (whom he had preferred to the rest of mankind,) yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its abundance, but would cause them to wander in the desert for forty years; promising, at the same time, to their children, the possession and enjoyment of those good things, which they had forfeited by their murmuring and disobedience."

A denouncing prediction.

a precarious and ill disposition of the blood and juices; but the more immediate cause is an infinity of small imperceptible worms, that insinuate themselves between the flesh and the skin, which prey upon the scarf skin, then upon the inner skin, and afterwards upon the extremities of the nerves and muscles, from whence arises a total corruption of the whole mass of blood.

(c) From this design it appears evident that the children of Israel were very obdurate hard hearted wretches; for, although God was daily working miracles in their sight, yet they would not believe, nor would they trust in him.

When

Repentance
and submis-
sion of the
people.

Character of
Moses. His
authority
complete,
ample, and
perpetual.

When Moses had communicated these particulars, the people were greatly affected, and entreated him to procure their reconciliation with the offended Majesty of Heaven, that they might not continue to lead a wandering life, but be indulged with a permanent residence. But he replied, that this was inadmissible; for the Almighty was not incensed against them after the manner of men, but had, for his own wise ends, denounced that punishment which could not be averted. Nor is it improbable that Moses, though but a single individual, should pacify such multitudes; for he was assisted by Power Divine, which now wrought the people into a persuasion, that all their calamities were the effect of their contumacy and disobedience.

But Moses was as admirable for his virtue and prevailing influence over the minds and conduct of men, not only during his natural life, but remains so in these our days, as there is not one of the Hebrews but holds himself as much bound to obey his ordinances and institutions now, as if he were actually present with them. There are many reasons to suppose that his power was more than human. Amongst others, when certain strangers have travelled from parts beyond the Euphrates, at immense charge and great peril, to honour our temple and offer sacrifice,

they were not permitted to partake of the victims, because Moses had forbidden it, from their being disqualified. Some have not sacrificed at all, while others have left their sacrifices unfinished; and many more have been forbidden access to the temple, chusing rather to adhere to the institutions of Moses, than in any one instance indulge their inclinations, and that from motives truly conscientious. Thus did the legislation of Moses appear to be truly Divine.

As another instance, a little before the wars of the Jews, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ishmael was an high priest, so great a famine prevailed, that an assaron of meal was sold for four drachms; and there was brought to the festival of Azymes the quantity of seventy *corus*, (which are equal to thirty-one Sicilian, and forty-one Athenian *medimni*), yet not one of the priests would touch a grain of it, notwithstanding the general distress, and that from an awful dread of the Divine punishment of sin, whatever plea might be urged by the offender.

The singular events of former times, therefore, should not excite our wonder, when we consider that the writings of Moses are in such force even to this day, that our professed enemies acknowledge our government and laws were instituted by God himself, and that through the means of his chosen servant.

End of the THIRD BOOK.



FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK IV.

[Including a Period of about Thirty-eight Years.]

CHAP. I.

The Hebrews wage war with the Canaanites without taking counsel from Moses, and are defeated.

The deli-
beration of
the He-
brews, whe-
ther they
should at-
tack the
Canaanites
in oppo-
sition to the
Divine au-
thority.

A dangerous
mutiny.

THE troubles and afflictions both of body and mind, to which the Hebrews were continually exposed in the desert, rendered them so desperate, that, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the Almighty, and the most powerful dissuaves of Moses, they determined on a war against the Canaanites, alledging, that God would vouchsafe them his aid, not out of regard to the intercession of Moses, but the especial favour he had shewn their nation from the time of their forefathers, whose virtues he had ever rewarded by singular interpositions of his providence. They had also a presumptuous reliance on their own strength and abilities, though Moses should endeavour to counteract their efforts. Indeed, they seemed to have imbibed a general opinion, that it would redound to their interest to establish a form of government amongst themselves; and that though Moses had been, in some degree, accessary to their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, it did not follow that they were under an obligation of submitting to his tyrannical impositions, as if God had communicated his will and pleasure concerning them from a partial attachment to him. The leaders of this design took care also to insinuate, that as they were all the posterity of Abraham, his vanity and pride were highly censurable, in affecting a foreknowledge of events that should happen to them from Divine intimation peculiar to himself, and that therefore it would be prudent in them to oppose his arrogant pretences, place their sole confidence in the Almighty, for obtaining possession of the country he had promised them, and, from a consideration of the calamities under which they still groaned, immediately proceed to a contest with the Canaanites, depending on the aid of Omnipotence, without the interference of any legislator.

This proposal being universally approved, as the wisest expedient, they sallied forth against their enemies, who not being the least intimidated, either by the attack, or the multitudinous body which made it, resisted so valiantly, that the Hebrews were routed with great slaughter, compelled to a most ignominious flight, and pursued even to their very camp. This unexpected overthrow reduced them to a state of desperation, as from thence they concluded it was inflicted as a punishment from the Almighty, for embarking in an enterprize without his counsel and approbation.

The Canaanites put the Hebrews to flight. Their overthrow a just judgment.

When Moses observed the desponding situation of his countrymen, and that the enemy were elated with their victory, he deemed it proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness, to a farther distance from the Canaanites. The people now resigned themselves up to his guidance, conscious that without him their affairs could not prosper. They accordingly decamped, and retired into the desert, resolving not to make a farther attempt against their enemies, before they were favoured with due intimation of the Divine will.

Moses withdraws the people into the desert.

But as it often happens amongst promiscuous multitudes, especially upon ill success, that the herd grows headstrong and disobedient to command, so it was with respect to the Hebrews upon this occasion; for amounting in number to six hundred thousand, and even in their better fortunes, having been refractory to their governors, they were now more exasperated by their distresses. This occasioned a sedition, of which there cannot be adduced a similar instance amongst the Greeks, or even Barbarians. It would have proved destructive, had not Moses, forgetting their designs on his life, interposed in their behalf. Nor were they totally abandoned by that Almighty power which had so often protected them; and now, notwithstanding the indignities they offered their law-giver, and their disobedience to the Divine commands, delivered them from that danger into which they brought themselves by their mutiny and rebellion, as will appear from the sequel.

The soldiers mutiny; yet Moses interposes in their behalf.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Sedition of Corah and the multitude against Moses and his brother Aaron, concerning the priesthood. Corah raises a mutiny, and detaches many of the leaders from Moses, who addresses them upon that occasion.

CORAH, an Hebrew of great wealth and influence, and famous for his eloquence, becoming jealous of the dignity to which Moses had attained, raised a clamour against him amongst the Levites, who were of the same tribe, by suggesting to them, in an occasional harangue, "That it redounded to their dishonour thus tamely to suffer Moses, under pretence of the Divine command, to retain an unlimited authority, vest the priesthood in his brother Aaron without their suffrages, and bestow places of honour and profit at pleasure. He added, that these measures were the more oppressive and grievous, as founded on the arts of sophistry and insinuation; that those who are conscious of deserving posts of dignity, endeavour to obtain them not by force, but mild persuasion; that it was the interest of a state to check the ambition of such aspiring individuals, before they acquired an influence that might prove destructive." He demanded by what authority Moses had conferred the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? enforced his own title as superior to theirs, both by descent and property; that if it was the will of God, it should be vested in the tribe of Levi; and concluded with observing, that if the honour appertained to the most ancient of the tribes, that of Reuben should enjoy it, in which cases it would fall to the lot of Dathan, Abiram, or Peleth, as claimants from antiquity and opulence."

This address of Corah might have had the semblance of public virtue; but it was dictated by interested principles, to raise a tumult, and obtrude himself into the office of the priesthood. In a short time, indeed, it had, in some degree, the desired effect; for the opinions he advanced being industriously propagated by his party, as well as exaggerated by report, those who were averse to the interest of Aaron, raised a party of two hundred and fifty to join in this conspiracy, wrest the priesthood from him, and transfer it to Corah. Nay, the multitude were so far prevailed on by these factious proceedings, that they attempted to stone Moses, and surrounded the tabernacle in tumultuous uproar, exclaiming, that the tyrant should be exterminated, who, under the pretext of the Divine command, had reduced them to a state of abject slavery; and adding, that if God had chosen one to the office of high priest, he would not have conferred it on a person who was far inferior to others; and also if it had been so decreed, Aaron would undoubtedly have obtained it by the suffrages of the people, and not the usurped authority of his brother.

Moses, conscious of his integrity, and that the appointment of his brother to the priesthood was pursuant to the Divine will, was by no means dismayed by the calumny of Corah, nor its effect upon the incensed multitude, in whose presence he thus addressed their factious leader.

"I readily grant (said he) that you, Corah, and your associates, are all worthy of honour; but I condemn not the rest of the assembly, though inferior to you in riches, and other endowments. Aaron was not appointed to the office of high priest for his wealth, (for you are more opulent,) nor for his nobility; for in that we are equal, as deriving our origin from the same progenitor. Nor have I deprived any man of his right in what I conferred on my brother. Nay, if I had not been actuated by becoming motives, I should have taken the office upon myself. Besides, it would have been the height of folly to expose myself to danger by an act of injustice, from which another might reap benefit, exclusive of myself; but far be from me such impiety and injustice. The Almighty

No. 5.

"would neither have suffered his honour to be thus violated, or you to have remained in such ignorance of what was acceptable to him. It was God who chose the priest: it is God who absolves me from the charge of criminality. But now admitting that Aaron holds the office by Divine appointment, without any partiality on my part, he shall rest his cause on your suffrages, without insisting upon the legality of what has passed, though with your approbation. This proposal is to convince you that ambition is not his motive, and that he is ready to part with his just right provided it could be the means of suppressing your seditions. It would have been highly impious to have refused an office of Divine appointment; so that the acceptance of it can be no just ground of offence. But as it is more reasonable that the donor should confirm the gift, let the matter be once again referred to the Divine appointment, and then you may abide by the person so chosen to the sacred function. Surely Corah would not be so presumptuous as to question the Divine right of appointing the office of high priest. One day, without farther controversy, will bring this point to an issue. Let all the claimants appear tomorrow with their censers in their hands, with fire and incense in them. You, Corah, must patiently wait the Divine determination, without presuming to arrogate a pre-eminence, but appear amongst the competitors. Nor do I see what should exclude Aaron from putting in his claim, as he hath hitherto maintained an unexceptionable character in the exercise of his function, and is also of the same tribe with yourself. When you are all together, you shall offer incense in the presence of the people; and let that person whose offerings shall be most acceptable in the sight of God, be declared and confirmed high priest. This will decide the point in dispute, and acquit me of the charge, as malevolently as falsely alledged against me."

CHAP. III.

Tremendous judgment on the authors of the sedition. The office of high priest confirmed to Aaron and his sons.

THIS address of Moses not only appeased the clamour of the multitude, but disposed them in his favour, as a person in every respect qualified to fill the character he represented; and hereupon the assembly separated.

The next day the people re-assembled to attend the sacrifice, and wait the event of the election, for which they were, in general, very solicitous, though attached to different interests. Some were tumultuous, and for proceeding in a riotous manner against Moses: but the wise and discreet part recommended peace and good order, persuaded that sedition and mutiny were subversive of all government, as the rabble are ever fond of novelty, and ready to revile their superiors, as well as receive and propagate slander upon every occasion.

Moses, however, summoned Dathan and Abiram to attend the issue of the sacrifice, and prefer their respective claims; but they absolutely refused, averring, that they would no longer submit to his usurped authority. Upon this answer Moses took some of the elders with him, and, notwithstanding his exalted station, went in person to these revolvers. When Dathan and his associate heard of the approach of Moses and the elders, they came out of their tents, with their wives and children, resolutely to wait for him, having their attendants at hand, in order to repel force by force, if necessity should require it. Moses proceeded quietly till he came to Dathan, when, lifting up his hands to heaven, he invoked the Almighty, in the hearing of the whole multitude, to the following effect:

"Almighty God, thou who art Lord of the Universe, the judge of all my actions, art witness that whatever I have done has been in perfect conformity to thy will; thou, who, in compassion to

Moses's appeal.

Num. xvi.

The people divided.

Disposition of the common people.

Dathan and Abiram summoned by Moses.

Disclaim his authority.

Moses goes to the faction attended by the elders.

Dathan and his companions await their approach.

Moses's solemn appeal to the Almighty.

"the Hebrews, hast been gracious to them, as well
 "as my constant support upon every occasion, hear
 "my prayer; thou, who knowest the secrets of all
 "hearts, vouchsafe to bring the truth to light, and
 "manifest the ingratitude of these men; thou
 "from whom nothing can be hidden, and to whom
 "is known every action of my life, do thou be
 "pleased to bear testimony to my innocence, against
 "those who revile and slander me. Thou knowest
 "that I quitted a quiet and comfortable life, which I
 "enjoyed through thy blessing upon my endeavours,
 "and the favour of my father-in-law, Jethro, for the
 "exchange of hazardous enterprizes, for the liberty
 "and security of these people. But now, since I am
 "become obnoxious to those who, by my means, have
 "been delivered from the extremest difficulties and
 "dangers; do thou, Lord, that didst appear to me
 "out of the fire upon mount Sinai, let me hear thy
 "voice, and be witness of thy Divine directions.
 "Thou, that didst honour me with an embassy into
 "Egypt, humbling the pride of the Egyptians, and
 "delivering the Hebrews out of their bondage;
 "thou, that laidst the power of Pharaoh at my feet,
 "turning the sea into dry land, and that dry land
 "into sea again, for the safety of thy people, and the
 "confusion of their enemies; thou, who gavest us
 "arms when we were defenceless, who madest the
 "bitter waters sweet and pleasant, and didst supply
 "us with water in extremity out of the rock, as well
 "as with food out of the sea, and meat from heaven;
 "thou, that didst lay the foundation of our govern-
 "ment, that art the judge of all things, avenge my
 "cause, and witness for me, that I have not been
 "corrupted to favour injustice, or espouse the in-
 "terest of a rich man to the oppression of a poor
 "one: yet I stand accused of partial administration,
 "as if I had confirmed the priesthood on my brother,
 "from motives of private affection, and not at thy
 "Divine command. Be pleased, therefore, to make
 "appear, that all things are disposed by thy pro-
 "vidence, and brought to pass, not by chance, but
 "thy special appointment. Testify thy wonted
 "kindness to the Hebrews, by inflicting condign
 "punishment on Dathan and Abiram, for suggesting
 "that thy purposes are opposed by my arts. Visit
 "these detractors from thy glory with exemplary
 "vengeance. Let the earth on which they tread
 "swallow them up, with their families and substance,
 "for the manifestation of thy power, and as an
 "example to posterity, not to think unworthily of
 "the Majesty of Heaven. But if the charge alledged
 "is proved against me, may these curses light on
 "mine own head, and my accusers be perfectly
 "happy. After thou hast punished the disobedient,
 "keep therest in peace, concord, and the observance
 "of thy commandments, since it is contrary to thy
 "justice to confound the innocent with the guilty."

Moses had scarcely uttered these words, inter-
 mixed with tears, when suddenly the earth was so
 convulsed, that the multitude were struck with hor-
 ror, and a dismal outcry was heard throughout all
 their tents. At length, with a dreadful noise, the
 ground opened, and swallowed up the seditious, with
 all their property, and immediately closed so exactly,
 that no sign of the rupture was to be seen.

Thus perished a seditious faction, as examples of
 the power and vengeance of the Most High. They
 fell unpitied by their own kindred: nay, the whole
 multitude rejoiced at this signal display of the Divine
 Justice, in the extermination of such obnoxious
 members of the state, such pests of their nation and
 society in general.

After the extinction of Dathan and his accom-
 plices, Moses summoned the candidates for the priest-
 hood, referring the people to the choice of that per-
 son whose sacrifice should be most acceptable unto
 God. There assembled upon the occasion two hun-
 dred and fifty persons, who, for the virtues of their
 ancestors, and their own merit, were held in esteem.
 With these stood forth Aaron and Corah, offering,
 before the tabernacle, the incense they brought in
 their censers, when suddenly appeared so fierce a fire
 as to exceed that of burning mountains, or the con-
 flagration of whole forests. It was astonishingly
 bright and flaming, and, beyond doubt, came from
 heaven, as no earthly materials could have produced

such a blaze. By the force of this fire, Corah, and
 his two hundred and fifty accomplices, were so totally
 consumed, that the least relic of their bodies was not
 to be found. Aaron alone remained untouched, as
 a certain evidence that it was the work of a Divine
 Power. Moses, to perpetuate the memory of this
 awful judgment, commanded Eleazar, the son of
 Aaron, to consecrate their censers, and fasten them
 to a brazen altar, as a warning to future generations
 not to presume to counteract the designs of the Most
 High. From these judgments it was evident, beyond
 a doubt, that Aaron obtained not the priesthood by
 sinister means, but by Divine appointment; so that
 he held it ever after, but not without a dispute con-
 cerning his title.

CHAP. IV.

*Various occurrences which befel the Hebrews in the de-
 sert, during the space of thirty-eight years. Regu-
 lations respecting the sacerdotal office, and other solemn
 concerns. Death of Mariam, the sister, and Aaron,
 the brother, of Moses.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the punishments in-
 flicted upon the abettors of the former faction,
 a new sedition arose, from an opinion which the
 people had imbibed, that the late judgments, ad-
 mitted by them as the effects of a Divine Power, were
 brought to pass merely for the sake of Moses. To
 him, therefore, they imputed these calamities, sug-
 gesting, that these men were not punished for their
 sins, but through the solicitation of Moses; as no
 crime could be alledged to their charge, unless their
 zeal for the service of God could be so called. That
 Moses availed himself of the destruction of the peo-
 ple, in confirming his brother in the priesthood, and
 entailing it upon his line, since it was certain none
 of the former candidates would presume to put
 themselves in competition. The kindred of the
 deceased embraced this opportunity of representing
 to the multitude the necessity of restraining the ex-
 orbitant power of Moses, which they might do easily
 and effectually.

Moses, to prevent the consequences of another tu-
 mult, convened the multitude, heard their grievances;
 and, without making reply, lest they should be more
 incensed, appointed the heads of the tribes to bring
 every one a rod, with the names of their tribes in-
 scribed upon them, promising that the priesthood
 should be vested in him, upon whose rod God should
 shew any particular sign. This proposal being ac-
 ceded to, they brought their rods, with the inscrip-
 tions as directed. Aaron brought his rod amongst
 the rest, on which was inscribed the name of the
 tribe of Levi. Moses laid all their rods in the ta-
 bernacle, and the next day produced them, which
 were easily known by the respective marks that were
 set upon them. They were found all to remain in
 the same form, that of Aaron excepted, which
 sprouted out with branches and buds, and what was
 more wonderful, bearing ripe almonds; the rod be-
 ing of the wood of the almond-tree. The people,
 amazed at this extraordinary spectacle, abated in
 their animosity towards Moses and Aaron, acknow-
 ledged the Divine interposition in favour of the lat-
 ter, admitted his right of election, thus confirmed a
 third time by the Divine approbation; an event that
 put a happy period to the factions and seditions which
 had prevailed amongst the Hebrews.

The tribe of Levi being dedicated to God's im-
 mediate service, were already exempted from military
 concerns; but lest worldly cares might divert them
 from due attention to the duties of their function,
 Moses ordained that, after the land of Canaan should,
 by the Divine aid, be conquered, forty-eight of the
 best cities should be allotted for the maintenance of
 the Levites, with two thousand cubits of land con-
 tiguous to the walls of the place. He moreover
 enjoined a tenth part of the yearly profits arising
 from the fruits of the earth, and collected from the
 whole body of the people, to be paid as a duty to
 the priests and Levites, which has been duly ob-
 served ever since. Having mentioned these matters,
 we

Dathan and
 Abiram, and
 their train,
 swallowed
 up.
 They fall
 unpitied by
 their rela-
 tions.

The choice
 put to se-
 cond trial.

Corah and
 his compa-
 nions con-
 sumed by
 fire.

A brazen
 altar erected
 for a memo-
 rial.

Numb. xi.

The He-
 brews im-
 pute all
 their cala-
 mities to
 Moses.

Moses ap-
 points the
 tribes to
 bring in
 their rods.

Aaron's
 rod bud-
 ded, and
 bore fruit.

Aaron's
 election
 further as-
 serted.

The Lev-
 ites were
 exempted
 from mil-
 itary ser-
 vice.

The tem-
 ple of the
 priests.

we shall now state what exclusively belongs to the priests themselves.

It was ordained; that, of the forty-eight cities before mentioned, the Levites should yield thirteen of them to the priests, and the tenth part of the fifths, besides the first fruits of all the products of the earth, as an offering to God. The firstling of all four-footed beasts allowed for sacrifice: if a male, it was to be delivered to the priests to sacrifice, to be afterwards eaten in the city with their family. For those which, by the law, were forbidden to be eat, the owner was to present a shekel and a half, instead of a firstling; and for the first-born of a man, five shekels. There was a duty also imposed upon wool and corn, the one from sheep-shearing, the other from baking of bread.

Of the Nazareens.

When those who are called Nazareens, and are bound, by a vow, neither to cut their hair, or to drink wine, have accomplished their vow, and present themselves to have their hair consecrated, whatever they offer in sacrifice belong to the priests. Those that call themselves *corban*, that is, by interpretation, *a gift*, when they desire to be discharged of their obligation and voluntary vow, they pay a duty to the priest of fifty shekels for a man, and thirty for a woman; and those who have not the means, must refer themselves to the discretion of the priest. Those who kill a beast for private use, and not for sacrifice, were to allow the priest the breast and the right shoulder. This is the allotment by Moses to the priests, besides the sin-offering, as mentioned in the foregoing book. It was likewise ordained, that the wives, children, and servants of the priests, should have a share in all contributions, except the sin-offering, of which only those priests who officiate were to partake, and that in the tabernacle in the very same day.

The sedition crushed, Moses decamped, and desires a passage through Idumæa.

Affairs being thus settled, and the mutiny appeased, Moses removed the camp to the borders of Idumæa, having dispatched ambassadors to the king to grant his troops a free passage through his country, on condition of peaceable behaviour, and paying for whatever provision they might require. But the king refused to comply with the requisition, and drew up an army to oppose him, if he should offer to force his way. Moses sought Divine counsel; and being prohibited from making the first attack, took his way through the desert.

The death of Mariam, the sister of Moses.

At this time died Mariam (a), the sister of Moses, the fortieth year after their departure out of Egypt, and in the beginning of the month Xanthicus. She was magnificently interred, at the public charge, on a mountain called Sin; and, after thirty days mourning, Moses caused the people to be purified, in this manner: The high priest took a young red heifer, without blemish, into a very clean place, a little way from the camp, where he killed it, dipped his finger seven times in the blood, and therewith sprinkled the tabernacle. He then put the whole heifer into the fire, skin, entrails, and all, casting in a stick of cedar, a little hyssop, and scarlet wool. A young man, of unspotted chastity, gathered up the ashes, and put them in a clean place. Those who stood in need of purification, either from having touched a dead body, or assisted at a funeral, had only to cast some of those ashes into spring water, dip a branch of hyssop in it, and sprinkle themselves with it on the third and the seventh days. Moses ordained, that this ceremony of purification should be used when the Hebrews should be put in possession of the promised land.

Form of Purification

Moses marches through the desert into Arabia.

These forms having been observed for the death of his sister, Moses led them through the desert into Arabia, and arrived at the metropolis formerly called Aree, now Petra, where there was a very high mountain. Aaron being foretold by his brother that his dissolution approached, ascended this mountain, divested himself of his priestly robes, which he delivered to his son Eleazar as his successor in office, and gave up the ghost there, in the sight of the whole

Death of Aaron.

multitude, in the 123d year of his age, and in the first moon of the month of August, called, by the Athenians, Hacatombæon; by the Macedonians, Lous; by the Hebrews, Sabba; and by the Romans, Augustus. His sister also departed this life in the same year.

CHAP. V.

Moses obtains a conquest over the kings Sehon and Og, and distributes their possessions, by lot, to two tribes and a half of the Hebrews.

AFTER the funeral (b) obsequies for his brother were past (which continued thirty days) Moses decamped, and pitched his tents near the river Arnon, that springs from the mountains of Arabia, and running through the desert, empties itself into the lake Asphaltitis, dividing the country of the Moabites from that of the Amorites. This country is very fruitful. Numb. xxi.

Moses sent a very respectful message to Sehon, king of the Amorites, requesting permission to pass through his territories, with assurance that the inhabitants should not be molested, and that all expences incurred should be duly discharged. Sehon refused him, and marched his forces to the banks of the river, to oppose the passage of the Hebrews. Moses sends an embassy to Sehon, king of the Amorites.

When Moses found the Amorites disposed to hostility, and considered that the Hebrews, through idleness and want, might again relapse into their former seditious spirit, he sought the Divine will whether he should force his passage by the sword.

Having not only obtained permission, but assurance of victory, he animated the army to such a degree, that, without hesitation, they marched up, and charged the enemy with the utmost resolution. Sehon, and his troops, notwithstanding their former defiance of the Hebrews, were now struck with consternation. Their only hope was in flight, and the security of their fortified places: but this was vain; for, at the first onset, they were routed, fled in the greatest confusion before the Hebrews, who, being alert, and light armed, as well as expert in the use of their slings and darts, reached those they could not otherwise overtake, and cut off vast numbers at the river, where they stopped to quench their thirst, and amongst the rest Sehon, their king. The victory, in fine, was decisive. The Hebrews obtained a prodigious booty, as well as abundance of corn, as the harvest was not yet gathered in. Indeed they ran sacked the country without controul, as they met with no resistance, and had only to enjoy the fruits of their conquest. The Hebrews attack and defeat the Amorites.

Thus were the Amorites destroyed, being destitute both of conduct and courage, either to prevent or oppose the fatal attack. The Hebrews, of course, became masters of their country, which is a kind of peninsula betwixt three rivers; Arnon on the south, Jaboc (that falls into the Jordan) on the north, and the Jordan itself on the west. Sehon, their king, slain.

In their prosperous situation the Hebrews had yet another enemy to encounter. This was Og, king of Galadene, and of Gaulonitis, who was marching to the relief of Sehon, his ally. Though informed, on his way, of the attack and total defeat, he determined to put the matter to the issue of another effort; but he was fatally disappointed, for he fell himself, and his army was totally cut off. The Hebrews possess the land of the Amorites.

Moses, after this victory, passed the river Jaboc, and, entering Og's dominions, laid all waste before him. The inhabitants were opulent and powerful: their king was brave and resolute, as well as of enormous bulk and stature, as appeared from the dimensions of his bed, found in his palace at Rabatha. The frame was of iron; was four cubits in breadth, and nine in length. This success was not only attended with present advantages to the Hebrews, but laid the

Og and his army cut off.

(a) Mariam was the eldest of the three, and was near an hundred and thirty years old. Eusebius assures us, that, in his time, her tomb was found at Kadesh, a small distance from Petra, the capital of Arabia. Several of the ancients are of opinion, that she died a virgin, and that she was the legislatrix and

governess of the Hebrew women, as Moses was the legislator of the men.

(b) Aaron was buried on the spot where he died, it being the ancient custom to bury persons of eminence in high places. See Joshua xxiv. 30. Judges ii. 9.

foundation of future conquests; for they possessed themselves of sixty fortified places, that were under his government, as well as acquired immense booty.

CHAP. VI.

War between the Hebrews and Midianites. Transactions between Balaak, king of the Moabites, and Balaam, a prophet. The Hebrews fall into idolatry. Fate of Zimri and Cosbi.

MOSES, after these repeated successes, removed his camp to a spacious plain near Jericho, an opulent city, abounding with palm-trees and balm. The people being now elated with conquest, and disposed to gratify their martial propensity, their leader, after sacrificing and feasting, detached a party to lay waste the country of the Midianites. This war originated from the following causes.

The Hebrews proceed to hostilities against the Midianites.

Numb. xxii. 23, &c.

Balaak consults the Midianites on their security against the Hebrews.

Requests Balaam to curse the Hebrews.

Balaam is forbidden.

Balaam, importuned a second time, goes with the ambassadors.

He is resisted by an angel.

Reproved by his own beast.

Rebuked by the angel.

He goes to Balaak, who takes him to the top of a mountain to survey the armies.

Balaak, king of the Moabites, an ancient ally of the Midianites, from the increasing power of the Hebrews, began to entertain apprehensions for the security of his territories; not knowing that they were prohibited by the Divine injunction from attempting the (a) conquest of any country, but that of Canaan. Not deeming it by any means prudent to make a war upon a people flushed with victory, but yet desirous of stopping their progress, he sent ambassadors to the Midianites, to consult with them on the means of their common security. The Midianites dispatched Balaak's ambassadors, with some leading men of their own, to one Balaam beyond the Euphrates, a famous prophet, and attached to them, requesting him to come over to them, and curse the Israelites. The prophet entertained the ambassadors hospitably, and sought the Divine will as to the answer he should give them. Being forbidden to comply with their request, he told them that, though he had been disposed to gratify them, he was strictly enjoined to the contrary by that adorable Being to whom he owed the gift of prophecy; and added, that the people they desired him to curse were highly favoured of God. He therefore advised them to make peace with the Hebrews upon any conditions, and thus dismissed the ambassadors. But the Midianites, urged by the importunity of Balaak, sent back the same ambassadors upon the same errand, when Balaam again consulted the Divine will, and answer was given, "That he might go with the ambassadors." Not conceiving that the tone in which the answer was uttered implied disapprobation, although it was in the affirmative, he accordingly went with them. As he proceeded on his way, an angel met him in a narrow place betwixt two walls. The ass on which he rode, at the sight of the vision, stopped, and, upon his striking and pressing her to go forward, crushed him against the wall, nor could he by any means stimulate her to proceed. While the angel kept his station, and the prophet continued tormenting the beast, it pleased the Almighty to open her mouth in a complaint of the injustice and cruelty of her master in stimulating her to get forward, when the angel of the Lord stood in the passage to oppose his progress. As he stood amazed at the prodigy, the angel rebuked him for his conduct, telling him the beast was not in fault, but that he deserved chastisement, for presuming to take a journey contrary to the declared will of God.

Balaam would have returned; but he was commanded by God, through means of the angel, to proceed, charging him to utter only that with which he should be inspired.

After this charge he went to Balaak, who entertained him with respect. The prophet desired the king that he might be conducted to some high mountain to survey the Hebrew camp. Balaak, therefore,

(a) What Josephus remarks here is worthy of observation, viz. that the Hebrews were never to meddle with the Moabites, or any other people, but those belonging to the land of Canaan, and the countries of Sehon and Og beyond Jordan, and as far as the desert and Euphrates; and that therefore no other

accompanied the prophet, royally attended, to the top of the mountain, which was about sixty furlongs distant from the camp. The prophet, having made his observations, directed seven altars to be raised, and seven bulls, and as many rams, to be prepared for sacrifices. This being done, in order to form a judgment upon the point in question, Balaam, having digested his observations, with his face towards the Hebrews, spoke to the following purport:

"Happy people! Providence your guide, your support, you shall enjoy abundance of all good things, acquire a reputation above all men for your exemplary virtues, and your fame shall excel that of your progenitors, as the Almighty will take you under his immediate protection; and render you, of all nations under the sun, peculiarly blessed. You shall possess the rich land promised you, and your posterity shall hold it for ever. Your fame shall be extended throughout the universe, and your issue so multiplied as to be diffused throughout every part of the earth. Wonderful body, thus composed of the descendants of one single man! The land of Canaan must, at present, suffice you, though not adequate to your number or dignity; but hereafter you shall have the whole world for your habitation; so that both on the islands, and the continent, your progeny shall equal the stars in the firmament. Though so numerous, you shall lack nothing, but enjoy plenty in peace, conquest in war, and you shall hold your enemies in subjection. May our adversaries, therefore, be yours: for destruction shall attend those who rise against you, and their posterity shall rue the conduct of their fathers, in daring to oppose you. For these extraordinary tokens of favour you are to adore the providence of God, who can exalt or deject, according to his sovereign will."

Prophecy of Balaam. Num. xxiv.

These words Balaam delivered as dictated by the spirit of prophecy, at which Balaak, being much incensed, exclaimed, that he had violated his promise, having, with a view of great rewards, been brought there to curse the Hebrews, and when it came to a crisis, pronounced a blessing instead of a curse. In vindication of himself, the prophet thus replied:

The king is highly offended at the prophet.

"Can the king imagine that, when prophets are called upon to speak concerning future events, they can discover or conceal what they list? They are only passive instruments to convey the Divine decrees. They speak without knowledge or thought. I am conscious that I came hither, at the earnest solicitation both of yourself and the Midianites, with a desire of giving you satisfaction. But can I counteract the power and will of God? Nay, I was disposed to do that, which I afterwards found I dared not presume to do. When once under the direction of the Superior Power, we are no longer under our own guidance. I entertained not a thought of uttering a word in favour of the Hebrews, or the blessing reserved for them; but as it is the will of God to render them a great and happy people, I have been compelled to speak, what you have heard, instead of what I had previously determined to say upon the subject. However, fully to comply with your desired and that of the Midianites, let us erect other altars, and provide new sacrifices, and once more make trial if it be the Divine will that I curse these people."

Balaam vindicates himself to Balaak.

Balaam proposes to consult God a second time.

Balaak highly approved of the proposal, and the sacrifices were accordingly repeated; but the prophet could not obtain permission to curse the Hebrews. On the contrary, he fell on his face, and foretold the fate of those kingdoms and cities which should oppose them, of which some are not yet extant, whilst others, to our knowledge, have fulfilled the prediction, both on the continent and in islands; from

His prediction verified in part.

people had reason to fear their conquests; but that those countries given them by God, were their proper and peculiar portion among the nations; and all who endeavoured to dispossess them, should ever be justly destroyed by them.

whence

whence we infer, upon good ground, that the remainder will, in due time, take effect.

Balaak being highly displeased with this disappointment of his hope and expectation, dismissed the prophet abruptly; but as he approached the Euphrates, on reflection, he desired to speak with the king and princes of the Midianites, whom he thus addressed:

Balaam proposes to Balaak an expedient instead of curing.

“To convince you, O king, and ye princes, of my disposition to gratify you, though, in some degree, contrary to the will of God, I have devised an expedient that, perhaps, may answer the purpose. Imagine not that war, pestilence, or famine, can effect the extinction of the Hebrews, as, by the superintending care of Providence, they will ever be free from the destructive consequences. Some temporary afflictions they may undergo; but these, in the event, will turn to their advantage. But if the gaining some present trivial ascendancy over them will afford you pleasure, attend to my counsel. Send to their camp a number of the most beautiful virgins you can select, decorated with all the ornaments of nature and of art, to captivate and allure. When their young men become enamoured, let them threaten to depart immediately, unless they will renounce the laws of their country, and the honour of God who preserved them, and adore the gods of the Midianites and the Moabites. This (said he) will draw upon their heads the Divine vengeance (a).”

The Midianites follow Balaam's counsel.

The Midianites, approving the counsel of Balaam, sent the virgins to the Hebrew camp; and the young men, falling into conversation with them, soon became enamoured. The virgins, according to instructions given them before their departure, affected a desire immediately to depart; but by solicitations of the young men, and assurances of absolute devotion to their will and pleasure, they were prevailed on to stay; and one of them, in the name of the rest, spoke to the following purport:

“Illustrious and valiant young men, we came not hither through want of fortune, credit, the love of our parents, or the respect of our kindred, much less for the prostitution of our persons: we are influenced only by motives of hospitality and courtesy, which, as strangers, we wish to shew you. As you profess so ardent an affection for us, and seem troubled at our departure, we are desirous of conciliating your esteem, which can only be done by terms of conjugal alliance; but you must permit us to express an apprehension of being sent back with scandal and reproach to our parents, should your importunity overcome our resolves.”

Gain their point.

Finding the suitors compliant in every particular, she then proceeded:

“Since we are thus far agreed, it will be necessary to remind you of some customs peculiar to you, respecting certain meats and drinks, and to assure you, that if we intermarry, they must be dispensed with. You must worship our gods (b), as the most convincing proof of your affection for us. You can incur no blame by conforming to the religion of the country from whence we are come, and adoring our gods in common with nations in general; whereas your God is solely the object of your peoples consideration.”

This was the alternative proposed to their consideration.

(a) This great maxim, that God's people could never be hurt, or destroyed, but by drawing them to sin against God, appears confirmed by the entire history of that people, both in the Bible and in Josephus, and is often taken notice of in them both.

(b) What Josephus here puts into the mouths of the Midianitish women, who came to entice the Hebrews to lewdness and idolatry, viz. that their worship of the one God, in opposition to their plurality of gods, implied their living according to the

The Hebrews, blinded and infatuated by their passions, consented to the requisition of the females, suffering themselves to be seduced to the renouncing of the religion of their forefathers, transgressing the most sacred ordinances, and lapsing into the idolatry of the country. They admitted a plurality of gods, used meats in common, and, to gratify the women, trample done very law which they before held solemn, obligatory, and binding. This licentious and dissolute turn prevailed throughout the younger part of the army, and occasioned a more dangerous mutiny than any former, so far as to the total subversion of regularity and good order, and the introduction of whatever was impious and prophane; for when the religion and morals of youth are once perverted, they make a rapid progress in the paths of vice and immorality. Indeed, high and low, great and small, became generally apostates.

The Hebrews are lulled into idolatry.

While this infatuation prevailed, Zimri, an Hebrew, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Simeon, married Cosbi, a Midianite, the daughter of Zur, a man of rank and eminence in that country. This Hebrew, at the instance of his wife, openly practised the most palpable idolatry, in flagrant violation of the rites, ceremonies, and constitution of the religion and laws of his forefathers. During this disordered state of affairs, Moses, lest some fatal consequences should ensue, summoned the people, and remonstrated with them how unworthy it was of the character which they and their ancestors had sustained for their piety and virtue, to prefer the gratification of ignoble passions to the veneration of their God, and the observance of his sacred commandments. He pointed out the necessity of timely repentance, and shewed the merit of their character as men, and particularly as Hebrews, not by contemning the Divine laws, but subduing their immoderate passions. He also represented the inconsistency of their behaviour, in thus abandoning themselves to luxury and dissipation, in a plentiful country, after having seen such examples of moderation in a desert; and squandering in profusion that which they had acquired by much toil, and in the time of distress.

Zimri, an Hebrew, marries Cosbi, a Midianite. Numb. xxv.

Moses reproaches the Hebrews with the scandal of idolatry.

He then endeavoured to bring the infatuated youth to a sense of shame, and an attention to the dictates of reason and conscience; but, in what he said, he reflected on no individual, judging, that personal reproof would render them more incorrigible, and that his main object was not to expose, but reclaim them. These oblique hints, however, gave occasion to Zimri to rise, and thus speak in vindication of himself:

“Moses, you are at liberty to contend for the use and observance of your own laws, which have obtained a sanction and authority by long custom alone, or you would have been brought to merited disgrace and punishment, and found, to your cost, that the Hebrews were not to be deluded by your arts. I will never subject myself to your tyrannical decrees; assured that, under a pretext or regard to religion and law, you seek to enslave us, and establish a supreme authority over us, by denying us those liberties to which all free-born men have an undoubted right. Was there a more grievous oppression, during the whole course of an Egyptian bondage, than the power you usurped of punishing every man by laws of your own formation? You particularly deserve punishment for abrogating and annulling those customs, laws, and privileges, which are authorized and established by the common consent of nations, and preferring the suggestions of your fancy, to rules so generally followed, and rationally founded. Conscious that I have done nothing wrong, I now frankly declare, in this assembly, that I have

Zimri insolently reflects upon Moses.

holy laws which the true God had given them by Moses, in opposition to those impure laws which were observed under their false gods, well deserves our consideration, and gives us a substantial reason for the great concern that was ever shewed under the law of Moses, to preserve the Hebrews from idolatry, and in the worship of the true God: it being of no less consequence than, whether God's people should be governed by the holy laws of the true God, or by the impure laws derived from demons under the pagan idolatry.

"married a strange woman. This I confess with an honest boldness, and would do the same in the face of the world. I also worship the gods whom thou hast forbidden to be worshipped, as I do not hold myself bound to submit to your arbitrary sway, either in matters of law or religion, but must assert the liberty of investigating the truth for myself, and directing my own personal concerns."

Zimri delivers the sense of the faction.

Zimri, in this speech, delivered the general sentiments of the whole faction, while the multitude silently waited the issue of his presumptuous conduct; for they apprehended much confusion would ensue. As Moses was not disposed to contend any longer, lest he might render a seditious man more outrageous, and lest others, incited by his example, should rise, and, by that means, the tumult become universal, he therefore, upon this consideration, dissolved the assembly; though the clamour most probably would have been productive of more mischievous effects, had not Zimri, the chief abettor of it, been suddenly cut off in the following manner.

Moses discharges the assembly.

The zeal of Phineas.

His contumacy, and flagrantly insolent behaviour to Moses, raised the resentment of one Phineas to the highest degree. He was a youth eminent for the dignity of his family, his singular prowess, and his personal virtues. Eleazar, the high priest, being his father, he was nearly allied to the great law-giver. Sensible that to suffer such indignity to pass with impunity, would bring both the religion and laws of the Hebrews into contempt, he determined to make an example of the ringleader of the faction, as his exalted rank would cause that example to have a greater influence on the minds of the people. His resolution being equal to his zeal, he repaired, without delay, to the tent of Zimri, and, at one stroke, slew both him and Cosbi, his wife. This resolute act excited an emulation amongst those of his contemporaries, who still maintained a regard for the honour of their country, to avenge themselves on those who had done it violation; inasmuch, that they fell most furiously upon the faction, and put great numbers of them to the sword. Those who escaped the vengeance of the sword, were cut off by a pestilence that followed soon after, and swept away not only those who took an active part in the sedition, but also their kindred, and those who, by their authority and influence, might have restrained, if not prevented, it. There perished by this pestilence fourteen thousand of the Hebrews.

Phineas slays Zimri and Cosbi in their tent.

The whole faction destroyed between the sword and the plague.

Moses sends an army against the Midianites. Num. xxxi.

Moses, incensed against the Midianites for their foul practices, sent out a powerful army to exterminate their nation. We shall shortly treat of that expedition; deeming it necessary, on this occasion, first to advert to the wisdom and candour of our great law-giver. Though Balaam, invited and allured, by presents from the Midianites, to curse the Hebrews, when he found, from the Divine prohibition, that he could not effect their purpose, suggested such an expedient to them, as tended to the ruin of the Hebrews, in misleading and corrupting them in their religion and laws, yet Moses did him great honour in inserting his prophecies in his writings. He had it in his power to assume the credit himself, as there could be no witness against him; but he was too noble and ingenuous to be guilty of a fallacy, or deviate from that principle of rectitude which so eminently adorned his character.

CHAP. VII.

Conquest of the Hebrews over the Midianites. Moses appoints Joshua his successor. Law respecting the alienation or transferring hereditary right.

Num. xxxi.

MOSES, as before observed, sent an army of twelve thousand men against the Midianites, chusing out of every tribe one thousand, and appointed Phineas to the command, as a reward of his extraordinary merit, in asserting their religion and laws, and avenging the common cause on Zimri, the leader of a seditious faction. The Midianites, on receiving intelligence of the approach of the enemy,

collected their forces, lined the several passes through which they might break in upon them, and put themselves in as good a posture of defence as the time would permit. But no sooner did Phineas charge them at the head of the Hebrews, than they were totally routed with incredible slaughter. Five kings, viz. Ochus, Sures, Robeas, Ures, and Recem, fell on the spot. The capital city of Arabia, built by the latter, is known by his name to this day. They call it Reken, and the Grecians, Petrea.

The army of the Midianites totally routed, and five kings slain.

Reken, or Petrea, the capital of Arabia.

The Hebrews, having obtained an entire victory over their enemies, ravaged their whole country, putting all the inhabitants to the sword, the virgins excepted, in conformity to the especial command of Moses to Phineas, who returned with the army in safety, and brought with him a memorable and glorious booty, consisting of fifty-two thousand and sixty-seven oxen, sixty thousand asses, household plate, and vessels of gold and silver to an immense value: such were the opulence and luxury of the Midianites. They also brought with them above thirty thousand captive virgins.

The Hebrews obtain immense booty in cattle and treasure.

Moses, in the division of the booty, allotted one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the priests, another fiftieth to the Levites, and the rest to the people, which enabled them to enjoy the fruits of their toils and hazards in plenty and peace. Our great legislator, being now advanced in years, appointed Joshua to succeed him in the several offices of a prophet, a leader, and a governor, according to the Divine command; for he was most expert in the knowledge of their religion and laws, having been instructed therein by Moses, his preceptor.

Distribution of it.

About this time the tribes of Gad and Reuben, with half that of Manasses, joined in a petition to Moses, for a grant of the country of the Amorites, as a place lately conquered, abounding with rich pasturage, and therefore commodious for their herds, and other cattle. Moses imputed their request to pusillanimity, and reproached them in words to this purport.

"You desire to live in ease and luxury, and, by appropriating to yourselves the advantages of a common war, deprive others of their share of what has been jointly acquired. It still requires you, together with the rest of your brethren, to exert yourselves in extending your victorious arms beyond Jordan, in order to obtain possession of the land that God hath promised them." The tribes which preferred the petition, in order to soothe Moses, thus apparently incensed against them, declared, that they neither wished to avoid danger through fear, nor shun labour through sloth, but were only desirous of leaving their booty in a place of security, that they might be the more at liberty to prosecute the war: therefore, if Moses would assign them towns for the reception of their wives, their children, and their property, they were ready to march whithersoever they might be commanded, and venture their lives in the common cause. Moses, satisfied with what they advanced in their own vindication, in the presence of Eleazar, the high priest, Joshua, and the rest of the magistrates, granted them the land of the Amorites, according to request; but on condition that they should join with their countrymen in a league, offensive and defensive, against their common enemies, nor lay down their arms till the close of the war. Having acceded to these terms, they were put in possession of strong cities, where their wives, children, and substance were perfectly secure.

They exculpate themselves to Moses.

Their request is granted upon certain conditions.

Moses built ten cities in that country, which are to be reckoned amongst the forty-eight heretofore mentioned. He appointed three of them sanctuaries, or places of refuge, for those that fled thither in case of casual homicide. The refugee was to continue in exile during the life of the high priest, under whose jurisdiction the fact was committed; but, at his death, permitted to return. During the time of their exile, it was lawful for any of the kindred of the man that was slain to take revenge upon the homicide, if he should be found without the walls of the city of refuge; but it was not permitted to any other. The names of the refuge cities were, Bozor, on the borders of Arabia; Ariman, in the country of Galadene; and Gaulanan, in the land of Batanaa. Moses also ordained, that, after the conquest of Canaan, three more cities

Three cities of refuge beyond Jordan.

cities of the Levites should be appointed as places of refuge, and with the same privileges as the former.

About this time an eminent person of the tribe of Manasses, called Salophades, leaving only three daughters, some of the heads of the tribes applied to Moses to consult him respecting the daughter's right of inheritance. The decree was, that, if they were married within their tribe, they should inherit; but if they chose to marry into another tribe, they should lose their patrimony in their own. Upon this occasion an ordinance was passed, that every tribe should keep its own inheritance, without alienating or transferring it.

CHAP. VIII.

The policy of Moses, and his departure from mankind.

AS there now remained but thirty days to fulfil the number of forty years since the Hebrews came out of Egypt, Moses called a general assembly at a place known by the name of Abila, near the side of the river Jordan, and environed with palm-trees. When they were convened, he delivered to them a speech to the following effect:

"Hebrews, and companions in a long and tedious journey, with whom I have been exposed to, and delivered from, so many dangers, since it is now the will of God, in the hundred and twentieth year of a toilsome life, to take me out of this world, (the course of nature also requiring it), and since it seemeth not good in God's sight that I should be any farther assistant to you, either by arms or counsel, in what remains to be brought to pass beyond Jordan, I have resolved to employ that little space of life which remains, to establish your felicity so far as in me lies, by stating to you in what it consists, and pointing out the means of attaining it, so that I may be remembered by you with esteem, when you arrive at the possession of what is promised you. I make no doubt but I shall find credit with you; and I may presume to add, that I deserve it too, for the indefatigable constancy of my endeavours to serve you. Listen, therefore, and attend to my words.

"Ye sons of Israel, be sure there is but one source of happiness to all mankind; the spring and fountain from whence alone it can be derived, that is, the favour of God (a); for he alone is able to confer blessings on those who obey his commandments, and to deprive those of them who transgress. Attend seriously and constantly to your duty to God, according to the precepts and instructions which I have laid before you as authorized by his Divine commission, and your piety and virtue shall attract the admiration, while your prosperity shall excite the envy, of surrounding nations. You shall keep possession of your present blessings, and obtain a plentiful store of all you want. Take heed to be obedient to God's will and commandments, and you may rest assured of all good. Never prefer any other constitution of government to the laws now given you, nor disregard the modes and ceremonies of religious worship established amongst you, or change them for any other form. If you follow my advice, you shall be victorious and invincible: for if God is present with you, what power or force can oppose you? The rewards of virtue are great, glorious, and certain; nay, virtue is in itself the greatest of rewards, from the conscious bliss with which it is inseparably attended. By it all other blessings are obtained. Practise it, therefore, towards one another, and you shall be perfectly happy yourselves, and render others so, to the comfort of your present state of existence, and your immortal honour in times to come.

"These things you have a right to expect, if you neither violate yourselves, nor suffer to be violated yourselves, the written laws I delivered unto you by God's especial direction; but, on the contrary, make their wisdom and equity the subjects of your constant meditation and study. This will secure your happiness; and I shall die in peace, if I see it promoted by these means; commending to you the observance of those precepts of piety and prudence, that are laid down for your instruction and practice, and to an obedient compliance with the rules prescribed by your superiors, who are appointed to superintend your civil concerns. That God, under whose guidance you have hitherto lived, to whose goodness alone you stand indebted for all the benefits you have received by my means as an instrument, that God will continue his care over you, and vouchsafe you his constant protection, so long as you worship him in the way and manner prescribed by his Divine command. You will not want excellent monitors in Eleazar, the high priest, and Joshua, with the senate and principals of the tribes, who will go before you, and suggest the best advice; by following which you will continue to be happy. Treat it with due respect; follow their counsel without reluctance, always bearing in mind, that he who instructed to obey well, will, when he shall attain to that dignity, govern well. Do not imagine that liberty consists in opposing such directions as your superiors think it expedient to give you for your practice, as you have formerly done, by mistaking mutiny for liberty. Beware of this error, and your state will be more prosperous. I would to God that you may never discover such perverseness and contumacy towards any of my successors, as you have repeatedly done towards me; for you forget that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from the common enemy. I speak not this to reproach you; for as I sustained the injuries with calmness and composure, when they were offered, I would not bring to your remembrance a circumstance that might afflict your minds, now I am about to take my last farewell. Be advised in your future conduct, lest you become haughty and refractory, when you are put in possession of the land of Canaan. Consider it as your interest, as well as duty, to behave with reverence towards those who are set in authority over you: for if, thro' wealth and luxury, you fall into contempt of religion, virtue and authority, you will forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will lose that land with infamy, which you had obtained with honour, and be scattered over the face of the earth as the most despicable of mankind. If you should ever experience such a reverse of state and condition as I have represented, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Wherefore, to avoid this danger of apostacy from the worship of the God of your fathers, suffer not any of your enemies to live after you have conquered them; but esteem it highly conducive to your interest to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you become infected by their manners, and thereby corrupt your own institutions. I do farther exhort you to overthrow their altars, temples, groves, and, indeed, to exterminate their nations with fire and sword. By these means alone the permanency of your happy constitution can be secured to you. But lest any should plead ignorance of their duties, I have written a body of laws, and a form of administration, by the Divine command, to which if you implicitly conform, you will be of all men happy."

When Moses had thus spoken, he delivered to them the laws and constitution of government written in a book, upon which they melted into tears, and appeared sensibly affected with the loss they should sustain

Moses delivers a book of law, and precepts for the government of the people.

(a) Josephus here, in this one sentence, displays his sentiments of Moses's long and serious exhortation in the book of Deuteronomy. And his words are so true, and of such importance, that they deserve to be had in constant remembrance both

by Jews and Christians. "Ye sons of Israel, remember there is but one source of happiness to all mankind; the spring and fountain from whence alone it can be derived, the favour of God."

of their great leader; calling to memory the many dangers he had passed through, and the anxious solicitude he had ever manifested for their preservation. They desponded of ever having a governor of equal worth, and feared lest, on his departure, they should never meet with a mediator, who could so effectually intercede with the Almighty in their behalf. They also bitterly repented of their outrages against him in the desert; and such was their grief as to be productive of lamentations, which the most consolatory words could not suppress. Moses at length, however, diverted their thoughts from the melancholy subject that had engrossed them, by exhorting them to attend to the instruction he had given them, and then dissolved the assembly.

An abstract of the laws themselves.

Before I proceed to other matters, I shall describe these laws fully and particularly, in order to demonstrate the wisdom and virtue of the compiler, and their conformity to the usages and customs of our commonwealth from its first institution. As every thing which our lawgiver wrote is extant, I shall not add by way of ornament, nor introduce any thing by way of variation. I have, however, taken the liberty of altering the method, and digesting the several kinds of laws into a regular system; being left by him in writing, as they were accidentally scattered in the delivery, and as he, upon enquiry, received them from the Divine voice. I thought it necessary to premise this observation, to obviate any calumniating reflections of our people, that I had not faithfully handed down the writings and institutions of Moses. I shall, on the present occasion, confine myself to the public laws, which appertain peculiarly to the policy of our government. Those which Moses left concerning our common intercourse with one another, or with strangers, I have referred to a commentary, which I propose, with the Divine assistance, to write hereafter.

Rules for the government of the Hebrews in the land of Canaan.

When you have conquered the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it; when you have afterwards determined to build cities, if you do what is pleasing in the sight of God, and keep his commandments, your happiness will be complete and permanent.

One holy city.

Let there be then one holy city of the land of Canaan, and this situated in the most agreeable place, for beauty of prospect, and fertility of soil, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself by prophetic revelation. Let there be but one temple in it, and one altar, and that reared of unhewn stones out of the quarry, gathered at random, but so put together, by the skill of the artificer, as to render the work agreeable to the sight. Let not the ascent be by steps, but by a gradual rising (a) of the ground, for the decency of the approach. But in the other city, let there be neither temple nor altar; for the Hebrew nation is but one, and worship but one God.

One temple and one altar.

One God only is to be worshipped. Blasphemy made death.

Whoever shall blaspheme the holy name of God, let him be stoned to death, his body exposed on a gibbet for a day, and then buried in an ignominious manner.

The whole nation of the Hebrews to worship thrice a year at Jerusalem, Deut. xvi.

Let all the Hebrews, from their several quarters, repair to the holy city and temple thrice every year, to join in their adoration of the Supreme Being, offer up thanksgivings for benefits received, and implore future aid and protection; and let them, by this means, maintain a friendly correspondence with one another; for it is expedient that such intercourse should be held by people who are descended from the same stock, and governed by the same laws, and professedly of the same religion. If they do not hold this friendly intercourse, they will live as strangers to each other, and be deprived of the comforts and advantages of communication.

Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth

(a) The reason why this ascent was to be on a declivity, and not by steps, is obvious; for before the invention of stairs, such as are now used, decency could not otherwise be provided for in the loose garments which the priests wore as the law required.

(besides that allotted to the priests and Levites) arising from the sale in the market, but to be appropriated to the particular charge of the sacrifices and festivals in the holy city; for it is but reasonable to dedicate the fruits of the earth to the honour and service of that liberal benefactor from whom we derive their possession.

A second tenth enjoined.

You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire (b) of an harlot; for the Deity cannot be pleased with any thing that is wicked, of which nothing can be more so than prostitution; nor can any thing be acceptable to a pure and spotless Being, that appertains to, or is procured by, that which is indecent and unclean.

Not to offer the hire of an harlot.

Let no man blaspheme the gods of other nations, or rife their temples, or take any thing out of them that is dedicated to religious uses.

The gods of other nations are not to be blasphemed. Priests only to wear a mixed garment. Deut. xxii.

Let no Hebrew wear a garment of wool and linen, as it belongeth only to the priests.

When the multitude are assembled together every seventh year, in the holy city, to celebrate the festival of the tabernacles, let the high priest ascend a raised pulpit, where he may be heard by the whole congregation, read the whole law to all the people without exception, men, women, and children, nay, the very slaves to be admitted to the hearing. For when the laws are imprinted in the mind, and thus preserved in the memory, they not only facilitate obedience, but obviate every pretended plea of ignorance. The laws will also have more weight on the consciences of offenders, when they are informed beforehand of the penalty annexed to the breaking of them. What men receive by the ear is communicated to the mind; so that being convinced of the wisdom and excellent tendency of the laws, they stand self-condemned on their violation.

The high priest to read the law publicly up on the seat of tabernacles.

Let your children, in particular, be early instructed in these laws, as the best thing they can be taught, as soon as they are capable of discipline, and most conducive to their present and future happiness. Wherefore, twice a day, morning and evening, they are to be reminded of God's mercies in general, and his deliverance of their father's from Egyptian bondage in particular; it being equally reasonable to acknowledge former blessings, as to implore the bestowal of future.

Children to be early instructed in the laws. Deut. vi.

The principal of God's blessings are to be inscribed upon your doors, and the remembrance of them is to be shewn upon your arms and heads. These are to serve as memorials of the power of God, and his providential care and protection of his people.

Memorials of God's mercies. Deut. x.

Let there be chosen in every city seven magistrates, such as have been most exemplary in the practice of virtue and righteousness. Let each of these magistrates have two assistants of the tribe of Levi. Let those, who are thus chosen in every city, be held in great honour; so that no man, in their presence, may presume to utter irreverent or contumelious words; for the practice of awe and respect towards those set over us in high office by God's appointment, leads to the love of piety and virtue, and due veneration for the sacred Majesty of God himself. There must be no appeal from the sentence of the judge, whose decree must be held inviolable, unless it can be rendered apparent that they have taken bribes to the perversion of justice, or any other accusation can be alledged against them, whereby it may be proved that they have passed an unjust sentence. They must also judge and give sentence without regard to power, interest, or affection; and always prefer justice to every other consideration. It is a reproach to the Divine Power and Goodness, to fear human authority before God himself. Justice is the power of God. He, therefore, who gratifies the most dignified character to its perversion,

Foundation of the Jewish magistracy.

(b) The hire of public harlots was given to Venus in Syria, as Lucian informs us; and against some such vile practice of the old idolatry this law seems to have been made.

arrogantly presumes to usurp that power himself, and treats the Lord and Ruler of the Universe with manifest contempt. If these judges cannot determine on the point in question, being either misinformed, as to the particulars, or incompetent, as to the knowledge, (which sometimes happens), let the cause undetermined be sent up to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the senate, finally decide the controversy.

The testimony of a single witness shall not be received, but of three, or at least of two, and those whose testimony is confirmed by their probity and unspotted reputation.

The testimony of a woman cannot be admitted, on account of the levity and temerity of the sex.

Nor is it lawful for a bondman to be admitted as a witness, by reason of his degenerate and ignoble mind; for it is to be suspected that, either awed by fear, or allured by gain, he will not depose the truth.

If any witness should be convicted of perjury, let him be subject to the same penalty which he, against whom he bore false testimony, was to have suffered.

If homicide be committed in any place, and the offender cannot be found out, and it appears, moreover, that the man was not slain out of malice prepense, let diligent enquiry be made after the man, and rewards proposed for discovering him. If, after all this search and diligence, no information can be procured, let the magistracy of the cities contiguous to the spot in which the fact was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies. Then let the inhabitants of the nearest city thereunto purchase and heifer, and bring it to a valley, as to a place where there is no land ploughed, or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the neck of the heifer. Then the priests and Levites, and senate of that city, shall take water, and wash their hands over the head of the heifer, and they shall publicly declare, that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been aiding or assisting to any that did it. The ceremony to be finished with offering up prayers to Almighty God to preserve that place and people from the guilt of blood for the time to come.

Aristocracy appears to be the best form of government, because it vests the authority in the hands of men of noble birth and dignified character. Therefore let the Hebrews desire no other form, but always love that form; have the laws for their governors, and govern all their actions by the laws. But let them ever remember that God is their king, and their supreme governor.

But if you should desire to have a king, see that you elect one of your own nation, who will steadily maintain justice, and all the other virtues, being guided by God and the laws, as his infallible directory, and highest wisdom. Let him not undertake any thing without the authority of the high priest and the senate. Let not his mind be set upon a multitude of wives, nor the glare of treasure, nor the pomp of houses, lest thereby he become insolent, and disdain to submit to the laws. If he should affect an unwarrantable power and magnificence, let him be restrained, that he may not become more important than is consistent with the true interest of the state.

It is not lawful to remove the boundaries or landmarks either of your own land or your neighbours, for they are the best security of the common peace. They should remain firm and immoveable, as a Divine limitation of rights; as a removal may afford cause for great broils and contests; for those whose avarice or ambition admit of no bounds, are easily led to violate the laws.

The first fruits of trees, that bear before the fourth year, from the time of their planting, are neither to be offered to God, nor eaten by man; because, not being produced in proper season, they are abortions, No. 5.

and contrary to nature. But all the fruit that shall grow in the fourth year, when it comes to maturity, shall be gathered, and brought into the holy city, and there expended during the feast, which the owner makes for his friends, together with widows and orphans: but in the fifth year he shall reserve the whole product for his own use.

Sow not the ground that is planted with vines, for it is sufficient it affords nourishment to that plant, nor doth it need to be nourished by the plough.

The land is to be plowed with oxen alone, and no other kind of beasts yoked with them; for the tillage must always be performed by beasts of the same kind.

Let the seeds be sown simple and unmixed, not two or three sorts together; for nature doth not admit of a commixture of different things.

You are not to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together; for there is reason to fear that this unnatural practice may have a corrupt effect on the human species, as the foulest extravagancies have taken their rise from trivial causes. Wherefore nothing ought to be introduced in conversation, that, by a perverse application, may tend to promote a depravity of manners. Nor should the laws neglect small matters, but provide for decency of conduct and behaviour in all things.

Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some allowance for those that are in want of the necessaries of life. In like manner, when they gather them grapes at the time of vintage, let them leave some smaller bunches on the vine for the poor; and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive-trees, when they gather them, and leave them for such as have no kind of provision. For the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners, as will arise from the prayers of the poor. God will bless the land with fertility, and the proprietor with plenty, if he is not solely attentive to his own gain, but has a regard to the wants of the indigent.

The ox is not to be muzzled when he treads out the corn; for it would be unreasonable to deny any thing a part in the fruit of its own labours.

The traveller, on his journey, must not be denied to gather and taste of the ripe fruits, but, on the contrary, permitted to take the same freely, whether he be of the country, or a stranger. He shall depart satisfied with what he has eat, but he is prohibited from carrying any away with him. Those likewise who gather grapes, ought not to refuse a traveller to taste of them, as they bear them to the press; for it would be very unjust, that the good things which God hath bestowed upon mankind in such abundance, should be denied the needy in a small proportion, especially as the season soon passes away. Nay, those are to be invited, that, from a scrupulous modesty, forbear touching, or even asking for the same. If they are Hebrews, they are to be esteemed friends and fellow-sharers in what you have, being of the same race. If strangers, we should exercise hospitality towards them, not thinking we sustain any loss by the small present we make them of the fruits we enjoy through God's bounty. Nor can that be ill bestowed which is thus courteously given to another, since the bountiful Father of the Universe affordeth all things in rich abundance; not that any individuals should engross them, but that they should be rendered a common benefit to mankind. Nor can men more effectually acknowledge God's munificence towards themselves, than by communicating a part of his blessings to others. Whosoever shall presume to act contrary to what is here prescribed, let him be beaten with forty stripes, save one by the public executioner. Let him undergo this punishment (which is a most ignominious one for a freeman) because he was such a slave to gain, as to sully his own dignity. It is by all means expedient (added Moses) that you, who have had the experience of such afflictions in Egypt, and in the desert,

Planting of vines.

The law of the plough.

The seed to be simple and unmixed.

No adulterate mixtures.

Gleanings of corn and grapes to be left for the poor.

The ox not to be muzzled when he treads out the corn.

No passengers to be denied fruit on a journey.

fert, should be affected with tenderness and compassion for others in like circumstances; and as you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, that you should distribute of that plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

The third tythe to be divided among the widows and orphans.

The first fruits to the temple.

Besides the two yearly tenths already appointed to be paid, (the one to the Levites, the other towards the charges of the holy festivals,) you are to bring every third year a third (*a*) tythe, to be distributed to those that want, to widows and to orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which first ripens unto the temple, and after thanksgiving to God for the earth which brought them forth, and which he had given them for a possession, and having likewise offered those sacrifices which the law commanded them to bring, let them give the first fruits to the priest. But when any one hath done this, and has brought the tythe of all that he hath, together with those first fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals, let him, when he is ready to return home, stand before the holy temple, give thanks to God, that he has delivered them from their grievous treatment in Egypt, given them a goodly land, and permitted them to enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he has openly testified that he has fully paid the tythes according to the law and appointment of Moses, let him intreat God that he will ever be merciful and gracious to him, and continue to be so to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

Laws on wedlock.

No plea for a freeman who marries a bond-woman.

No man is to marry an harlot.

When men are of years to marry, let them make choice of virgins, born of honest parents, and virtuously educated. And he that does not take a virgin to wife, let him not seduce the wife of another man, to the disquiet and affliction of her husband. Let not a freeman marry a bond-woman, though his affection should strongly incline him so to do; for it is praise-worthy and honourable to govern our passions. Furthermore, let no man marry an harlot; for God will not receive her matrimonial oblations, because she hath dishonoured herself: besides those children are more laudably and virtuously inclined, who are descended from honest parents, than those who spring from a shameful alliance contracted by impure desires.

Penalty of a woman marrying for a virgin, and not found so.

If any one has espoused a woman as a virgin, and afterwards finds that she is not so; let him accuse her, and bring his action, adducing all the proofs he can to justify his suspicion. On the other hand, let the woman's cause be defended by her father, her brother, or the next a-kin. If she be acquitted of the charge alledged against her, her accuser shall be bound to live in wedlock with her, nor shall the marriage hereafter be annulled, unless upon positive evidence. But he that shall rashly, and without cause, slander his wife, shall be punished with thirty-nine stripes, and stand condemned in a fine of fifty shekels to her father. If it be proved that the woman has been corrupted before her marriage, she shall be stoned to death for not having preserved her virginity till she was lawfully married; but if she be the daughter of a priest, she shall be burnt alive.

The right of primogeniture not to be transferred to a younger child.

If any man hath two wives, and he is particularly attached to one of them, either from affection, beauty, or any other motive, while the other is of less esteem, and the son of her that is beloved be the younger, demands the prerogative of the elder from the attachment of his father to his mother, and would thereby attain a double portion of his father's patrimony (for so much our ordinances import) let not this by any means be granted: for it is unjust that he, who is the elder by birth, should be deprived of his right on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother possessed not an equal share in his affection.

If any man shall have debauched a maiden contracted to another, and with her consent, they shall both be punished with death, as they are both equally guilty of sin; the man for corrupting the woman, and the woman for consenting: the one for seducing the woman into a preference of inordinate gratification, to an honourable marriage; the other for prostituting herself either from inclination or profit. If a man force a woman when she is alone, and has none to come to her assistance, let him openly be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin, not yet espoused, marry her. But if the father of the damsel approves not of her being his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as a reparation for the injury.

Law against debauching a woman contracted to another man.

The penalty for corrupting a virgin that is free.

He that desires to be separated from his wife from any cause whatever (as many causes happen amongst men) let him confirm it in writing, that he will never more entertain her again; for, by this divorce, she may be at liberty to marry another husband, and refuse the former. But if it happens that she be ill used by the second, or that, he being dead, the first would take her again in marriage, it is not lawful for the wife to return to him.

Case of a man's parting with his wife.

If a woman's husband dies, and leaves her without children, let the brother of the deceased marry the widow, and let him call the son born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir to his inheritance; for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, as names and families should be preserved, and their possessions kept entire. This will also be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relations of their former husbands. But if the brother refuse to marry her, let the woman come before the senate and protest, that, though she offered to continue in the family, and bear him children, her husband's brother had given her a repulse, and thereby cast a dishonour on his memory. The senate shall then demand of the brother the reasons of his refusal. Whatever cause he assigns, the point must come to this issue. The woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and spit in his face, telling him, that he deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased. After this he departs the court with a brand of infamy which he carries to his grave, and the widow is free to marry where she pleases.

Case when husband dies, and leaves his wife without issue.

If any man take captive a maid, wife, or widow, and is disposed to marry her, let him not be allowed to cohabit with her before she has shaved her head, put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle; that, by this means, she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony. It is reasonable for him who takes a woman to have children by her, to gratify the inclinations of his wife, and not merely pursue his own will and pleasure, regardless of what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, (for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends), then let them proceed to the marriage. If the man be too fickle, or too proud, to retain her as his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her his slave again, but let her go whither she pleases, and have the privileges of a free woman, as by the marriage she hath purchased her liberty.

Duties enjoined on a maid, wife, or widow, who is taken prisoner, and then married.

As to those young persons who despise their parents, and, instead of paying them honour, behave themselves undutifully and contemptuously, either because they are ashamed of them, or think themselves wiser than they; in the first place let their parents (whom nature has constituted their judges) admonish them to this purport: "That they cohabited together not for the sake of pleasure, or the augmentation of their wealth, by uniting their

Of parents' fault.

(*a*) Josephus's plain and express interpretation of this law of Moses, that the Jews were bound every third year to pay three tythes, that to the Levites, that for sacrifices at Jerusa-

lem, and this for the indigent, the widows, and the orphans, is fully confirmed by the practice of good old Tobit, even when he was a captive in Assyria:

stocks, but that they might have children to comfort them in their old age. That when they were born they took them up with joy and gladness, and rendered God the most unfeigned thanks for them, brought them up with the tenderest care, and spared nothing that seemed necessary for their preservation, and instruction in whatever was most excellent. That now, since it is reasonable to pardon the errors of those who are young, it should suffice them to have given so many indications of contempt of their parents; and they should therefore reform, and act more wisely for the time to come. That they should remember God is displeased with those who are undutiful to their parents, because he is himself the Father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon earthly parents, when they do not meet with suitable returns from their children. And finally, that they should bear in mind the severity of the punishment which the law inflicts on the disobedient, and which the affectionate parent hopes the child will never experience."

Incorrigible obstinacy in children to be punished with death. If the obstinacy and perverseness of children are removed by such admonitions, let them be freed from the reproach which their former errors deserved, as it will redound to the honour of the lawgiver, and the happiness of parents. But if it should happen that neither authority or advice can effect a reformation of manners, and that rebellious children will still persist in incorrigible obstinacy, the law must then be put in execution. Let such, therefore, be brought by those very parents, whom they have so flagrantly offended by their disobedience, out of the city, with a multitude following, and let them be stoned to death, and there continue one whole day exposed to public view, and at night be buried with infamy. All who are sentenced to death by the laws are buried in the same manner. Public enemies are not to be denied burial, nor is any dead body to lie above ground. The law prescribes the punishment, to which justice enjoins an exact adherence.

No lending upon usury to an Hebrew brother. Let no Hebrew lend to another upon usury, nor take usury either upon meat or drink; for it is illiberal to take advantage of the misfortunes of our brethren. Count it sufficient, when you have assisted a brother in a case of extremity, that he acknowledges the kind office with gratitude. Charity brings with it its own reward, being ever attended with the consolation of an approving conscience, and an approving God.

Law relative to borrowing. Those who borrow either money, or any kind of saleable commodity, let them cheerfully restore the same as soon as Providence shall enable them so to do; laying it up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive it thence when occasion shall require.

But if the debtor has neither shame or conscience, to induce him to restore what he has borrowed, the creditor shall not enter his house and take a pledge before judgement be given concerning it: but let him demand it at the door, where the debtor himself is to deliver it, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. If he who gave the pledge be in good circumstances, let the creditor retain it till he has repaid his due; but if he be indigent, let it be returned before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the poor man may not want a covering in the night, for God himself shews mercy to the poor.

Working utensils not to be taken as pledges. It is not lawful to take a mill, or any utensil belonging thereunto, in as a pledge; lest the debtor be thereby deprived of instruments to obtain the means of a livelihood, and be exposed to extreme want.

Of theft. Let it be death to spirit away, or steal a man; and he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double.

Penalty of stealing cattle. If any man slay a thief in the act of stealing, or breaking into the house, he shall be held guiltless.

Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold for what is lost, unless it be an ox, in which case the thief is to pay five-fold: but if the offending party is so poor that he cannot pay the fine, let him be his servant to whom he was adjudged by the law to pay it.

If one Hebrew be sold to another, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free. But if it should so fall out that he hath children in his master's house by any female servant, and be disposed, from good will to his master, and natural affection to his wife and children, to continue in service, let him be set free only in the year of the jubilee, together with his wife and children.

Case of selling one Hebrew to another.

If any man find gold or silver upon the highway, let him enquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, in order to the restoring it, as not deeming it just to avail himself of the misfortune of another. The same rule is to be observed with respect to cattle strayed and wandering in a desert. If the owner be not presently discovered, let the finder keep them to himself, and appeal to God that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

What is found is not the immediate property of the finder.

It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is overburthened, or bemired upon the way, but to help and preserve it as if it was your own property.

Beasts in distress are to be helped.

It is also a duty to direct the ignorant traveller in his way, and give him the best direction and advice to set him forward on his journey. It is barbarous to sport with him, or cause a delay in the prosecution of his business.

The traveller is to be set right in his way.

Let no man revile his fellow who is either deaf, blind, or dumb.

If any man strikes another upon a sudden quarrel, and it be not with a weapon, let him that is smitten be avenged on the aggressor immediately, by returning the same number of blows as he had received. But if he that was struck be carried home, lie sick many days, and then dies, there shall lie no action of murder in the case; but if he that is smitten recovers, the other party shall pay the whole expence he has been subject to during the whole time of his sickness.

Law concerning assaults, &c.

If any man shall kick a woman with child, so that she miscarries, the judges shall mulct him a sum of money for the loss of a subject, besides another sum of money by way of fine to the woman's husband; but if she die of the stroke, the man must die, according to the law of life for life.

Penalty on beating a woman, and causing a miscarriage.

If there should be found in the possession of any Hebrew, the preparation of any poison that may cause death, or any other harm, he shall suffer death; or undergo the same injury that he would have brought upon them for whom the preparation was made.

Punishment of poisoners.

He that maimeth any man, let him undergo the same himself, and be deprived of the like member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is maimed shall think fit to compound for it with money; for the law admits of a man's being so far a judge in his own case, as to moderate the rigour of a penalty for an injury done to himself.

Law against maiming.

Let him that is owner of an ox that is mischievous, and given to goring, kill him. If an ox gores any one, let him be immediately stoned to death, and no man presume to eat of his flesh; but if his owner be convicted, as knowing the fierceness of the beast, and not keeping him up, he shall himself suffer death, as being accessory to the death of another man.

Law concerning oxen that gore.

If the ox hath killed a man or maid servant, let him be stoned, and the owner pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain: but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which was killed,

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ed, be fold, and let the price be divided between the two owners.

No pit or well is to be left uncovered.

Let those that dig a well or pit, be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut as not to hinder the drawing of water, but to give notice of danger, and thereby prevent man or beast from falling into them. In case any one's beast should fall into a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, the owner of the ground shall make satisfaction to the value of the beast.

Whatever is deposited in trust is to be held sacred.

Whoever has received any thing in trust for the use of another man, let him preserve it as sacred, and not, on any consideration, to be touched by man or woman, though immense profit was to accrue, and there was no possibility of bringing it to light. It is fit that a man's conscience should direct him, as the only judge and evidence of what we do, and whether we do well or ill. Let this conscience bear inward testimony, and also induce him so to act, as to procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can be concealed. But if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any fraud, lose what was deposited with him, let him come before the seven judges, and there make oath, in the presence of God, that nothing has been lost willingly, or with a fraudulent design; he shall then stand acquitted, and depart blameless: but if it shall be made appear that he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, let him be condemned to make good the whole of the deposit.

The labourer must be paid his hire.

The same punctuality is to be observed with respect to paying the labourer his hire. Be it ever remembered, that you are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, being sensible that Providence has allotted him those wages, instead of land and other possessions. Nor is the payment to be delayed, but made to the full due upon the same day that his work is finished; for the labourer should not be deprived of the immediate use of that for which he has toiled.

Children not to be punished for the iniquity of their parents.

Children are not to be punished for the iniquity of their parents; but where they preserve a reputable character, deserve pity for the misfortune of such alliances. Nor are the sins of children to be imputed to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in practices different from what they had been instructed in, and this through their proud refusal of such instruction.

All castration forbidden.

Let those who have made themselves eunuchs be held in detestation, and be secluded from the converse of society, as having deprived themselves of their manhood, to the disappointment of the main end of their creation. The depravity of their minds must lead them to make so unnatural an experiment on their bodies; for it is evident, that when the soul is effeminate, that effeminacy is diffused throughout the whole frame. Wherefore let neither man, nor any living creature, be castrated, for it is a departure from the grand institution of nature.

Let this be the constitution of your political laws in times of peace, and God will preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance. But as human affairs are precarious, and troubles and dangers will happen, either undesigned or intentional, it will be necessary to lay down some rules for obviating these contingencies; that so being apprized before-hand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be unprovided, and fall into disagreeable circumstances.

Keep to old laws, customs, and discipline.

May you continue in the quiet possession of the land that God hath allotted you, and reap the fruit of your industry and patience, without the hazard of open enemies from abroad, or of worse enemies amongst professed friends. A schism at home would endanger the laws, customs, discipline, and religion of your forefathers, which are the ordinances of God himself, being warranted by the authority of his Divine approbation. From these constitutions you are never to depart.

Let all military operations, whether at present, or in future, be carried on out of your own boundaries. Before you actually wage war, send ambassadors to those who are your voluntary enemies: for it is expedient to expostulate with them, before you proceed to acts of hostility, and assure them that, although you have a numerous army, provided with horses, arms, and all warlike accoutrements, and moreover, a God, whose power has ever been exerted in your behalf; do you, however, desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which, indeed, would be your gain, though it would tend to their irreparable loss. But if your competitors should think fit to put the cause upon a trial of war, lead your army against them, committing the government of the whole to God, and next, under him, to the bravest man for arms, policy, and courage, that you can pitch upon as vicegerent. Do not have many principal officers, as, besides being an obstacle to action, thro' want of agreement, they frequently interrupt and impede execution and dispatch. Look well to the choice of your levies; let them be of chosen men, endowed with extraordinary strength of body, and hardness of mind. Dismiss the timid part, lest they desert in the hour of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies.

Advice in case of war. Deut. xx.

You shall exempt from obligation those to serve who have lately built them houses, and have not occupied them a year, and those who have planted vineyards, and have not yet reaped the fruits, as well as those who are betrothed, or have lately taken to themselves, wives; lest having their minds set upon those objects, they fear to hazard their lives, and become dastardly and pusillanimous.

Persons exempt from military service.

When you have pitched your camp, take care to avoid whatever is cruel. If engaged in a siege, you want timber for the making of warlike implements, do not cut down fruit-trees, but spare them, considering that they were planted and reared for the benefit of man. If they could speak, they would expostulate with you on the impropriety of destroying that, which was no cause of the war, for the service of it.

Good order to be observed in the camp. No fruit-trees to be cut down.

When you have the fortune to overcome in battle, give no quarter to those of your enemies who were obstinate and stood it out, but preserve the rest, and make them your tributaries, excepting the Canaanites: those you are to extirpate, even the whole nation, root and branch.

No quarter to be given. The Canaanites to be rooted out.

Let no man assume the habit of a woman, nor woman that of a man, especially in a military action.

This was the form of political government left us by Moses. He had already delivered laws in writing, which he had compiled forty years before. Of these we shall treat on a future occasion.

The form of the Hebrew commonwealth.

After this he held assemblies for several successive days, awarding blessings to those who conformed to the laws, and denouncing curses against those who transgressed them. He then recited a kind of poetic song, composed in hexameter verse, and containing a prediction of future events, in the very order in which they occurred, without variation, as to time or matter. This song was inserted in the holy book.

A prophetic hymn and benediction.

To the priests he delivered his books, with the ark, in which were deposited the ten commandments, written on two tables. He left it in charge to the people as soon as they were in possession of the promised land, and had fixed their settlement, to avenge themselves on the Amalekites, for the injuries they had formerly done them in the desert.

He also enjoined them, on the conquest of Canaan, and extenuating the inhabitants, to erect an altar to the eastward, near the city of Shechem, between the mountains Garizim on the right hand, and Gebal on the left, and to divide the army in such a manner, that six tribes should be in each of the mountains, with the priests and Levites. They were to offer up prayers alternately, imploring divine blessings on those who kept the holy commandments, and observed the statutes of Moses, the lawgiver. At the close, the tribes upon Gebal, in acclamations, by way of

of response, signified an Amen, or, *be it so*. Curses were then denounced and ratified in the same manner as the blessings. These benedictions and imprecations were committed to writing for future reference. He also ordered them to be inscribed on each side of the altar, the people at the same time sacrificing and offering up burnt-offerings; though after that day they never offered sacrifice upon it, being deemed unlawful. These are the ordinances of Moses, which, by the Hebrew nation, are most religiously observed to this day.

The next day Moses called a general assembly of the people, men, women, and children, even slaves not excepted, and bound them, by a solemn oath, to the observance of the laws according to the will of God, from which they were not, in any point, to deviate, from motives of favour, fear, nor any other pretence whatsoever. If any individual, ever so near and dear to them, or any collective body, was to attempt an innovation, and thereby a dissolution, of the form of government established by them, the people were to take a general vengeance on him or them, and exterminate person and possessions from the face of the earth. But if, by some means that might prevent, they could not avenge themselves in this manner, they were to join in a protest against such impious proceedings, as totally opposite to their consent and approbation. To these particulars the multitude bound themselves by oath.

Moses added some instructions as to the form of sacrifice, and the measures of proceeding in great enterprises, referring them, for assurance of the Divine approbation, to the stones on the breast-plate of the high-priest, as already described.

While Moses was present, Joshua, by a prophetic impulse, foretold what he was to do for the welfare of the people, either in the conduct of war abroad, or the administration of government at home, preparing them, by this introductory address, for compliance with a new mode of discipline. He said, that, by inspiration of God, he was authorized to declare, that if they violated the sacred institutions of their religion and laws, they should fall into the direst calamities; their possessions should become a prey to strangers, their cities should be ransacked, their temples laid in ashes, and themselves sold as slaves to a merciless people, till they came at last too late to repentance. He added that God would, in time, restore their cities, with their temples also; but yet they were to forfeit these blessings not once only, but often.

Moses then appointed Joshua to lead the Hebrew army against the Canaanites, assuring him of the Divine aid and protection, and presaging the choicest blessings to the people. He then took his farewell in an address to the following purport:

"Since it is the will of God that I go to my fathers, and that this be the day of my departure, it becomes me, in your presence, to acknowledge the providential care he has exercised towards you and your affairs, not only in

"your deliverance from the extremest miseries, but
"in concurring upon you innumerable and inestimable blessings: nor can I but acknowledge, as
"in duty bound, the Divine direction and assistance
"in all my endeavours for your advantage and prosperity, in the promotion of which I was but a
"mere instrument, whilst God himself was the
"grand author and finisher. For all his mercies I
"render him unfeigned praises and thanksgivings,
"and to his gracious protection, as a dying man, I
"commend you. Remember to serve and honour
"that Supreme Being, who alone is intitled to your
"adoration and worship. Esteem his laws as the
"most valuable of all his bounties. Call to mind
"that a human law-giver would think it the highest
"indignity to have his ordinances contemned, and
"his authority trampled upon; and then reflect
"what must be the awful consequence of being
"summoned to appear before the tribunal of an incensed God, for wilful contempt and breach of
"his commandments."

The last address and advice of Moses to the people.

This farewell address was accompanied with several blessings on the tribes, presages of their future destiny, and torrents of tears from the multitude, the women beating their breasts, and the very children expressing extreme regret, at the approaching death of their great leader. In short, the lamentation was universal. Those in advanced life grieved for the loss of so constant and vigilant a protector; those in early life, that they should be deprived of so able a guide.

Moses universally lamented.

But none were more sensibly affected upon this occasion than the grand comforter himself; for notwithstanding his professed contempt of death, and resignation to the will of God, and the law of nature, yet these testimonies of the affection of the people so overcame him, that he could not refrain from tears. As he went to the place where he was to vanish from their sight, they followed him weeping; but he beckoned with his hand, to those at a distance, to stop where they were; and desired those who were near, not to interrupt the peace of his last hours. At his importunity they stood still, but not without bewailing the calamity of so general a loss. He was accompanied only by the senate, Eleazar, the high-priest, and Joshua, his successor.

As soon as they came to Abarim (a), or Nebo, a mountain over against Jericho, which affords a prospect of the fair and fruitful land of Canaan, he dismissed the senate, and, as he was embracing Eleazar and Joshua, and discoursing with them, a cloud suddenly environed him, and he was translated into a certain valley. The sacred records say that he died, lest men should imagine, from his extraordinary virtues, that he was yet alive and with God (b).

Moses withdrawn in sight of the land of Canaan.

Disappears as covered with a cloud.

Moses lived 120 years, a third part of which, within one month, he was ruler of the Hebrews. He died on the last month of the year, and on the first day of the month, called, by the Macedonians, Distrus, but by us, Adar.

Moses was a man of singular understanding (c), which

(a) There were mountains situated in the country of the Moabites, between the two rivers Arnon and Jordan, and commanded a most extensive prospect of the land of Canaan. One part of these mountains was distinguished by the name of Nebo, as appears from Deut. xxxii. 49. but if we compare this with Deut. xxxiv. 1. we shall find that Nebo and Pisgah were one and the same mountain. If, therefore, there was any distinction between the names, it was probably this, that the top of the mountain was more peculiarly called Pisgah, which signifies to *elevate* or *raise up*, and, therefore, may very properly denote the *top*, or *summit*, of any mountain. Not far from Nebo was Beth-peor, which was probably so called from some deity of that name, worshipped by the Moabites.

(b) As the place of his interment was not known, so no public monument could be erected on the spot to his memory; but, that no particle of his greatness might be lost, his successor, Joshua, (who, no doubt, was the author of the last chapter of Deuteronomy,) has there given him an honourable epitaph, which may be thus paraphrased:—See Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11, 12.

What prophet by the sacred breath inspir'd,
What friend of God, with holy raptures fir'd,
Whose deathless name can equal glories share,
Or with God's servant Moses can compare?
With mortal eyes th' Invisible he saw;
On trembling Sinai's top receiv'd the law:
From Egypt's fetters ransom'd Israel brought,
And in their sight great signs and wonders wrought.

(c) The character of Moses has been delineated by a variety of inspired, as well as profane, writers, all of whom acknowledge him to have been the most excellent legislator and historian ever known. The instances of his conduct related through the course of his history, sufficiently convince us of the truth of this assertion, and that he was a most profound philosopher, a skillful general, an eminent prophet, and a faithful guardian of the people.

which he applied to the wisest purposes. He was a perfect orator, capable of expressing, in the most striking light, his own feelings, and working most effectually upon the passions of others. He was moreover a skilful general, an eminent prophet, and a faithful guardian of the people. The people

mourned for him thirty days; nor did ever any grief so deeply affect them, as upon the death of this great and holy man. He not only maintained an excellent character among his contemporaries, but his writings have transmitted his fame to immortal ages. Thus much for the end of Moses.

The commendation which the author of Ecclesiasticus gives Moses, is expressed in these words: "Moses (says he) was beloved of God and men, and his memorial is blessed. The Lord made him like to the glorious saints, and magnified him so, that his enemies stood in fear of him. By his word he caused the wonders to cease, and he made him glorious in the sight of kings, gave him commandment for his people, and shewed him part of his glory. He sanctified him in his faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men. He made him to hear his voice, and brought him into the dark cloud, and gave him commandments before his face, even the law of life and knowledge, that he might teach Jacob his covenant, and Israel his judgments." Chap. xlv. 1-5.

The character St. Augustin gives of Moses is short, but at the same time very expressive: "He was (says he) the most faithful servant of God; humble in wishing to decline so weighty a ministry, but dutiful in undertaking it; just in keeping, and resolute in executing it; vigilant in government; strict in justice; jealous in love; and patient in suffering."

The apostle St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, speaks of Moses as follows: "By faith (says he) Moses, when he was come to age, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the king's displeasure. Through faith he instituted the passover and effusion of blood, lest he that slew the first-born should touch them. By faith he passed through the Red Sea as on dry land,

which, when the Egyptians attempted to do, they were swallowed up."

St. Stephen, the Protomartyr, in speaking of Moses, says thus: "Moses was mighty in word and deed; to whom, in the wilderness of mount Sinai, an angel appeared in a flame of fire in a bush. Him God sent for a prince and a deliverer of the people, by rescuing them from a servile state of bondage, which he accomplished after doing wonders and miracles in the land of Egypt. This is he that was in the congregation (the church) in the wilderness, and conversed with our fathers, who received the lively oracles to give unto us."

The character given of Moses by St. Ambrose is as follows: "Moses (says he) was the Figure of that Preceptor that was to come, who should preach the Gospel, fulfil the Old Testament, build the New, and feed the people with celestial aliment. Hence the dignity of the human condition is so highly advanced, that he is called by the name of God, *I have made thee a god to Pharaoh*. Exod. vii. 1. that is, I have given thee authority to speak to him in my name. And, indeed, he became his character; for he was master of his passions, not inclined to worldly desires, but, in mind and body, endeavoured to conduct himself after the likeness of that perfection of his God, as far as nature would permit. And, therefore, we read quite differently of him, to what we do of others, who die through some defect of nature. With him it was otherwise; for, notwithstanding his great age, he retained the use of all his faculties to the last, his eyes not failing, nor his natural force abated; but died according to the word of the Lord."

End of the FOURTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K V.

[Including a Period of about Three Hundred and Fifty-seven Years.]

C H A P. I.

Joshua succeeds Moses. Sends spies into Canaan. They are protected by a woman called Rahab. Jericho besieged, and laid waste by the Hebrews. Joshua forms a league with the Gibeonites. Obtains a complete conquest over the Canaanites. Divides their lands among the different tribes. Lot of each tribe. Death and character of Joshua.

AFTER the accustomed ceremonies were over, and the last duty paid to the memory of Moses, Joshua ordered the people to get themselves in readiness for marching, and, in the mean time, dispatched certain persons to Jericho, in order to learn the strength of the place, and the disposition of the inhabitants. On this occasion he convened the leaders of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasse: the latter of whom had been promised to settle in the country of the Amorites, which includes a seventh part of the land of Canaan.

When these leaders were assembled together, Joshua reminded them of the promises they had made to Moses, and earnestly intreated them, not only for his sake, but also for their own, to fulfill their engagement. They cheerfully complied with Joshua's request, and immediately joined his army with a body of 50,000 men.

Joshua having received this assistance, marched with his whole army about sixty furlongs towards the banks of the river Jordan. They had scarce pitched their tents, before the spies, who had been sent to Jericho, arrived, and gave the following account of what had happened to them during their stay in that city.

That the inhabitants, considering them as strangers come to gratify their curiosity, permitted them

to perambulate the city without interruption; in consequence of which they had the opportunity of viewing the walls, ramparts, and other fortifications raised for the defence of the city. That, towards the close of the day, they retired to a house, situated near the wall of the city, where they refreshed themselves, and intended leaving the place early the next morning. While they were at this house, information had been given the king, that there were spies in the city from the Hebrew camp, and that they were concealed in the house of a woman named Rahab; in consequence of which an order was issued for apprehending them; and that, if they did not confess who they were, and on what business they came, they should be put to the torture. As soon as Rahab was informed of this, she communicated the intelligence to the spies, and taking them to a retired part of the house, concealed them, by covering them over with a large quantity of flax. That when the officers of justice came in search of them, Rahab told them, there had, indeed, been strangers there, but that, after supper, they departed; and as the time was but short since they went, if they were the dangerous people suspected, she did not doubt but, by immediate endeavours, they might be easily taken. The honesty of the woman's countenance, and the simple manner in which she expressed herself, satisfied the officers, and they immediately left the house to go in quest of the spies; but after travelling some way, and finding no likelihood of succeeding, they desisted from their pursuit, supposing they had effectually made their escape. That when the confusion which the alarm occasioned, had in some degree subsided, Rahab uncovered them, related what had passed, and pointed out the great danger to which she had exposed herself and family for their protection; as a return for which she exacted from them an oath, that when the city should be invested, and rendered desolate by the Hebrews, (for she told them it had been revealed to her by the Almighty that it should), they should preserve her and her relations from the general destruction. That they had faithfully promised the protection she required, to effect which they had

The spies are protected by Rahab.

Rahab exacts an oath of protection from the spies in return.

told her, that, when she found the city attacked, to shut herself up, together with her relations, in her house; and that, in order to distinguish it from the rest, she must affix red strings to the door, which signal should be communicated to the general, who would, no doubt, give such directions, as to secure her from all danger. That after this agreement was made between them, they departed, being assisted by Rahab, who, for that purpose, had got a rope, and fastened it to the top of one part of the house, by means of which they made their escape unperceived.

Rahab conveys the spies away in safety.

The Hebrew army pitch their tents on the borders of the river Jordan.

A miraculous passage opened for Hebrews over the river. Order in which they passed.

Joshua erects an altar of twelve stones, and consecrates by sacrifices.

Hebrews labour under a dearth of manna.

them to action, and therefore determined to lay siege to the place, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

Joshua resolves on the siege of Jericho.

Having formed this resolution, on the first day of the Feast of the Passover he ordered a procession to be made round the walls of the city, the manner of which was this: first, a certain number of priests, carrying the ark, surrounded by a considerable body of the troops; these were followed by seven other priests, each blowing a horn, or trumpet, to animate the soldiers; and the whole was closed by the elders. In this manner they marched round the walls of the city, and then returned to their camp.

Order of the priests procession with the ark.

This ceremony was repeated for six successive days; during which time not a single person of the Canaanites was seen without the walls of the city. On the seventh day Joshua, addressing himself not only to the army, but the people in general, told them, that, on that day the city of Jericho should be delivered into their hands, and that without any efforts being made on their parts to effect it; for that the very walls would fall of themselves, and the city would be rendered totally defenceless. He strictly charged them to confine attention to the destruction of the inhabitants, all of whom they should put to the sword, except Rahab and her family, that the oath might be strictly performed which had been given by the spies, when they were on the other side the river Jordan. He likewise told them, that whatever gold or silver they should find, to lay it in a heap on the spot, for it should be dedicated to God as the first fruits of a victory obtained over the Canaanites.

Joshua, after delivering these instructions to the army and people, marched towards the city, and proceeded round the walls of it in the same manner, and with the same ceremonies, as before mentioned in the Feast of the Passover; but, as they were passing the seventh time, they made a halt, when the wall suddenly gave way, and the whole fell to the ground.

The walls of Jericho give way, and fall to the ground.

This surprising and unexpected event threw the Canaanites into the utmost consternation, inasmuch that they had not power to attempt the least resistance. In consequence of this the Israelites immediately entered the city, and, to obey the instructions previously given them by Joshua, put all to the sword (b), except Rahab and her family; the former of whom being brought before Joshua, he rewarded her in the most ample manner for the services she had done him.

Jericho is taken, and all the inhabitants put to the sword, except Rahab and her friends.

To make a final destruction of the city of Jericho, the Israelites, after murdering the inhabitants, set it on fire, and the whole was reduced to an heap of ashes. A prophetic curse (c) was likewise denounced against any person who should ever after attempt to rebuild it; that whoever should take upon him to lay the first stone might be punished by the loss of his eldest son; and whoever should finish the work, his youngest. In the city were found great quantities of gold, silver, and brass, the whole of which was of immense value, and being gathered together, as Joshua had ordered, he presented it to the priests to be deposited in the sacred treasury.

Great spoil found in the city.

Notwithstanding the caution Joshua had taken to prevent private plunder, yet one Achar, the son of Zebedee, and of the tribe of Judah, made a breach on the injunction, by concealing the cloak of the king of the Canaanites, which was not only rich in itself, but had about it as much gold as weighed two hundred shekels. He argued with himself, that as he had hazarded his life to obtain it, he thought he had a right to enjoy it, and that it would be ridiculous to offer that to God which

Achar is found guilty of theft.

(a) This was the third time of their celebrating that festival. The first was at their departure out of Egypt, and the second at their erecting the tabernacle at the foot of Mount Sinai.

(b) Here we may observe, that whenever any of the public enemies of the Jews had been, for their wickedness, solemnly devoted to destruction according to the Divine command, as were generally the seven wicked nations of Canaan, and those sinners the Amalekites, it was utterly unlawful to permit those

enemies to be redeemed; but they were to be all utterly destroyed. See Numb. xxi. 2, &c.

(c) The words of Joshua's execration in the text are as follow: "Cursed be the man before the Lord that raiseth up and buildeth this city Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it." Josh. vi. 26.



*The falling of the Walls of JERICHO, burning the City,
and Destruction of the Inhabitants, by the ISRAELITES.*



Stothard delin.

Blake sculp.

*The BATTLE of AIN, & the DESTRUCTION of
the CITY, by the Army of JOSHUA.*



ACHAR confessing his SACRILEGIOUS THEFT, and delivering up
his plunder in presence of the multitude, previous to his being
STONED to DEATH.

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was only designed for the use of man. He therefore dug a pit in his tent, and there hid the cloak; supposing that it would be equally hidden from God, as it was from his companions.

The army of the Israelites was at this time encamped at a place called by them Gilgal, which signifies *liberty*; intimating, that they now thought themselves secure from any future danger, and that they should never again be sensible of the like misfortunes they had experienced during their residence in the wilderness.

A short time after the destruction of Jericho, Joshua sent out a detachment of 2000 men to invest Ain, another city, situated at a small distance from the former. In this attack the Israelites met with a warm repulse: thirty-six of them were slain, among whom were several persons the relations of distinguished characters, and the rest were obliged to seek their safety by flight. The news of this defeat greatly dispirited the whole army of the Israelites, who, from the promises made them by Divine revelation, had set it down for granted, that whatever project they engaged in, it would infallibly prove successful. From this disappointment, and the reflection of its consequences, they clothed themselves with sackcloth, and spent the day in fasting and prayer. The mind of Joshua was likewise particularly impressed with despair; and prostrating himself on the ground, in the most fervent manner addressed the Almighty in words to the following effect:

“ Lord (said he) we came not hither rashly, or unadvisedly, to reduce this country under our power and dominion, but from a pure deference and respect to the persuasion of thy servant Moses, to whom thou didst promise the possession of this country, and that we should be victorious over all our enemies. The sudden change which has taken place, in the disappointment of our hopes, and loss of our friends, greatly alarms us, and the more so, lest we should prove equally unsuccessful in any future attempts. Do thou, therefore, O Lord, who alone art able to give us relief, help and preserve us. Vouchsafe unto us comfort and victory; and be graciously pleased to give us future hopes, by removing the despair under which we at present labour.”

When Joshua had finished his prayer, God commanded him to rise, and to purge the army from a pollution it had acquired by a sacrilegious theft, and which was the real cause of the mischief that had befallen them. That there should be lots cast to find out the criminal, who should be made an example of for his perfidiousness; and that afterwards, whatever they undertook should be attended with success.

Joshua immediately communicated these instructions and assurances to the people; and calling to him Eleazar, the high-priest, and the princes of the tribes, he ordered that lots should be first cast to discover the tribe to which the thief belonged. This was accordingly done, when it fell upon the tribe of Judah; in consequence of which lots were again cast among the several families of that tribe. On examination it appeared that the lot fell on Achar, who belonged to the family of Zaccharias. He was accordingly taken into custody, and being conscious of his iniquity, confessed the fact, and delivered up the plunder in presence of the multitude. Upon this he was immediately put to an ignominious death, and his body denied the accustomed ceremonies of interment.

When Joshua had purged his army, agreeable to the Divine command, he marched towards the city of Ain; and planting a body of men in ambuscade the preceding evening, he the next morning presented himself in sight of the enemy with his main body. The Ainites were so elated with their

former success, that, as soon as they saw the Israelites, they immediately advanced in the most furious manner to give them battle. On this Joshua feigned a retreat, till, having drawn the Ainites a considerable distance from the city, he made a stop, and gave a signal (which had been previously agreed on) to the troops in ambush. Agreeable to this signal they immediately entered the city, where they met with little opposition; the greater part of the inhabitants having planted themselves on the walls to see the action, in full confidence, from the success they had met with before, that the Israelites would be totally overthrown. These detached troops made themselves masters of the city, and put the inhabitants to the sword; while the grand army engaged that of the Ainites, and totally defeated them. The greater part were killed in the action; and the remainder fled for protection to the city, not suspecting that it was already in the hands of their enemies; but when they discovered its situation, and the great danger they were in; they had immediate recourse to flight, and concealed themselves in wilds and deserts. The booty taken on this occasion was of immense value, consisting of great quantities of plate, costly furniture, gold, silver, coined money, and other articles, all which were divided among the soldiers, as a reward for their past, and an encouragement for their future, conduct.

The great success of Joshua against the cities of Jericho and Ain, and the slaughter made among the inhabitants, had struck such a panic in the kings of the respective provinces on that side the river Jordan, that they confederated together, and entered into a league for their mutual defence. But the Gibeonites, foreseeing the destruction that awaited them, and being apprehensive that all resistance would be in vain, consulted with their neighbours, the inhabitants of Cephirah and Kerithyearim, among whom it was agreed, that endeavours should be used to obtain a peace with the Israelites: but as they knew that could not be effected should it be known they were Canaanites, they had recourse to the following stratagem. They selected a certain number of artful men, who were instructed to feign themselves ambassadors come from a very distant country, in order to obtain a league with the people of Israel. To make this story appear plausible, they were dressed in tattered garments, with worn-out shoes on their feet; and the bread they took with them in their bags was so musty as to be entirely useless. In this situation they arrived at Gilgal (a), the place where Joshua was encamped, to whom being introduced, they told him, that, from the many miracles which God had wrought for them in the land of Egypt, and the wonderful successes wherewith he had blessed their arms against every power that had opposed them in their coming to that place, their states and rulers had sent them from a very remote country, to form a league of friendship with them, and that on such conditions as were customary with their forefathers. They then pointed to their garments, which they solemnly assured Joshua were quite new when they sat out on their journey; but that the great length of it had reduced them to the state in which they then appeared.

This plausible tale gained such credit with the Israelites, that they entered into an amicable alliance with them; and Eleazar, the high-priest, with the princes of the respective tribes, solemnly ratified the treaty, the whole multitude assenting to the oaths made by their leaders. When the business was over, the ambassadors took their leave, and hastened to the Gibeonites with the glad tidings of their distinguished success.

A few days after the departure of the ambassadors the whole was discovered; when it appeared that the Gibeonites were inhabitants of Canaan, and that they resided at a small distance from Jerusa-

(a) This place received its name from the rite of circumcision, which was there renewed by the Israelites. It lay about two miles to the eastward of Jericho; and St. Jerome, No. 6.

tells us that it was, in his time, held in great veneration by the inhabitants of the country.

The Israelites are repulsed in their attack upon Ain.

They fast and humble themselves before God.

Joshua exultates with God, and expresses a reliance on his promises.

Joshua is commanded to purge his army, and to cast lots to find out the criminal.

Achar is discovered, and put to death.

Joshua takes Ain, lays it waste, and then distributes ample rewards in plunder to the soldiers. Josh. viii.

The Gibeonites are alarmed at the success of Joshua in the reduction of Jericho and Ain.

They dispatch an embassy to Joshua.

Artifice practised by the ambassadors.

The ambassadors depart.

Their artifice discovered.

lem. This discovery greatly alarmed Joshua, who sent for the governors, and reproached them for having practised such a deception; to which they replied, that they were compelled to do it in their own defence, as they had reason to think they should otherwise share a similar fate with the inhabitants of Jericho and Ain. Joshua was desirous of having the league cancelled; but as it was confirmed by a solemn oath, this could not be done without incurring the Divine displeasure. It was therefore resolved, in order to appease the people, that, as a punishment for the imposition, the Gibeonites should ever after be kept in a state of bondage.

The Gibeonites subjected to public drudgery.

The king of Jerusalem enters into a league with four neighbouring kings, and makes war with the Gibeonites.

The Gibeonites apply to Joshua for aid against the confederates.

Joshua hastens with his army to their relief, and puts the enemy to flight.

A dreadful tempest.

The sun stands still.

When the confederate princes (who were five in number, the principal of whom was the king of Jerusalem) heard of the separate treaty made by the Gibeonites, and the artful manner in which it was obtained, they resolved to be revenged on them for desertion of the common cause. Accordingly they joined all their forces, and marched towards their city, with a determined resolution of laying siege to it. When they came within a small distance of the place they pitched their tents, intending to begin the attack early the next morning. In the mean time the Gibeonites dispatched a messenger to Joshua, imploring his immediate assistance, as they must otherwise inevitably fall into the hands of the Canaanites. Joshua lost no time in complying with the request of the Gibeonites, and marching his army the whole night, he, the next morning, arrived at the spot where the enemy were encamped. He immediately led on his troops to action; and the Canaanites, finding all resistance was likely to prove ineffectual, fled, but were pursued by the Israelites to a place called Beth-hora. In this expedition God had all along encouraged Joshua, by promising him success; and therefore, as the confederate forces were endeavouring to escape, and save themselves by flight, he suffered a violent storm of hail (a) to fall, the stones of which were so large that more people were destroyed by them than what fell by the sword. As a farther proof of Divine interposition, a circumstance occurred on that day, the like of which never happened either before or since; namely, the sun itself stood still (b) in the firmament, that the Israelites might not want day-light to compleat the victory. This last circumstance is most expressly attested in the Holy Scriptures, according to the copies preserved in the temple.

The confederate kings, finding themselves so closely pursued, and likely to be either slain or made captives, concealed themselves in a cave at a place called Makkedah; intelligence of which being given to Joshua, he ordered the cave to be blocked up, and a guard placed over it. After he returned from pursuing the enemy, he ordered the cave to be opened, and the kings being brought forth, they were hung upon trees till the evening, when their bodies were taken down, and thrown into the cave; so that the place they had pitched on for a sanctuary became their sepulchre.

After this defeat, Joshua proceeded to the southern parts of Canaan; where, having destroyed the inhabitants, and seized their most valuable possessions, he returned with his army to the camp at Gilgal.

(a) The propriety and intent of the miracles performed this day are thus explained by a learned Divine: "All nations had at that time their several tutelary deities, to whose protection they committed themselves and their country, and of whose power they judged by their successes in war. Now the three principal deities whom the inhabitants of Canaan adored were the sun, the moon, and heavens or air. To convince them, therefore, in their own way, that the gods in whom they trusted were subject to the God of Israel, and to punish them, at the same time, for the worship they paid them, the Lord showered down great hail-stones from the heavens or air, which slew vast numbers of their powerful army, and then stopped the two great luminaries in their course, which gave the Israelites time and opportunity to complete their victory over the remainder."

(b) The deists have greatly cavilled at this miracle, on account of its not being recorded by heathen writers. But that it should not be mentioned by them is not in the least to be

Though the great destruction made by the army of the Israelites had struck a terror in most parts of Canaan, yet it had not that effect on the princes of the north, who, instead of being intimidated, formed the resolution of boldly attacking Joshua. They accordingly drew their forces together, and pitched their camp at Berothæ, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from the waters of Merom (c). Their army consisted of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 2000 chariots.

A powerful confederacy formed by the Canaanite kings against Joshua.

When the Israelites understood what a formidable army was raised against them by the Canaanites, they became greatly dispirited; and even Joshua himself was almost sunk into despair. But they were dispelled, on Joshua's receiving assurances from God that they should overcome their enemies; and, to make their conquest compleat, he was commanded to kill their horses, and burn their chariots.

Joshua and his army at first intimidated, but afterwards encouraged by assurances of the Divine aid.

Encouraged by this Divine protection, Joshua immediately marched his army against that of the Canaanites. On the fifth day he came within sight of their camp, and ordering his troops to advance with all possible dispatch, they fell so suddenly on the enemy, that they were immediately thrown into disorder. Those who attempted resistance were all slain on the spot: and such as fled, being pursued, were overtaken and slain. Their horses were also all killed, and their chariots committed to the flames.

A desperate action ensued, in which the Canaanites are totally routed, and their kings slain.

The success of this day made Joshua absolute master of the country. He pursued his rout to a considerable distance, plundering every town he came to, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword. In short, the whole country was one continued scene of desolation, and the inhabitants of it totally extirpated, except a small number who had accidentally escaped, and secured themselves in places of great strength. Such was the desolation made in the land of Canaan during a war of only five years.

The whole country is laid waste, and the inhabitants exterminated, by the army of Joshua, in the course of a war of five years.

Joshua, having thus reduced the Canaanites, returned with his army to Gilgal; from whence, after a short time, he removed to the mountainous part of the country, and fixed the holy tabernacle in the city of Shiloh. The situation of this place was exceeding delightful; and here it was that Joshua intended, when circumstances would permit, to build a temple.

Joshua proceeds from Gilgal to Shiloh, to plant the tabernacle there. Josh. xiv.

From Shiloh Joshua removed, with all his people, to Shechem, where he erected an altar, as had been some years before appointed by Moses. He then divided his army, one half of which was placed on Mount Garizim, and the other half on Mount Gebal. At the latter place he erected another altar, on which the priests offered sacrifices; and when they had denounced the malediction before recited, and engraved them upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

Erected altars at Shechem.

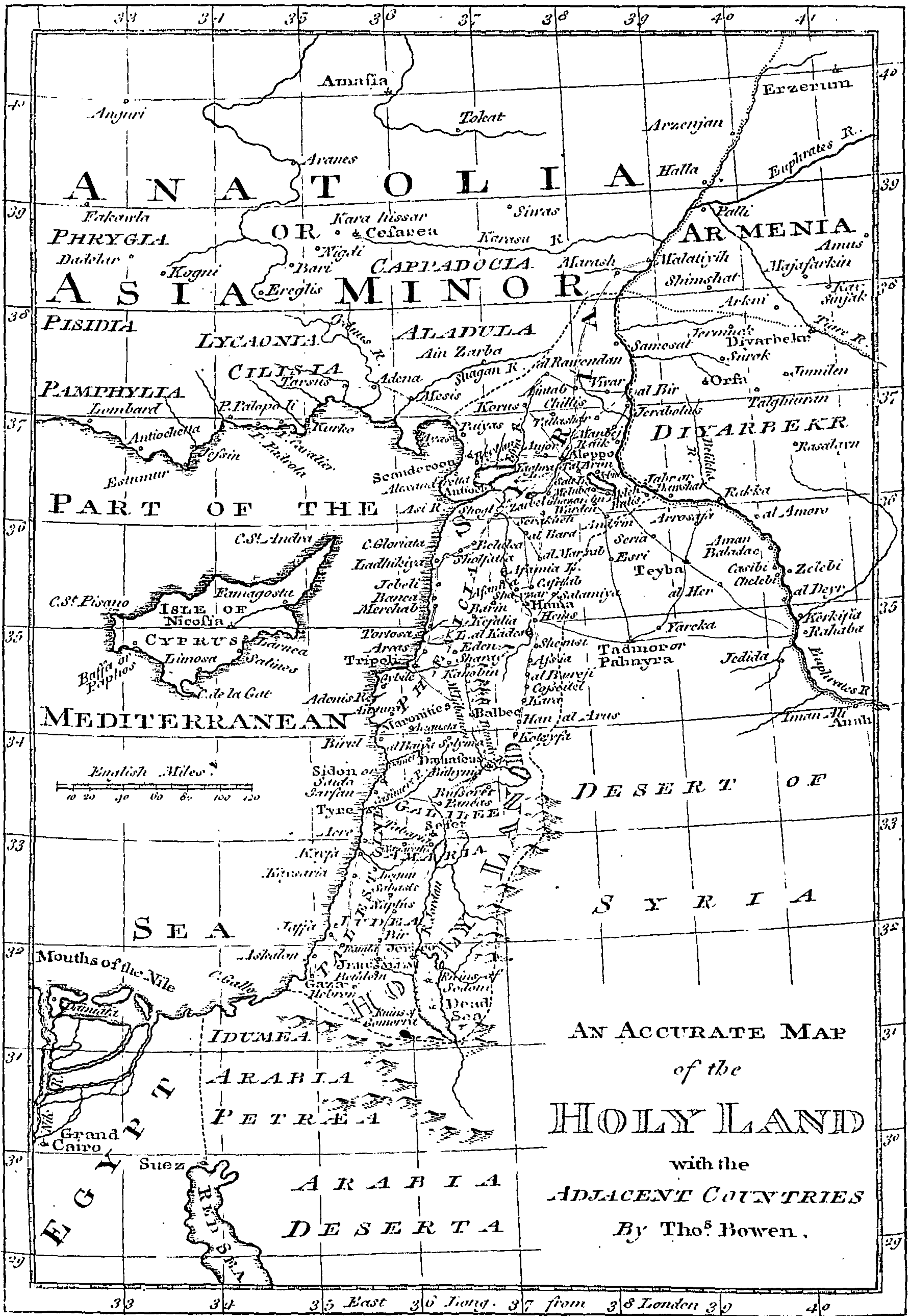
At this place, a short time after, Joshua convened a general assembly of the people; and, after reminding them of the great success they had met with through the assistance of the Divine protection, he observed, that the Canaanites had still many cities in their possession, which were rendered so strong by nature and art together, as to be almost

Joshua convenes a general assembly of the people, to remind them of the Divine assistance, and to encourage them to the conquest of the Canaanites.

wondered at, when we consider that Homer, who wrote above a thousand years after Joshua, is their oldest writer now extant. Letters were not then known among the heathens, and therefore it is no wonder that such a circumstance should have been forgotten.

(c) Some of the learned are of opinion, that by the Waters of Merom are meant the lake Semechon, which lies between the head of the river Jordan and the lake Genesareth. But others imagine that these waters were somewhere about the brook Kishon, there being a place of that name mentioned in the account of the battle against Sisera, Judges v. 21. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that the confederate kings advanced as far as the brook Kishon, and to a pass which led into the country, to hinder Joshua from penetrating it, than to imagine they waited for him in the midst of their own country, leaving all Galilee at his mercy, and the whole track from the brook Kishon to the lake Semechon. See Wells's Geography of the Old Testament.

impregnable.



the different tribes
to come beyond
Jordan, and the appoint-
ment of million-
s to survey the country.

Shu's
proposal
universally
approved,
and put into
execution.

Instructions
to the com-
missioners
respecting
the estimate.

Joshua calls an assembly of the heads of the tribes, and determines on a partition of the land of Canaan by lots.

The tribe of
Judah.

Benjamin.

Ephraim.

Half tribe of
Menalles.

Wachar.

Zebulon.

After.

Naphthal.

The tribe of Dan had, for their own share, all the vallies lying to the west between Azotus and Doran, together with the cities of Jamnia and Gittha, with the whole country from Aceron, where the portion allotted to the tribes of Judah commences.

Figure

Joshua con-
venes the
heads of
the different
tribes, and
enjoins
them ut-
terly to ex-
tirpate the
Canaanites.

Cities of
sanctuary,
Hebron,
Shechem,
and Ceden.

Joshua divides the spoil, which was immense, amongst the soldiers.

heritance; and to few thou shalt give the lesser inheritance. Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to lot shall the possession thereof be divided between many and few. See Numb. xxvi. 53, &c.

“ To this end we think it but justice to discharge
“ you from any farther attendance at present; not
“ doubting but, if occasion should require it, you
“ will readily contribute your assistance at any fu-
“ ture period. For the services you have already
“ done us, accept our most grateful acknowledg-
“ ments; and we hope that the sense of good of-
“ fices gone and past, may be improved into a mu-
“ tual and inviolable league of friendship for the
“ time to come, remembering that we stand in-
“ debted for the advantages already received, next
“ under God, to the force of this reciprocal alli-
“ ance. Your services have not gone unrewarded,
“ so far, at least, as an inestimable booty may be con-
“ sidered as a recompence. Be assured you will ever
“ find in me a most sincere friend, being sufficiently
“ satisfied that you have paid a strict attention to
“ the last will of Moses, and that you have done
“ every thing in your power that was consistent
“ with his ordinances. I now give you full liberty
“ to depart to your respective homes, and most sin-
“ cerely wish you to enjoy the advantages you have
“ received from our great success in war. Let no
“ distance of place, no interposition of rivers, set
“ limits to our friendship, or divide our affections;
“ for, however separated, we are all Hebrews still.
“ It was from one and the same God that Abraham,
“ and all our forefathers, received their being; and
“ it is that God we are all to worship, according to
“ the ordinances and institutions left us by Moses.
“ So long as we stand firm to our religion, we may
“ be assured of the favour and protection of that
“ God for our comfort: but should you deviate
“ from your religious principles, and embrace ido-
“ latry, depend upon it the God of your fathers
“ will desert and forsake you.”

Joshua's final or-
ders.

The peo-
ple weep at
the depar-
ture of their
brethren.

When Joshua had finished his speech, he took a solemn and distinct leave, first of the princes, and then of the people; and they immediately departed for their own country. The other tribes accom-
panied them a considerable way; and when they parted, the latter testified their affection by tears and lamentation.

An altar
erected
near the
place of
passage over
the river
Jordan, as
a memorial
of the
league be-
tween the
tribes on
each side
the river.

As soon as the disbanded tribes arrived on the other side the river Jordan, they erected an altar near the place where they and their brethren miraculously passed over; not for any religious use, but as a memorial to succeeding generations, that, though they were parted by the river, they were of the same descent and religion, and held an equal right to the tabernacle at Shiloh, and to the worship of God performed there, as their brethren on the other side the river. The latter, either from being misinformed, or misapprehending the intent of this altar being erected, fell into a violent rage against them, as apostates from the true religion; and immediately took up arms in vindication of the worship and religion of their forefathers, and to avenge the cause of God upon the heads and chief authors of this defection. But, before they proceeded to these extremities, their rulers advised them to suspend the execution of their wrath till they had sent a deputation, in order to know their reason for building such an altar. This being agreed to by the people, they made choice of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, with ten other persons of eminent distinction, to go on the embassy. As soon as these commissioners arrived on the other side the river Jordan, they convened an assembly of the people, when Phineas addressed them as follows:

The erect-
ing of the
altar causes
jealousy and
suspicion.

Phineas, and
ten respect-
able men,
sent to ex-
postulate
with the
discontent-
ed tribes.

An assembly
called.

Address of
Phineas.

“ We are very sensible that the crime charged on
“ you at present is of too heinous a nature to be pu-
“ nished by words only; but we have not rashly
“ taken up arms to execute vengeance in propor-
“ tion to the degree of iniquity committed. We
“ have considered that you are in alliance with us,
“ and hope that, in serious reflection, and a proper
“ admonition from us, you will be made sensible of
“ your error, and brought to a proper sense of your
“ duty. We desire that you will frankly and ho-
“ nestly inform us, upon what motives, and with
“ what design, you erected this altar. If it was
“ from motives consistent with the religion of

“ Moses, we are not angry with you; but if you
“ are gone over to a false worship, we must draw
“ our swords in defence of that religion you have so
“ sacrilegiously violated. We most sincerely hope
“ the latter is not the case; for we cannot think it
“ possible that a people so well acquainted with the
“ laws of God, our friends and allies, from whom
“ we have so lately parted, can be so insensible and
“ ungrateful, as to abandon the holy tabernacle,
“ the ark and the altar, and the worship of your
“ forefathers, to join with our enemies, the Cana-
“ anites, in the worship of false gods. Should this
“ unfortunately be the case, we intreat you to re-
“ pent, and return to that reverence you owe to
“ the laws of God and your country, and you shall
“ be again received: but if you obstinately persist
“ in your error, we must compel you to obedience
“ by force of arms. Do not imagine that, because
“ you are separated from us by a river, you are
“ therefore out of the reach of God's power; for
“ you are under his jurisdiction wherever you exist.
“ If the temptations of the place in which you live
“ are too powerful for you to withstand, remove to
“ a distant country; for depend on it, if you con-
“ tinue here, and persevere in your error, destruction
“ will be the consequence. Take advice in time,
“ relinquish you apostacy, and adore the true God,
“ who will ever protect you, as he has hitherto done
“ your forefathers. Consider well what is now said
“ to you; and do not put us to the necessity of com-
“ mencing a war that will be exceeding disagreeable
“ to us, and infallibly destructive to you. You
“ have still your choice left, either to continue
“ friends, by returning to your duty, or otherwise
“ to become enemies; in the latter of which cases
“ no distinction will be made between apostate
“ Israelites, and professed Canaanites.”

When Phineas had finished his speech, one of the rulers of the assembly, in the name of the whole multitude, addressing himself to the deputies, re-
turned the following answer:

“ The accusation you have laid against us is ill-
“ founded. We have not made the least breach in
“ the alliance so happily formed with our brethren
“ on the other side Jordan; nor have we been guilty
“ of any affectation or novelty in erecting this al-
“ tar. We know but one God, who is the God of
“ all the Hebrews; and but one altar, which is the
“ brazen altar before the tabernacle. With respect
“ to the altar in question, it was never intended for
“ any religious use, but only as a memorial to pos-
“ terity of our mutual friendship and alliance; and
“ rather to keep us steady in our antient religion,
“ than to be any ways instrumental to the violation
“ of it. God is our witness that this, and this only,
“ was the occasion of the altar being erected;
“ whence we intreat you to lay aside those suspicions
“ you have entertained, and not impute to us what
“ would render any part of the posterity of Abra-
“ ham, who should be guilty of such conduct, de-
“ serving of immediate death.

The reply
of the fe-
deral tribes.

This answer gave great satisfaction to the deputies, who immediately returned to Joshua, and an assembly being called, related to them the particu-
lars of all that had passed. Not only Joshua, but the princes of the tribes, and, in short, all the peo-
ple, rejoiced at the result of this embassy; for which they offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God. When this was done, Joshua dismissed the people, and retired to Shechem.

The depu-
ties are per-
fectly satis-
fied with
the reply.

As are
Joshua and
the people
in general.
Joshua dis-
misses them,
and retires
to She-
chem.

No particular occurrence took place from this period till the death of Joshua, which happened about twenty years after. He was at this time far advanced in years, and finding his dissolution near at hand, he convened an assembly of the leaders of the tribes, the elders, magistrates, and as many of the common people as could be gathered together. When the whole appeared before him, he harangued them in a pertinent discourse, on the great benefits and protection they had received from the hand of Providence. He pointed out to them in what manner he had preserved them even in the midst of dangers; and

Joshua calls
a general as-
sembly, and
delivers his
last exhorta-
tion to the
people.
Josh. xxiv.

and that he had not only relieved them in all their wants and distresses, but had raised them from the most abject to the most prosperous situation in life. For these great and distinguished benefits he strictly enjoined them to be always diligent and attentive to their religious duties; and, if they would wish to preserve the favour of their great benefactor, to live in the fear and love of him, and in the observance of his commandments. He told them, that as this would, in all probability, be the last time he should have the opportunity of addressing himself to them, he hoped what he had said would remain impressed on their minds, and that in remembrance of him, and their great legislator Moses, they would conduct themselves in such a manner, as to obtain happiness in this world, and everlasting felicity in the next.

When Joshua had finished his address, he dismissed the assembly, a short time after which he paid the debt of nature. At the time of his death he was in the 110th year of his age, 40 of which were spent under the direction of Moses, whom he succeeded in the administration, and in which office he continued 26 years.

He was a man who possessed great prudence, and had a manner of expressing his thoughts that gave pleasure to all who heard him. He was brave and indefatigable in war; and in times of peace he conducted himself in such a manner as to acquire the universal good-will and affection of the people. His remains were deposited at Thamna, a city belonging to the tribe of Ephraim.

About the same time that Joshua died, Eleazar, the high-priest, also paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded in the priest-hood by his son Phineas. His remains were deposited in the city of Gabatha.

CHAP. II.

The government of the Israelites, vested in the tribe of Judah. Their success against the Canaanites. Jerusalem besieged. The people become disobedient. The Benjamites maltreat the wife of a Levite. A civil war between them and the other tribes. The Benjamites defeated, after which a peace is made, and they are restored to their former privileges.

AFTER the death of Joshua the people had a consultation with Phineas, relative to the farther prosecution of the war against the Canaanites; when it was resolved that it should be carried on with the greatest vigour, and that the chief command and direction of it should be committed to the tribe of Judah, who should be assisted by the tribe of Simeon.

The Canaanites were at this time exceeding strong, and receiving intimation of the intentions of the Israelites, they gathered together a great army under the command of Adonibezec, and encamped themselves near the city of Bezek. Their principal expectations of success were built on the loss of Joshua; but they soon found themselves deceived; for when the two tribes of Israelites attacked them, they fell on with such resolution, that the Canaanites immediately gave way, and upwards of 10,000 were killed on the spot. Great numbers took to flight, but being close pursued by the Israelites, few of them escaped. Adonibezec, their leader, was taken prisoner, and being brought before the leaders of the two tribes, they ordered his thumbs and great toes to be cut off, in like manner as he had done to no less than seventy little kings or princes; so that the similitude of punishment made the tyrant reflect on his own cruel disposition, and acknowledge the justice of God in what he had brought upon him.

The two united tribes, after the conquest of Bezek, pursued their route farther into the country, No. 6.

plundered the respective towns through which they passed, and put the inhabitants to the sword. They at length laid siege to Jerusalem, and soon made themselves masters of the suburbs; but finding the city itself too strongly fortified both by nature and art, they gave up all thoughts of attempting to reduce it.

From Jerusalem the Israelites proceeded to Hebron, which they entered by assault, and after plundering the inhabitants, put them all to the sword. This place was given to the Levites, with a part of the land round it to the amount of 2000 cubits. The other part which belonged to it was given to Caleb, who was one of the spies employed by Moses to make discoveries in the land of Canaan. A dividend was also given to the posterity of Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, because they had left their native country, and bore a part with the Hebrews in the war.

After the reduction of Hebron the two tribes marched in search of farther conquests; and took many cities, both on the mountains and on the plains, near the sea. They had some thoughts of laying siege to the two cities of Gaza and Ascalon, but as they were strongly fortified, and the inhabitants had great numbers of chariots, they thought proper to relinquish the design.

Having now amassed considerable wealth by the conquests already made, the two enterprising tribes of Judah and Simeon resolved, for the present, to lay aside all farther prosecution of the war against the Canaanites. They therefore broke up their camps, and retired to their respective habitations.

The tribe of Benjamin, to whose lot the city of Jerusalem fell, compounded with the inhabitants, and suffered them to live in peace, in consideration of their paying an annual tribute for the indulgence. The like measures were also taken by several of the other tribes.

While the united tribes of Judah and Simeon were at war with the Canaanites, the tribe of Ephraim undertook the conquest of Bethel. They laid before the place a considerable time without being able to make an attack, from the great strength of the walls and the different fortifications. But at length, they effected by treachery, what they could not obtain by force. Meeting with a native of the town, who had been to get provisions for his family, they seized him, and made an agreement with him, that if he would contrive to let them secretly into the city, both he and all his relations should be secured from any danger. The man strictly fulfilled the engagement, and the Ephraimites entering the city put all the inhabitants to the sword, except the man and his family, whose lives they had promised to preserve.

The advantages obtained by the different tribes, from their great success against the Canaanites, threw them into a state of dissipation, and, instead of prosecuting the war, as they had been commanded, they indulged themselves in luxury. For this neglect they were chastised by the Almighty, who gave them to understand, that, for their disobedience, they should be persecuted by the very people they had been commanded to extirpate. They were, at first, greatly startled at this revelation; but they had become so depraved from the possessions they had already got, and even so elated at the annual tributes paid by the Canaanites, that they suffered the enjoyment of the luxuries of life to take the pre-eminence of their duty to their Maker. In short, the whole system of government was overturned, and both civil and religious authority totally annihilated. During this course of dissipation, a circumstance occurred of a very singular nature, and which occasioned the breaking out of a civil war; the particulars of which were as follows.

In the tribe of Ephraim was a certain Levite, of mean extraction, who had married a woman of the

Jerusalem besieged. Lower town taken; but the upper being found impregnable, the siege is raised.

Hebron taken by force.

Many other places of the Canaanites reduced by the Israelites.

Tribes of Judah and Simeon retire from war, and cultivate the arts of peace.

The Israelites spare the Canaanites on condition of their paying them tribute.

Bethel is betrayed to the Ephraimites by treachery.

God is displeased with the Israelites for disobeying his command for the extirpation of the Canaanites, and threatens them with vengeance.

Depravity of the Israelites.

Death of Joshua.

His character.

Death of Eleazar, the high-priest.

Adonibezec, leader of Canaanites, attacked with army and defeated. Israelites.

History of
the Levite's
wife, abused
by the inha-
bitants of
Gibeah.

the city of Bethlem, belonging to the tribe of Judah (a). The woman was exceeding handsome, and her husband passionately fond of her; but, from some unknown cause, she slighted his affection, and, within four months after their marriage, left him, and returned to her parents. The husband no sooner missed his wife than he hastened to her father, by whom he was received with great tenderness; and the umbrage which the daughter had taken against her husband, was adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties. After staying five days, the man and his wife departed for their own home, attended by one servant, and taking with them an ass for the better convenience of the woman. When the servant advised them not to proceed any further till the next morning, as it would be dangerous travelling in the night through an enemy's country; and that, even among friends, those who travelled after day-light were considered as suspicious persons. The man refused to take this salutary advice from his servant, and prosecuting his journey, it was so late when they came to the city of Gibeah, belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, that they could not obtain a lodging (b), or find any place to get refreshment. While they were in this dilemma, they met with an ancient man belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, who asked them from whence they came, and what occasioned them to be out at so unseasonable an hour? The man replied, He was a Levite, that he belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and that he was going home with his wife. As the old man belonged to the same tribe, and was naturally of an hospitable disposition, he took them with him to his house, and gave them every refreshment that laid in his power. It happened that in their way to the old man's house they had been observed by some young men belonging to the town, who, being captivated with the appearance of the woman, repaired to the house, knocked at the door, and demanded the woman to be delivered up to them. Both the old man and the husband expostulated with them on the impropriety of their conduct; but all the answer they received was, "Deliver up the woman, and no farther trouble shall ensue." Finding that all remonstrances were ineffectual, the old man, as the last effort, offered to deliver up his own daughter instead of the stranger; but this was of no avail, for they threatened, that if he did not immediately deliver up the very woman they requested, death should be his portion. The old man, being impelled to give her up, they took her away to their own quarters, and after having, for the whole night, treated her with every degree of indecency, they dismissed her. The woman immediately returned to the old man's house, loaded with such confusion, between shame and indignation, that, when she saw her husband, she had not power to speak, but immediately fell on the ground, and died. The husband preserved great presence of mind on this alarming occasion. When his surprise had a little subsided, he placed the body of his dead wife on the ass, and, after thanking the old man for the civility with which he had treated him, he departed. As soon as he arrived at his own house, he divided the body into twelve parts, and sent one to each of the twelve tribes, with a proper relation, by the respective bearers, of every particular that had attended this cruel and unprecedented transaction.

The Gibeonites shame-ful treatment of the Levite's wife affects the woman to such a degree as to cause her to fall on the ground, and die.

The Levite cuts the body into twelve parts, which he sends to the twelve tribes, to excite their detestation of the fact. Judges xx.

(a) Josephus's early date of this history before the beginning of the Judges, or when there was no king in Israel, (Judges xix. 1.) is strongly confirmed by the large number of Benjamites, both in the days of Aza and Jehosaphat; 2 Chron. xiv. 8. and xvii. 17. Commentators on sacred writ besides are generally of opinion, that this transaction happened between the death of Joshua and the appointment of the first Judge. Some observe, that the reason why Samuel, or whoever was the author of the Book of Judges, places it at the close of it, is, because he was unwilling to interrupt the thread of his story by intermixing these matters with it, but reserved them to be related apart by themselves.

(b) The laws of hospitality were, in ancient times, held exceeding sacred; but the men of Gibeah, as they were grossly abandoned in vice, so were they wholly defective in this

When the several tribes had investigated the heinousness of this action among themselves, they were fired with indignation, and the principals of each tribe immediately assembled together at Shiloh, with a determined resolution of laying siege to Gibeah. They would immediately have put their design into execution, but were restrained from their purpose by the interposition of one of the elders, who told them, that it would be very indiscreet to wage war with their allies, without first making a strict enquiry into the merits of the case. He therefore proposed that proper persons should be appointed to go to the principal people of Gibeah, and demand the criminals who had been guilty of such violence. If they readily delivered them up, they might punish them at discretion; but if they refused, he thought they had a right to do themselves justice by force of arms.

This advice being cordially received by the people, the messengers appointed went to Gibeah, and demanded the persons who had committed so flagrant a violence on the Levite's wife. The inhabitants of Gibeah absolutely refused to give them up, saying, they did not think it honourable to be directed by other people; that they wanted neither courage, skill, or numbers; and that they were determined to stand by each other in the cause of a common defence.

When the messengers returned with the answer, the Israelites were so enraged, that they all took an oath not to intermarry with any of the tribe of Benjamin; and it was resolved that a war should be carried on against them with the like vigour as had been done by their forefathers against the Canaanites. In consequence of this the Israelites took the field with an army of 400,000 men. The army of the Benjamites consisted only of 25,600, among whom was 500 slingers, particularly distinguished for their abilities as marksmen. The two armies met near Gibeah, when a dreadful encounter immediately took place: the Israelites were routed with the loss of 22,000 on the spot; and the slaughter would have been much more considerable, had not night parted them. The next morning each party resumed the action with equal violence, when the Israelites again proved unsuccessful; their loss, on the spot, amounting to at least 18,000 men. These two disasters so intimidated them, that they broke up their camp, and retired to Bethel, a city near Gibeah, where they spent the day in fasting and prayer, beseeching the Almighty that he would interpose in their behalf, and once more take them under his Divine protection.

Having received assurance by the mouth of Phineas (c) that their prayers were heard, and that their future attempts would be attended with success, they determined to make another attempt on the city of Gibeah. They accordingly divided their army into two bodies, one half of which was planted in ambuscade, near the city, late in the evening; and early the next morning the other part marched to attack the army of the Benjamites. On the first charge the Israelites gave way, and retreated a considerable distance, which step being considered by the Benjamites as a mark of timidity, not only the army, but the greater part of the inhabitants, closely followed them, not doubting but

virtue, suffering these travellers to remain in the streets, without any invitation; which, at length, they received from a poor man, who was himself only a sojourner amongst them. It must be remembered that then, as well as at present, there was no such things as inns in these countries; so that travellers usually took with them (especially on long journeys) not only provisions and other necessaries for themselves, but likewise their beasts.

(c) This was the same Phineas who had signalized his zeal for the glory of God on a former occasion. Had this war been after the death of Samson (as placed in the Book of Judges) Phineas must have been upwards of 300 years old; but, as we have before remarked, its epocha was certainly between the death of Joshua and the appointment of the first Judge.

The Israelites send messengers to the Gibeonites, to demand the persons of the offenders. They are peremptorily and insolently refused.

The Israelites bind themselves by oath, not to intermarry with the Benjamites, and attack them in an hostile manner.

The Israelites are routed in two encounters; retire to Bethel, and supplicate the Divine aid.

they

they should have equal success as before. When the army of the Israelites had got that of the Benjamites at such a distance from the city as to be within reach of those in ambuscade, they made a sudden stop, and fell on the front of the Benjamites with great impetuosity, while the ambuscades, by a proper signal given, fell on those in the rear. The Benjamites were so surprized at this unexpected manœuvre, that they were immediately thrown into confusion. A select body of 600, who were distinguished for their great courage and strength, broke their way through the enemy's troops, and escaped to a lofty mountain, while the rest fled with great precipitation to a deep valley, where, being closely surrounded by the Israelites, they all perished, the whole number amounting to 25,000 men. After this the Israelites burnt the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. They likewise destroyed several other cities belonging to the Benjamites, and particularly wreaked their vengeance on the inhabitants of Jabes, a city of Gilead, for having refused to assist them against the Benjamites. They first burnt the city to the ground, and then put every creature to the sword, except four hundred virgins, whom they brought away with them. Such were the dreadful consequences that took place from the ridiculous obstinacy of the Benjamites, in not delivering up the people who had committed so flagrant a violation on the person of the Levite's wife.

When the Israelites began to reflect on the severity with which they had treated the Benjamites, and that the whole tribe were, in a manner, cut off from the main body, they repented of what they had done, and heartily wished for a reconciliation. To effect this they sent commissioners to invite back the six hundred men that had fled to the mountains, where they found them on the rock called Rhoa, or Rimmon. These commissioners, after condoling with them on the misfortunes that had befallen them, not only in the loss of their relations and friends, but that of almost the whole tribe, advised them to return, and not suffer themselves to be totally extirpated by withdrawing from the fellowship. They likewise told them that all their lands, cattle, and every thing else that belonged to them, should be restored, and that they should be placed in the same situation as before the rupture broke out. The Benjamites confessed they had acted very wrong, and acknowledged the righteous judgement of God in what they had suffered. They thanked the commissioners for their advice, accepted the invitation, and immediately returned to their own tribe.

When the commissioners informed the Israelites of the issue of their embassy, they were greatly pleased; and, in order to restore the tribe of Benjamin, they sent the four hundred virgins, brought from the city of Jabes, as wives for that number out of the six hundred. They then deliberated in what manner to provide for the remaining two hundred, the Israelites having bound themselves by oath, before the war, not to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin. It was the opinion of some that the oath might be rendered void, from its having been taken in the heat of passion; and that as it was to restore an almost lost tribe, it would not be displeasing to the Almighty. This proposition was entirely objected to by the elders, who would not, upon any consideration whatever, listen to a matter that had in it the least appearance

of perjury. At length one of the senators stated a proposition in words to the following effect: "We have (says he) a public festival held three times a year in Shiloh, at which it is customary for our wives and daughters to be present. On this occasion let us permit the Benjamites to seize as many of the virgins as are wanted for the two hundred men. If the parents should appeal for justice, they must be told, it was their own faults, in not taking more care of their daughters; and that it would be indiscreet to force them from the Benjamites, as dissensions with those people had already produced the most dreadful consequences."

This proposition was highly approved of by the people, in consequence of which the plan was communicated to the Benjamites. Accordingly, on the morning of the festival, the two hundred men, who wanted wives, concealed themselves in the most private places near the city, and, as the unsuspecting virgins passed by, each seized his mate, and fled with her to his home. This, for some time, occasioned great confusion; but when the elders told the parents the impropriety of attempting to regain their daughters by force, they were appeased.

The six hundred Benjamites, being thus provided with wives, applied themselves diligently to their respective callings, and, by their industry and prudence, from the most wretched and forlorn condition, the tribe soon became again considerable, both in number, wealth and power. Such was the conclusion of this war.

C H A P. III.

The Danites persecuted by the Canaanites. The Israelites, being totally addicted to luxury and dissipation; incur the displeasure, and provoke the just vengeance, of the Almighty. Are reduced to slavery, and kept in a state of subjection by Chusarh, king of the Assyrians.

THE Israelites having for some time laid aside martial discipline, and, instead thereof, directed their attention only to husbandry, and other domestic occupations, the Canaanites took advantage of it, and entered into a conspiracy against them. They accordingly raised a considerable army, built a great number of chariots, and trained up all the young people to martial discipline. They were farther animated to prosecute their intentions, by having brought over to them Ascalon and Accaron, from the tribe of Judah, as also the inhabitants of several cities in the plains.

The first attack they made was on the tribe of Dan; whom they forced to leave their possessions, and retire into the mountainous parts of the country. The Danites were so circumstanced that they could not think of revenging themselves by war, and, in their then situation, there was not a sufficiency of land for them to subsist on in a state of peace. They therefore sent five people into the inland part of the country, in order to find out a proper spot where they might fix their residence. After travelling one day, these commissioners arrived at the wide and open country about Sidon, not far from Mount Libanus (a), and the springs

(a) Mount Libanus separates Syria from Palestine. It forms a kind of horse-shoe in its length, beginning at three or four leagues distance from the Mediterranean above Smyrna, and going from north to south towards Sidon, from thence bending from west to east, from Sidon towards Damascus; and at last returning from the south northward, from the straits of Damascus, as far as Laodicea Scabiosa. The western part of this chain of mountains is what we properly call Libanus. The other part, which is opposite to it eastward, and extends from south to north, is called, by the Greeks, Anti-Libanus. Between these two mountains is a long valley, called Cœle-Syria, or Hollow Syria; in Joshua (xi. 17) the

Valley of Lebanon. Mount Libanus is about an hundred leagues in circumference, having Mesopotamia to the east, Armenia to the north, the Holy Land to the south, and the Mediterranean to the west. It is composed of four enclosures of mountains, which rise one upon the other: the first of which is very fertile in grain and fruit; but the second is barren: the third, though higher than this, enjoys almost perpetual spring; there the trees always look green, and the orchards are filled with fruit; but the fourth is so high that it is almost always covered with snow, and consequently uninhabitable by reason of the excessive cold.

of the Lesser Jordan. Finding it a rich, fruitful soil, and in every respect formed for the intended purpose, they returned, and gave a particular description of it to their countrymen. In consequence of this the whole tribe marched to the spot, and, being perfectly satisfied with it, they built a city, and called it Dan, from one of the sons of Jacob of that name, and from whom the whole tribe received their appellation.

The Danites build the city Dan.

A total degeneracy prevails among the Israelites.

The Israelites were at this time in a very depraved state. They had given a loose to all the vices of the Canaanites; had neglected every religious duty, and pursued a life of debauchery and dissipation. This conduct greatly displeased the Almighty, who, as a punishment, took from them, for a time, his divine protection, and left them exposed to the power of their enemies.

The first stroke they received was from Chusarh, king of the Assyrians, who marched against them with a considerable army. This monarch was so powerful that he drove all before him. Great numbers of the Israelites fell by the sword; and many of their towns and cities were seized by the conqueror. The captured Israelites were now subject to a most tyrannical monarch, who oppressed them by heavy taxes, and treated them with the most contemptible indignities.

CHAP. IV.

The Israelites are delivered from their subjection to the Assyrians by Othniel, the son of Kenaz.

IN this deplorable situation did the Israelites remain for eight years, when they were delivered out of the hands of their oppressors in the following manner. A person, named Othniel, the son of Kenaz, of the tribe of Judah, a man of great courage and discernment, having received a secret impulse from heaven to interpose in behalf of the wretched Israelites, he communicated the matter to some of his particular friends, whom he knew to be men of courage and integrity, and who were greatly dissatisfied with the state of public affairs. After considering what measures were most proper to take, it was at length resolved to make a sudden attack on the king's guards, and to put every man to the sword. This scheme being attended with success, it brought over great numbers to the interest of Othniel, who, in a short time, marched at the head of them to give the Assyrians battle. The encounter was at first doubtful, but the Israelites soon became conquerors: great numbers of the Assyrians were slain, and the rest saved themselves by passing the Euphrates. Thus, at the instigation of the brave and intrepid Othniel, were the Israelites again restored to their liberty; in acknowledgment for which they presented him with the government; and in this situation he continued during the remainder of his life, which was a course of forty years.

Othniel interposes in behalf of the Israelites. Judges iii.

Surprises and cuts to pieces the Assyrian guards.

Totally vanquishes and overcomes the Assyrians.

The Israelites chuse him for their governor.

CHAP. V.

The Israelites are subject to the Moabites during the term of eighteen years, and then delivered by one Ehud, who retained the government eighty years.

ON the death of Othniel, the Israelites, being without a leader, returned again to a dissolute way of living, neither paying respect to the laws of their country, or their duty to God. This consequently produced confusion in their public affairs, which being taken notice of by Eglon, king of the Moabites, he marched against them with a considerable army. Several battles took place, in all which the Israelites were worsted; and their army being at length totally subdued, they became tributary to

The Israelites defeated, and rendered tributary for 18 years. Judges iii.

their conqueror, who erected a palace at Jericho, and kept them in the most abject state upwards of eighteen years.

At the expiration of this time the the Israelites were rescued from the hands of their oppressors by the following singular occurrences. In Jericho lived a young man named Ehud, the son of Geron, of the tribe of Benjamin. He was of an enterprising disposition; remarkably handsome in his person, and had great bodily strength. He had not only ingratiated himself into the favour of the king, by making him repeated presents, but had also many friends at court; so that he had free access at discretion, and this gave him the opportunity of executing the project he had laid for relieving the distressed Israelites. Being one day to make a present to the king, he went in his usual dress, attended by two servants, taking with him a dagger, which he secreted on his right side, having the greatest strength in his left arm. On his arrival at the palace, he was admitted, as usual, to the presence of the king; and after complimenting him with the present, told him he had a matter to relate to him, that demanded privacy. On this the king ordered his attendants to withdraw, and seating himself on his throne, waited for the expected intelligence. Ehud told him he had a dream to impart to him by command of the Almighty, at the sound of which the king, impatient to hear, suddenly arose from his seat, when Ehud drew the dagger from his side, and plunged it into his heart. In this situation he left the king, immediately quitted the palace, and hastened with all expedition to Jerusalem. The attendants of the palace supposing the king to have composed himself to sleep, did not presume to enter the room for a considerable time after the departure of Ehud, till at length, fearing something particular was the occasion of not seeing or hearing him, they ventured to open the door of his apartment, where they found him laying in his gore. In the mean time Ehud having related to his countrymen what had happened, and advised them to take advantage of it, they immediately dispatched proper persons to different parts of the country with horns (as was the custom on such occasions) to call together the people. They accordingly assembled in great bodies, and proceeding with the greatest expedition to the palace, fell on the guards, all of whom they killed on the spot: the rest of the army, amounting to about 10,000 men, made for the river towards the country of Moab; but the Israelites, having previously secured all the passes, intercepted their flight, and the whole body were cut to pieces. Thus was the Israelites extricated out of the hands of the Moabites; and as Ehud was the principal instigator of their deliverance, they bestowed on him the government, which he enjoyed upwards of eighty years. He was a person of the most distinguished merit, and conducted himself in such a manner as to deserve what was universally bestowed on him, namely, the good-will and affection of the people he governed. He was succeeded by Shamgar, the son of Anath, who died in the first year of his government.

Are delivered by Ehud, who slew Eglon.

Ehud makes his escape to Jerusalem.

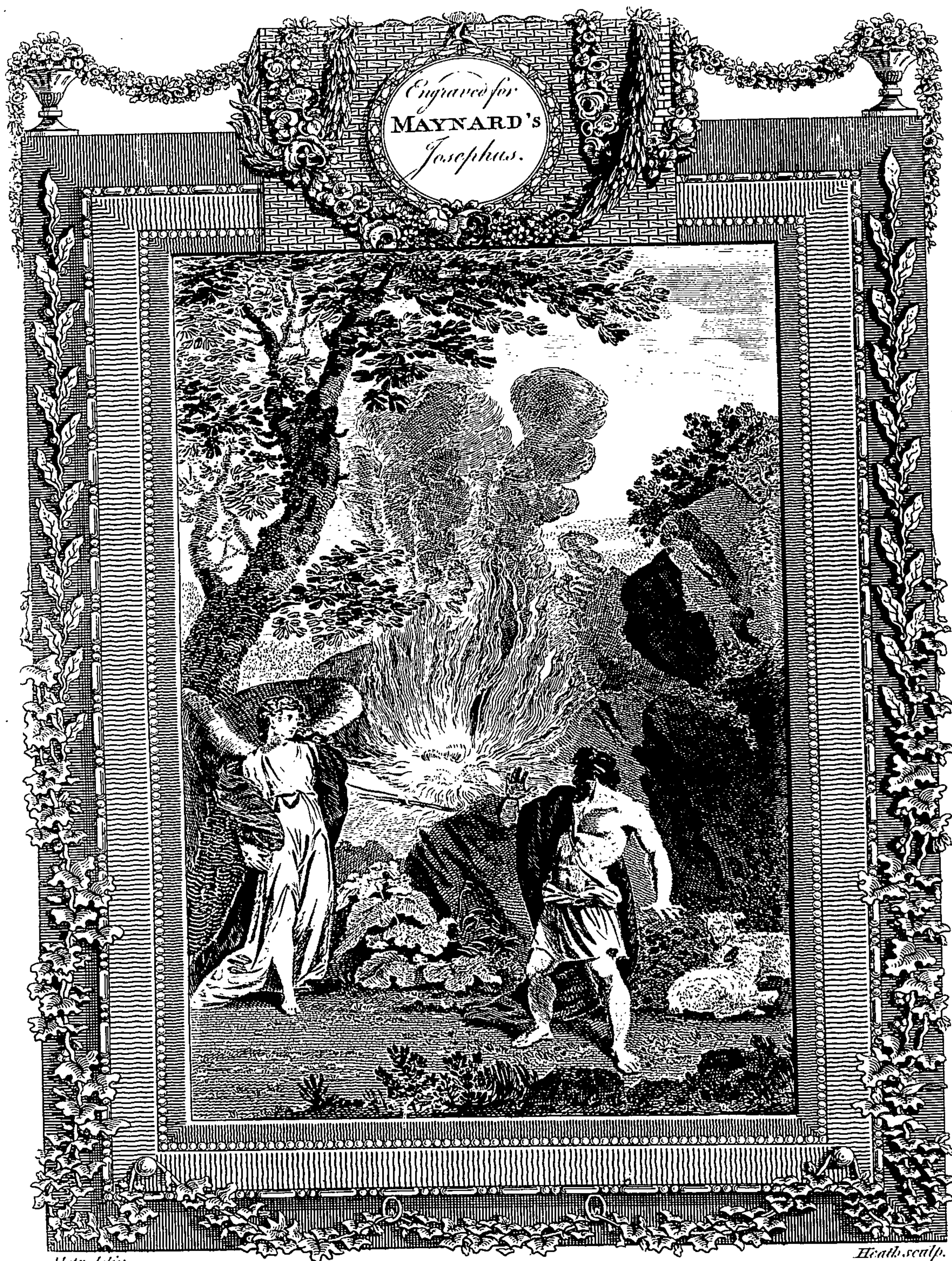
The Israelites are freed from the yoke of the Moabites.

CHAP. VI.

The Israelites are enslaved under different tyrannies by the Canaanites, and at length delivered by Barak and Deborah.

THE Israelites not in the least amending their lives, or taking warning from the calamities they had experienced, but still continuing not to worship God, or obey his laws, were again brought to subjection by another monarch, namely, Jabin, king of the Canaanites. This prince originally came from the city of Azor, situated near the lake Samachonitis. He kept an army consisting of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 3000 chariots, the grand command of which was given to Sisera, who was next in dignity to the king. This general soon reduced

Remain incorrigible.



Metz delin.

Heath. sculp.

GIDEON'S SACRIFICE

consumed by Fire on being touched by the Staff of the Angel.

reduced the Israelites, brought them to subjection, and made them pay tribute to his master.

In this state of servitude did the Israelites continue for twenty years, when they began to reflect that there miseries were certainly inflicted on them by God, as a just punishment for their contempt of the laws of their forefathers. In this state of contrition they went to a famous prophetess (*a*), named Deborah, (which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a *bee*), and implored her to intercede in their behalf, that God would be pleased to forgive them their past faults, and rescue them out of the hands of their cruel persecutors. Deborah complied with their request; and the Almighty being pleased to promise them a deliverance, he made choice of Barak, of the tribe of Naphtali, to effect it. Accordingly Deborah sent for Barak, (which, in the Hebrew language, signifies *lightning*), and ordered him immediately to raise an army of 10,000 men, and march with all expedition against the Canaanites. Barak, at first, objected to take the command of so small a number against so large a body as that of the enemy; but Deborah informed him, that God had said the number was sufficient. Notwithstanding this, he still refused the command, unless she would go with him and take a part; at which Deborah replied with indignation, "Would you give to a woman part of that honour, which God hath assigned for thee alone? However, I will not refuse it." They accordingly drew out their army, and pitched their tents on Mount Tabor; while Sisera, general of the Canaanites, by the king's orders, marched to give them battle. When the two armies came within sight of each other, the Israelites were struck with horror at the great multitude of the enemy, and were inclined to make a precipitate retreat: but Deborah prevailed on them to stand a battle, assuring them it was the cause of God, and that he would assist them in conquering their enemies. The truth of this was soon manifested to the Israelites; for no sooner were the two armies engaged, than there fell a most dreadful shower of rain and hail, attended with a violent wind, which, blowing full in the faces of the Canaanites, obliged them to shut their eyes, so that their bows and slings were rendered entirely useless: besides which, their nerves were so contracted by the cold, that they were not able to handle their arms. The Israelites seeing the disadvantages under which the Canaanites laboured, fell on them with great impetuosity; and their whole army was broken, dispersed, and cut to pieces. Great numbers fell by the sword; many were trampled to death by the horses; and the few that attempted to save themselves by flight, were made prisoners; so that this prodigious army was, in effect, totally destroyed. When Sisera, the Canaanitish general, saw the destruction of his army, he leapt from his chariot, and fled to the house of one Jael, a Kenite (*b*), who received him with apparent hospitality. Being greatly fatigued, he asked her for some refreshment, which, having received, he laid himself on the ground, and soon fell fast asleep. While he was in this situation, Jael took a large iron nail, and suddenly driving it through his temple, fastened him to the floor, just at the time the Israelites arrived at her house in search of him. This fully completed the victory; after which Barak marched with his army to Azor, and laying siege to the place, slew the greater part of the inhabitants, together with Jabin, their king; and, in order totally to extirpate them, he burnt the city to the ground. After this victory, Barak kept possession of the government during the space of forty years.

(a) The words *prophet* and *prophetess*, in the Old Testament, sometimes denote persons endued with special, though not miraculous, gifts or graces, for the better understanding and explaining the word of God; and of this sort were the sons of the prophets, or such as were brought up in the schools of the prophets. As, therefore, we read of no miraculous action that Deborah did, she was, perhaps, only a woman of eminent holiness, prudence, and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, by which she was singularly qualified to judge the people; that is, to determine causes and controversies among them, according to the word of God.

CHAP. VII.

The Israelites are conquered by the Midianites, in conjunction with the Amalekites and Arabians, and held in vassalage.

ON the death of Barak, which happened about the same time with that of Deborah, the Midianites, Amalekites, and Arabians, entered into an alliance against the Israelites, and so powerful were their arms, that they conquered wherever they went, destroying the fruits of the ground, and carrying with them every thing that was valuable. They continued these hostilities with such violence, that the wretched Israelites were obliged to fly to the mountains for refuge, where they dug caverns, in which they hid themselves, and the little property they could save, from their merciless enemies. They remained in this state seven years, during which time their enemies permitted them to cultivate their land in the winter; but it was only to serve their own purposes, for they made themselves matters of the greater part of the produce when it was fit for removal. The small quantity, therefore, the Israelites could obtain for themselves, was scarce sufficient to enable them to preserve their existence; besides which, they were in the most extreme distress, so that finding themselves likely to perish from want, they made their supplications to God, in the most fervent manner, desiring him that he would be pleased to deliver them from the wretched state into which they had fallen.

CHAP. VIII.

Gideon musters the tribes to advance against the Midianites. Receives an omen of success. Chooses a select few for the expedition. Obtains a complete victory. Rules the people, with integrity and justice, for forty years.

WHILE they were in this deplorable situation, as one Gideon, the son of Joas, a leading man of the tribe of Manasseh, was thrashing a little corn at a wine press, not daring to do it on the floor, for fear of being discovered by the enemy, an angel appeared to him in the likeness of a young man, who told him, "He was a happy man, and beloved of God." To which Gideon answered, "It is no great sign of favour, since I am obliged to use my wine-press instead of a threshing-floor." The angel bade him be of good courage, and direct his attention to arms, whereby himself and his countrymen might be restored to their liberty. "Alas! (says Gideon) it is impossible for me to undertake so great a thing: we have not a sufficiency of men in our tribe to make such an attempt; neither am I a proper person to conduct so important a design." The angel answered, that all his deficiencies would be supplied by the Almighty; and that if he would but take upon him the command of a body of men, the Israelites should obtain a complete victory over their enemies.

Gideon requested of the angel that he would not depart till he had prepared a sacrifice on the occasion; which being complied with, he made ready a kid, with unleavened cakes, and having brought them before the angel, he ordered Gideon to lay them on a rock. This was immediately complied with, when the angel touching it with a staff, fire issued out of the rock, and the whole was consumed; after which the angel disappeared.

(b) These Kenites, though they were proselytes, and worshipped the true God, according to the Mosaic law, yet, being strangers by birth, and therefore having no right or title to the land of Canaan, they held it best policy, in these troublesome times, to observe a neutrality, and maintain peace, as well as they could, both with the Israelites and Canaanites. It was upon this footing that there was a peace between king Jabin and the family of Heber, the Kenite; and that gave confidence to Sisera, in his distress, to fly to Heber's tent for protection.

Musters an army of 10,000 men.

An extraordinary revelation.

A dream of one of the Midianite soldiers, portending victory to Gideon, is over heard by him, and told to his fellow soldiers. Judges vii.

Gideon is encouraged by the interpretation of the dream.

Gideon uses an excellent stratagem in attacking the enemy.

When Gideon had a little recovered himself from the surprize into which he was thrown from this singular occurrence, he related the particulars to some of the most considerable of the Israelites, who had such faith in the revelation, that they immediately raised an army of 10,000 men, fully resolved to hazard a battle with the tyrannical Midianites. But, before they took the field, the Divine agent again appeared to Gideon, and spoke to him to this effect: "It is too common for mankind to claim that merit to themselves which belongs to God alone; and such is the disposition of the people you have gathered together, and are about to lead against the Midianites: but to shew you that victory is influenced from above, and not to be obtained by the strength of man without Divine assistance, take your army to the river Jordan in the heat of the day, and observe the manner in which the soldiers drink the water. Those who take it up with their hands, and lap it, you may depend on being men of courage; but such as lie down, and drink at leisure, are not to be trusted." Gideon obeyed the Divine command, and found only three hundred men that lapped the water from their hands, which he immediately detached from the rest. With this small number God commanded him to march against the enemy, and to attack them in the night. He accordingly advanced at the head of his chosen men, and encamped near the river Jordan, resolving to pass it the following day. But Gideon was still doubtful of success, and the more so, from being commanded to attack the enemy in the night. However, these fears were removed by the interposition of the Almighty, who, the preceding evening, told Gideon to take with him one of his soldiers, and go privately to the camp of the Midianites, from whom he should hear something that would animate and give him courage. In obedience to this injunction he went, taking with him a servant, named Phuran. They arrived at the camp unperceived, and, approaching one of the tents, heard a soldier relating the following dream to his comrades: "Me thought (said he) I saw a barley loaf (the coarsest of all grains, and not fit for man to eat) come rolling into the camp, and having passed through the king's tent, and thrown it down, it afterwards entered all the other tents, and did the like." This dream was interpreted by one of the soldier's comrades, who said, it denoted the total destruction of the army. "The barley (says he) is, as you say, the coarsest of grains; and the Israelites are the vilest and most abject of all the people in Asia. Gideon is now at the head of an army against us; and, I am afraid, the barley loaf overthrowing our tents implies, that we shall be totally destroyed by the Israelites.

When Gideon had heard this dream, and its interpretation, he was inspired with new courage, and immediately returning to his people, and acquainting them with it, he ordered them to prepare themselves, with all expedition, to march against the enemy. Accordingly, about the fourth watch (a), Gideon drew out his men, and divided them into three companies, of an hundred each. Every man had a burning torch secreted in a long pitcher, and, in his right hand, a ram's horn, by way of trumpet. The enemy's camp took up a large space of ground, having in it a great number of camels; and the people were more dispersed than usual, on account of their belonging to different nations. The Israelites had received instructions, that, as soon as they came near the camp of the Midianites, on a signal given, they should break their pitchers, display their torches, sound their horns, and immediately begin the attack. These orders they strictly obeyed, when the Midianites were immediately thrown into the utmost consternation. A great slaughter ensued: but more were destroyed by the hands of their own

(a) Though the Romans, in after-ages, divided the night into four watches (Math. xiv. 25.) yet, in the eastern parts, and, in more antient times, it consisted but of three, whereof the first began at six, and continued four hours. The second was therefore called the middle watch, and began at ten; so that we may suppose it was some time after this that Gideon alarmed

people, than by the Israelites; for it being dark, and they of different nations, they could not understand each other, so that every man took the person next him for an enemy. In short the whole was one scene of confusion, of which the Israelites took proper advantages. A great number of the Midianites were slain on the spot; and the remainder for the present saved themselves by flight. The troops which Gideon had left behind, hearing of his success, immediately marched to all the difficult passes, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy. They came up with a great body of them in a flat part of the country, when immediately surrounding them, they put every man to the sword, and, among them, two of their kings, named Oreb and Zeb. In the mean time Gideon marched with his three hundred men against the remainder of the enemy, amounting to about 10,000, who had fixed themselves on a spot at a considerable distance, under the command of their proper officers. When Gideon came near them he was joined by the rest of his troops, and a general engagement ensued, in which the whole army of the Midianites were cut to pieces, and two of their princes, named Zebin and Hezarbon, taken prisoners. The number of the enemy killed in these encounters amounted to 120,000. Thus did the Israelites gain a complete victory over their enemies; besides which, they greatly enriched themselves with plunder, consisting of gold, silver, rich stuffs, camels, asses, &c.

Gideon, having executed the business on which he was sent, by destroying the Midianites, returned to Ephraim, where he put to death the two captive kings. The tribe to which he belonged (through envy to his great success, and glorious achievements) appeared displeased with him for engaging in a public act of hostility without their approbation; and their anger arose to such a pitch, that they were just on the point of making war with him. But this was prevented by the prudence of Gideon, who told them it was not his war but God's, by whom he was commanded to act as he had done, and that therefore he did not claim any merit to himself.

This answer perfectly satisfied the people, and they joined with the rest in desiring Gideon, as he had redeemed his countrymen from slavery, that he would accept the government. Gideon, at first, begged to be excused; but finding the people determined, he at length complied, and ruled them forty years, during the whole of which time his conduct was such as merited universal approbation. He lived to a very great age; and, when he died, his remains were deposited at Ophrah, the place of his nativity.

CHAP. IX.

Abimelech obtains the government wickedly, and rules tyrannically, and is at length slain in an extraordinary manner. The Israelites apostatizing again, are oppressed and enslaved by the Philistines and the Ammonites. Jephthah vested with the government of Israel. Makes a peculiar vow. Defeats the Ammonites. Suppresses an insurrection among the Ephraimites. His death.

GIDEON, at the time of his death, had no less than seventy sons, all born in wedlock, besides one by Druma, his concubine, named Abimelech. This last, immediately after his father's decease, made use of the most horrid means to obtain the government. He went to the relations of his mother at Shechem, and told them that, as his father was dead, it would certainly be better for the people to be governed by one person than seventy,

the Midianitish camp; and the reasons why he chose this part of the night to do it in are obvious, because the trumpets would then seem to sound louder, and the lights to shine brighter, and thereby both increase the consternation of the enemy, and conceal the smallness of his own army.

meaning

The Midianites are so terrified that they kill one another, and are discomfited with great slaughter.

Two of their kings, Oreb and Zeb, are slain.

The numbers slain in this action amounted to 120,000.

Gideon causes the two captive princes, Zebin and Hezarbon, to be slain.

Gideon pacifies the Ephraimites.

Gideon continues governor till he dies. Judges vii.

Gideon leaves behind him a numerous offspring.

meaning his legitimate brothers. This was approved of by his relations, who furnishing him with a considerable sum of money, he returned to his father's house, bringing with him a set of men, whom he knew to be infamous in disposition, and willing to engage in any enterprize, however inconsistent with laws, either human or divine.

Abimelech obtains the government by means of his kindred, and by the slaughter of all his brethren, except Jotham.

The first step Abimelech took, after returning to his father's house, was, to murder all his brothers, except Jotham, who happily saved himself by flight; and, notwithstanding the cruelty of the action, it answered the wishes of Abimelech, no one objecting to his taking upon himself the government. The people, however, had soon reason to wish they had not been so pliant, for he ruled them with such tyranny, that they were little better situated than when in the hands of their enemies. He followed no other law than that of his own will, and even professed himself an enemy to common justice.

Some time after Abimelech had thus usurped the government, a day of solemnity was kept at Shechem, on which occasion a prodigious concourse of people were assembled. Before the festival began, Jotham, the brother of Abimelech, who had till now concealed himself, appeared on the top of Gerizim, which overlooks Shechem, and calling aloud to the people, he addressed them in words to the following effect:

Jotham harangues the multitude, and relates a remarkable fable.

"There was a time, says he, when the trees (a) had meetings together in order to regulate the government of the vegetable part of the creation, and to appoint one to rule the whole. In a council held on this occasion, the major part of the plants were for having the fig-tree to govern; but the fig-tree declined the honour, being sufficiently satisfied with the esteem bore for its fruit. On this the trees applied to the olive and the vine, both of which likewise refused, for the same reason as had been given by the fig-tree. At length they applied to the bramble, who said, If you are in earnest, I'll willingly take upon me the government; but remember, you must rest quietly under my shadow. If you prove refractory, there shall come a fire out of me that shall destroy you. This, said Jotham, is not a tale to divert you, but to make you reflect on your absurd conduct, in violating your sacred obligations to Gideon, by suffering Abimelech, the murderer of the children of your deliverer, to usurp and tyrannize over you. This Abimelech is the very fire I have told you in the fable (b)".

After Jotham had thus delivered himself to the people, he retired, and fled to the mountains, where he concealed himself till the death of his cruel brother Abimelech.

Abimelech is disgraced and expelled the city of Shechem.

The speech made by Jotham opened the eyes of the Shechemites, who not only dethroned Abimelech, but forced him out of the city; upon which Abimelech, and those who accompanied him, vowed revenge on the inhabitants.

It happened at this time to be the season for gathering in the grapes; but the people had such terrible apprehensions of the cruelty of Abimelech, that they durst not go into the fields to reap their vintage. In this distressed situation they applied to

one Gaal, (a prince of the country, who had lately come to Shechem with a band of armed men), to protect them, who readily complying with their request, they strengthened his force by adding to them a troop of their own soldiers. Thus secured, they reaped their fruits, and carried them home in safety; and when elated with liquor, they took the freedom of aspersing the characters of Abimelech and his relations. They placed ambuscades in different parts round the city, and taking many of the guards belonging to Abimelech, put them all to the sword.

The Shechemites apply for protection to Gaal.
Many of Abimelech's soldiers taken, and cut off, by stratagem.

While matters were in this situation, one Zebul, a principal man among the Shechemites, and a great friend to Abimelech, sent him the particulars of Gaal's conduct, and the disposition of the people. He advised Abimelech to plant soldiers in ambush near the city; and told him, that he would persuade Gaal to come out and engage him, whereby he would have the opportunity of getting his enemy into his own power; and that he did not doubt but he should soon be able to reinstate him in his regal dignity.

In consequence of this information, Abimelech, after the day was closed, placed a number of men in different parts at some distance from the city. Gaal and Zebul were parading the suburbs during the night as usual; but when the morning opened, and Gaal saw men in armour approaching, he called aloud to Zebul, telling him, that an army in battle array was marching towards the city. Zebul said he was mistaken, for that what he saw was nothing more than the shadow of the mountains. But Gaal, on their nearer approach, infiltrated they were no shadows, but a real company of armed men. To which Zebul answered, "Diddst thou not say that Abimelech was a slothful and cowardly prince? Now shew thyself what a man thou art in engaging with him." Gaal accordingly marched against the enemy, and received the first shock; but finding himself too weak, and having lost several of his men, he retreated, and fled into the city.

Zebul betrays the Shechemites.

Zebul took advantage of this, by prejudicing the minds of the people against Gaal, whom he represented as a coward; and, in consequence of Zebul's influence, Gaal was expelled the city.

Zebul calumniates Gaal as a coward, and causes the people to drive him out of Shechem.

In the mean time Abimelech, being informed by Zebul, that the citizens intended to prosecute the gathering of the vintage, placed several ambuscades near the city in order to surprise them. Accordingly, on their first coming out, he detached a third part of his army to take possession of the gates of the city, and by that means to cut off the retreat of those who had left it. When the ambuscaders thought it a proper time they made their appearance, which so terrified the defenceless Shechemites, that they attempted to save themselves by flight, but being closely pursued, the greater part fell by the sword. In the mean time the rest of Abimelech's army laid siege to the city, which they took on the first assault, the inhabitants immediately consulting their own safety by flight, though, in the attempt, many were slain. After Abimelech had thus routed the Shechemites, and made himself master of the city, he ordered it to be levelled with the ground; and, as the last insult of triumph, had salt (c) sown on those parts where the walls had stood.

Abimelech levels the city, and destroys the inhabitants with fire and sword.

(a) The Greeks pretend to have been the inventors of the use of fables; but there is nothing more absurd than their vanity in this respect. A long time before *Æsop*, and every other author known to their nation, the Orientals, and particularly the Hebrews, made use of this ingenious manner; for the doing of which two reasons may be assigned. 1. Because men would suffer themselves to be reprehended under this guise, when they would not digest plain words. And 2dly, Because they heard them with delight and pleasure, and remembered them better than any grave or common discourse.

(b) The words of this fable carry a lively image of Abimelech's ostentatious spirit, and menaces to take severe vengeance on the nobles of Shechem, who had been chiefly instrumental in his promotion, in case they should desert him.

The whole intent and meaning of it was to convince the Shechemites of their folly in chusing a man for their king, who was no more able to protect them, than a bramble was to cover other trees that should resort to it under the shadow of its branches.

(c) The strewing of salt was an old custom used on those cities whose inhabitants had been guilty of treachery. Not that the strewing of salt could be supposed to have been done to dry up or render the soil barren, there being no occasion for that in an inhabited town, but to shew the detestation in which the inhabitants were held for their conduct; and that the place, on that account, should never after be rebuilt, but remain unpeopled and desolate.

Those of the Shechemites, that escaped from the city, take shelter on a rock, where, by order of Abimelech, they are destroyed by fire.

Abimelech surprises the city of Thebes; attacks the garrison.

Is smitten by a piece of a mill-stone, thrown upon him by a woman.

Slain by his armour-bearer at his own request.

The government devolves to Jair, a Gileadite.

The Israelites, given up to vice and immorality of every degree, fall a prey to the Philistines and Ammonites.

Distresses occasion them to repent, and solicit the Divine interposition in their behalf.

The wretched Shechemites, who had escaped the rage of Abimelech by flight, gathered themselves into a body, and finding a place on a rock which was rendered strong by nature, they formed the resolution of fixing themselves on this spot, as a place of refuge; and, to increase its natural strength, they fortified it in the best manner they could. Intimation of this being given to Abimelech, he marched against them with his army, and getting within the wall, he ordered his men to raise a pile of wood and faggots round the buildings, which was no sooner done, than fire was immediately set to it, and every soul perished in the flames. Such was the fate of the wretched Shechemites, who suffered, unlamented, for their ungrateful treatment of the posterity of Gideon. It was a lesson to the Israelites to beware of falling into the same hands, lest they should share the same fate.

Abimelech, not yet satiated with revenge, marched with his army against Thebes, and took the outer town by assault. The garrison retreated into a strong castle; and Abimelech, pushing the attack up to the very gates, resolved either to take the city, or destroy it by fire. But his cruel intentions were happily frustrated by means of a woman, who, while he was standing near the wall giving directions to his men, threw down a large piece of a mill-stone (a), which falling on Abimelech's head, struck him to the ground. When he came a little to himself, and found the wound was mortal, he called for his armour-bearer, whom he desired immediately to dispatch him, that it might not be said he fell by the hands of a woman. The officer performed his commands; and thus was Abimelech punished for his cruelty to his brethren, and his inhumanity to the Shechemites. When the soldiers found their leader was no more, they dispersed, every man retiring to his own habitation.

After the death of Abimelech, and the re-establishment of the Shechemites, one Tolah, the son of Puah, an eminent man of the tribe of Issachar, was appointed leader of the people, in which office he continued for twenty-three years. He dwelt, during the whole time of his government, on mount Ephraim, near the centre of the country; that the people might, with the greater convenience, resort to him for judgement (b).

On the death of Tolah the government fell into the hands of one Jair, a Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh. He was a man not only happy in his worldly acquisitions, but also in his family. He had no less than thirty sons, all of whom were men of courage, and, with their father, universally esteemed by the people. Jair held the government twenty-two years, when he died at an advanced age, and was buried at Camon, a city of Gilead.

During the life of Jair, the Israelites paid a proper attention both to the civil and ecclesiastical laws of their country; but after his death they degenerated in their manners, giving themselves up to every kind of vice, and disregarding every religious duty.

The Ammonites and Philistines, understanding the manner in which the Israelites lived, determined to take advantage of their negligence. They accordingly raised a powerful army, with which they marched into their country, laying every thing waste wherever they came; and, not satisfied with this, they resolved to prosecute their ravages, till they should make a thorough conquest of the countries on both sides the river Jordan.

The Israelites began now to reflect on their past conduct, and to consider that the distressed situation in which they were again involved, arose from their disobedience to the laws of their great legi-

(a) It was common in that age, as well as in latter times, before the invention of gun-powder, to have large round stones kept within castles, which were thrown over upon the enemies who approached the walls; and the stone tumbled down by this woman seems to have been one of them.

(b) Though there is not much recorded of this person, yet

slator Moses. They therefore offered up prayers and sacrifices to God, beseeching him to interpose in their behalf, and to remove from them their present troubles. Their prayers were not offered in vain, the Almighty being pleased to promise them his Divine assistance.

The Ammonites having entered the country of Gilead with a large army, the inhabitants took up arms in order to oppose them; but they were at a loss how to act for want of a leader. At length they bethought themselves of one Jephtha, a man of singular courage and conduct, who resided at a place called Tob, and maintained an army under him at his own expence. To this person the Gileadites sent messengers, with a promise that, if he would assist them against the Ammonites, they would confer the government on him during his life. Jephtha, at first, refused to comply with their request; but the Gileadites continuing to press him with repeated importunities, he at length complied; but not before he had made them take oaths of fidelity to him as their general.

This matter being adjusted, Jephtha joined his army with that of the Gileadites, and, after giving some necessary orders, marched with the whole body to Mispah. From hence he sent ambassadors to the king of the Ammonites, to demand the reason of his invading the country of the Gileadites. His answer was, that the land was his; that the Israelites, in their passage from Egypt, had taken it from his ancestors; and that he was now determined to recover it. In consequence of this Jephtha sent other ambassadors to tell the king of Ammon, that, if either conquest or prescription conferred a title, they had a just right to the country they possessed, since they took it not from them, but the Ammonites; that they had quietly enjoyed it upwards of three hundred years; and that they were determined to oppose any monarch, however powerful, that should attempt to infringe on their property.

This peremptory declaration put an end to their treaty; and immediate preparations were made on both sides, to determine the contest by the sword. But before Jephtha took the field, he prayed to God, in the most fervent manner, to grant him success; and made a solemn vow, that, if he proved victorious, he would offer up to him, in sacrifice, the first living creature he should meet on his return to his family.

With this resolution Jephtha attacked the enemy, and, in a short time, obtained a complete victory; great numbers being slain, and the rest put to flight. He pursued and killed the fugitives as far as the city of Maniah; from whence he proceeded to the country of Ammon, where he destroyed many cities, and divided the spoil among his army. Thus did Jephtha totally subdue his enemies, and redeem the Israelites from a state of slavery, under which they had laboured upwards of eighteen years.

The war being over, Jephtha returned to his family, when, lo! instead of receiving that satisfaction he expected after so long an absence, a circumstance occurred that pierced him to the heart. On approaching his house, the first object that presented itself was his only daughter, who was flying with eager joy to receive and bid him welcome. When Jephtha saw his daughter, his soul almost sunk within him, and, for some time, he was unable to speak. Having a little recovered himself, he looked at her with tears trickling from his cheeks; and, after blaming her for her officiousness in coming to meet him, told her the vow he had made, by which he had obliged himself to offer her to God as a sacrifice. The innocent devotee did not appear the least alarmed at this melancholy intelligence; but, with

it may be reasonably supposed he was a prudent and peaceable man; that he removed abuses from among the people, endeavoured to suppress idolatry, appeased tumults, and healed those wounds which had been given to the state during the usurpation of Abimelech.

great



Metz delin.

Blake sculp.

THE FUGITIVE SHECHEMITES,
Burnt and suffocated in the Holds of their Retreat,
by order of King, Himelech.

great coolness, replied, that, if the loss of her life would secure his honour, and the liberty of her country, she would willingly part with it. She only requested he would indulge her with two months, that she might have an opportunity of taking a proper farewell of all her acquaintance; and that, after that time was expired, he might fulfil his vow. Her father granted her request; and, at the expiration of the two months, she was made a sacrifice, which was the consequence of the rash vow made by Jephtha, the fulfilment of which was neither conformable either to law or justice.

The success of Jephtha against the Ammonites gave great umbrage to the Ephraimites, who told him he had engaged in the late expedition, without consulting them, from ambitious motives, and that he might reserve not only the booty, but the glory of the action to himself. Jephtha told them, they were not insensible of the oppression under which their allies laboured; and that they had been applied to for their assistance, but refused to give it. That they had acted with great injustice, and that if they did not content themselves and be quiet, he would compel them to it by force.

Jephtha finding the Ephraimites paid no attention to his remonstrance, but, on the contrary, had raised an army to oppose him, he immediately marched against them, when a dreadful battle ensued, in which the Ephraimites were totally defeated, and 22,000 were killed on the spot.

Having thus reduced the refractory Ephraimites, Jephtha returned to Tob, where he died, and was buried at Sebeth, in Gilead, the place of his nativity.

After the death of Jephtha, the government was vested in the hands of Absan, a citizen of Bethlehem, and of the tribe of Judah. He ruled only seven years, when he died at an advanced age, and was buried at Bethlehem.

Absan was succeeded by Elon, of the tribe of Zebulun, who governed ten years, during which time nothing material occurred.

Elon was succeeded by Abdon, the son of He-liel, of the tribe of Ephraim. He was universally beloved by the people, and died at a very advanced age, leaving behind him a numerous progeny. He was buried with great funeral pomp in the city of Pharathon, the place of his nativity.

CHAP. X.

The birth, life, exploits, and death of Samson.

AFTER the death of Abdon, the Israelites, not having a proper leader, were greatly persecuted by the Philistines, who subdued them in most parts of the country, and kept them in a very servile state upwards of forty years, when they were happily relieved by the following means.

There was a certain man, named Manoah, of the family of the Danites, who, without exception, was esteemed the best and principal person of his tribe. He had a most beautiful woman to his wife, and was exceeding fond of her; but his happiness was greatly curtailed by her not bearing children. In consequence of his uneasiness on this account, he frequently walked with his wife to a retired spot near the suburbs of the city, when he offered up supplications to God, that he would grant him a lawful heir to succeed him. On one of the days Manoah went on this errand, he left his wife for a short time alone, when an angel appeared to her in the likeness of a tall, handsome man, telling her, "He brought her glad tidings; for that, by the favour of God, she should bring forth a son, who should prove remarkable for his strength, and humble the pride of the Philistines; charging her not to cut his hair, nor suffer him to taste any drink stronger than water; for so God had enjoined." After saying this, the angel disappeared.

No. 7.

When Manoah returned to his wife, she related to him the particulars of all that had passed, and described the person of the messenger with such an apparent secret satisfaction, that Manoah was touched with jealousy, and intimated his suspicion that an illegal intercourse had taken place between them. The woman, seeing the uneasiness of her husband, and desirous of removing his suspicions, fell on her knees, and earnestly prayed to God, "That he would again vouchsafe to send his angel, that her husband might also behold him." Her prayers were heard and granted; the angel appeared a second time to her alone; whereupon she prevailed on him to stay till she should fetch her husband. When Manoah came, he asked the angel to repeat what he had before said to his wife in private. The angel replied, "It was sufficient that his wife had been made acquainted with the things he had told her." Manoah then asked the angel to tell him who he was, that he and his wife might make some return for the news he had brought them when the child should be born. The angel replied, "He did not stand in need of any reward, nor was it from any lucrative motive he had brought him the intelligence." Manoah then entreated the angel to stay and take some refreshment, which he at first refused, but at length agreed to. Manoah then slew a kid, and ordered his wife to dress it with all expedition. When it was ready, the angel told the woman to put the flesh, together with the bread, on a rock. This being done, the angel touched the meat with a rod he had in his hand, when immediately a flame of fire burst from the rock, and consumed both meat and bread; and the angel, in the sight of Manoah and his wife, ascended in the smoke.

When Manoah beheld this, he was struck with fear, thinking it portended some great evil to come: but his wife endeavoured to remove his apprehensions, by saying, "If God had been displeased with them, he would neither have accepted their sacrifice, nor imparted to them the knowledge of such good tidings."

A short time after this the woman became pregnant; and when the child was born, it proved to be a son, whom they named Samson, which signifies *robust*, or *strong*. The woman strictly observed the orders she had received from the angel; and as the child grew up, he discovered the most manifest signs of his becoming what had been foretold previous to his birth.

When Samson was arrived to the age of maturity, he fell in love with the daughter of a Philistine, who lived at Timnath; and though his parents did not approve of the match, because she was sprung from an idolatrous family, yet such was their affection for their son, that they indulged his passion, and went with him to Timnath to treat about the marriage. As they were on their journey, and Samson was straggling a small distance from the company, all on a sudden he discovered a young lion running towards him with open mouth. Samson was not in the least intimidated at this sight: and, when the lion approached, he seized him by the throat, and strangled him with as much ease as if it had been a kid; after which he threw the body into a thicket. A short time after, as he was travelling on the very same road, he went out of his way to look at the carcase of the lion; when, to his great surprize, he found a swarm of bees working in the breast of the beast. He took out three of the honey-combs, which he presented to his bride; but did not tell her in what manner he had obtained them.

The nuptials being now to be solemnized, (the ceremony and entertainments of which lasted seven days), the relations of the bride brought with them thirty of the stoutest and handsomest young men they could select, not out of compliment and respect to Samson, as they pretended, but as a guard over him, lest, from his great strength, he should, when in his cups, do some particular mischief. In the course of the first day, when harmony universally appeared among the company, Samson addressed himself to the thirty young men, telling them

She recounts the promises to her husband, who is affected with jealousy there-by.

He is reprehended by the angel.

The angel vanishes.

Birth of Samson.

He gives the first proof of his extraordinary strength by rending a lion with his hands.

Discovers a swarm of bees in the breast of the lion.

Jephtha's daughter is offered in sacrifice.

The Ephraimites enter into a civil war against Jephtha, who subdues them with the loss of near 22,000. Judg. xii.

Jephtha dies and is buried in a city of Gilead.

Absan succeeds him in the government.

Judges xiii. The Hebrews are enslaved by the Philistines forty years.

An angel appears to the wife of Manoah, and promises her a son, who should humble the Philistines.

Propounds a riddle to his thirty companions at the celebration of his nuptials. Judges xiv.

The new bride, terrified by threats, persuades Samson to explain his riddle to her, and discovers it to the Philistines.

Samson slays thirty men, strips off their garments, and gives the promised reward. Defers his bride, who is bestowed on one of his nuptial companions.

Practises a stratagem, and burns the standing corn of the Philistines, who therefore burn the woman and her family.

them he had a (a) riddle to propound to them, and if they would explain it before the expiration of the seven days, he would give to each man a shirt and a coat. The Philistines accepted the proposal, and desired Samson to state the question; which he did as follows: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." The Philistines laid their heads together to expound this riddle; but, after three days, finding their endeavours fruitless, and despairing to accomplish it before the expiration of the time, they went to the new bride, and threatened her, if she did not get the secret from her husband, and reveal it to them, they would burn her to death. Intimidated at these threats, the woman sat about the business, and, after great difficulty, obtained from Samson the particulars of his killing the lion, and of the honeycombs he had found in the carcase, and brought to her; all which she privately communicated to the Philistines. Towards the close of the seventh day, which was the time appointed for solving the riddle, the Philistines assembled, one of whom, addressing himself to Samson, said, "Nothing is stronger than a lion, or sweeter than honey." "No," (replied Samson), nor faller than the woman "who has enabled you to expound the riddle." Samson was greatly irritated at this imposition, but determined to fulfill his engagement with the thirty men. To do this, he went, in the heat of his passion, to the city of Ascalon (b), belonging to the Philistines, where having slain thirty men, he brought away their shirts and coats, and delivered them to those who expounded the riddle. Fired with resentment at the treachery of his wife, Samson left her; and she, in revenge, married a young man who had been one of Samson's principal companions during the wedding week.

Samson was so enraged at the treatment he had received from his wife, that he determined not only to wreak his vengeance on her, but the whole country of the Philistines; and an opportunity soon offered, which enabled him to put his design into execution. It happened to be near the time of harvest, and the corn being ripe on the ground, Samson hit upon a project for destroying it, and thereby distressing the Philistines by famine. He got together three hundred foxes (c), and tying them two and two by their tails, with a lighted torch between each pair, he turned them loose, when running into the fields, they not only destroyed all the corn, but likewise the vines and olive-trees, so that the whole country, for a time, appeared in one continued blaze.

When the Philistines understood that Samson was the author of this destruction, and that he had been induced to take such a step in revenge for the treatment he had received from his wife's family, they sent a number of people, with proper officers,

to Timnath, who seizing Samson's wife, with her father and relations, burnt them all alive, as being the special cause of so great a calamity.

Samson continued to commit various depredations in different parts of the country belonging to the Philistines; till at length, being apprehensive of danger, he retired, for security, to a rock (d) near Etam, belonging to the tribe of Judah.

When the Philistines knew where Samson had secreted himself, they sent ambassadors to the inhabitants of Etam, with orders that they should deliver him into their hands. In consequence of this they went with an armed force to Samson's retreat, and, after expostulating with him on the danger to which they were exposed on his account, begged he would give himself quietly up to the Philistines.

Samson not only complied with their request, but submitted himself to be bound with cords, on condition that they would do him no farther hurt than delivering him into the hands of the enemy. Accordingly he came from the rock, and being brought to the ambassadors, they conducted him to the camp of the Philistines, who no sooner saw him at a distance, than they ran in considerable bodies to meet him, exulting at their conquest over so daring an invader. But Samson soon convinced them of the impropriety of their imaginations. As soon as they came near him, he suddenly snapped the cords with which he was bound, and seeing the jaw-bone (e) of an ass lying on the ground, he took it up, and falling on the Philistines, he slew one thousand on the spot, which so intimidated the rest, that, instead of making any resistance, they betook themselves to flight. Samson exulted beyond bounds at this victory, instead of ascribing it, as he ought, to the assistance of the Divine Power.

Fatigued with this encounter, and being excessive thirsty, he sought for water, but found himself in a place where no such refreshment was to be had. In this distressed situation he made his application to God, who immediately caused a stream of delicious water to flow from an hollow rock adjoining to the spot where Samson had slain the Philistines; from which circumstance the place was ever after known by the name of the Jaw.

After this singular conquest Samson looked upon the Philistines with contempt; and not fearing any hurt they could do him, he went openly into one of the cities, called Gaza, where he took up his residence in a house of public entertainment. The governor of the town being informed of Samson's situation, placed guards without the gates of the city, during the day, to prevent his leaving the place. But Samson, having received intelligence of this, totally baffled the governor's intention. He rose about midnight, and taking the two gates (f), to-

(a) It was a very ancient custom for the masters of feasts to propose enigmas to their guests, in order to exercise their wit, and enliven conversation, instead of passing their whole time in downright eating and drinking. The Greeks derived this custom from the Orientals, and they generally proposed a reward to those who expounded the riddle.

(b) This city was situated between Azoth and Gaza, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, about 520 furlongs distant from Jerusalem. It is said to have been of great note among the Gentiles, in ancient times, for a temple, dedicated to Dicreto, the mother of Semiramis, here worshipped in the form of a mermaid; and for another temple of Apollo, where Herod, the father of Antipater, and grandfather of Herod the Great, served as priest. It had, in the first times of Christianity, an episcopal see; and, in the course of the holy war, it was beautified with a new wall, and many fair buildings, by Richard I. king of England.

(c) Foxes, it is well known, are very apt to do a great deal of mischief wherever they abound; and therefore Samson might have this farther design in collecting so many, viz. that thereby he might clear his own country of such noxious animals; and, at the same time, he very well knew, no creature could be more convenient for his purpose of annoying and detriming his enemies: for, as these creatures are very swift of foot, and have a natural dread of fire, they could not well fail, when once they were turned into it, of setting the standing corn in a blaze; and then, as they were tied in couples, tail to tail, this

would make them draw one against the other; and being thereby retarded in their flight, and staying longer in a place, they would give the fire more time to spread itself, and at length occasion an universal conflagration.

(d) This rock was so formed by nature as to be accessible only by one path, and that so narrow as not to admit two people to walk abreast; by which it was, perhaps, one of the most defensible places that could be met with.

(e) It may appear strange to some that a single person, with no other instrument than the jaw-bone of an ass, should be able to lay so many people dead at his feet; but all wonder will cease, when we properly attend to the words of the sacred text, that, at the time, "the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him." The Philistines, no doubt, were astonished to see the cords fall so suddenly from his hands, and he advancing with the greatest fury against them: but the whole must be ascribed to the power of God, who can increase our strength in all respects, to what degree he pleases; and at the same time enfeeble the spirits of those who oppose his designs in such a manner; that they should not have power to help themselves.

From this singular achievement the place was afterwards called Ramath-Lehi, which, in the Hebrew language, signifies the lifting up of the jaw-bone.

(f) He did not stay to break open the gates, but plucked the posts out of the ground, with the doors hanging upon them fast barred; which extraordinary action so astonished the guards, that they had not power to follow him.

gether



C. Metz delin.

H. W. G. sculp.

— SAMSON slaying the PHILISTINES —
with the jaw bone of an Ass.



Metz delin

Collier sculp.

DEILAH after cutting off SAMSON'S HAIR treacherously betraying
him into the hands of the Philistines.

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himself, and seeing Ruth, enquired of his servant who she was, and from whence she came. The servant, who had learned from her the particulars of her life and present situation, related the whole to Boaz, who was so pleased with her for the respect she shewed her mother-in-law, that he ordered his servant to tell her, she was not only at liberty to glean in his fields, but to gather what she thought proper, and that she should be allowed both food and drink in common with the reapers. Ruth reserved a part of her allowance for her mother-in-law, and, in the evening, carried it home with her corn, when she related to Naomi the occurrences of the day.

When Naomi understood who was the person that had been so great a benefactor to Ruth, she told her he was a near kinsman, and being a man of a pious and liberal disposition, he might probably extend his benevolence to their mutual advantage. She therefore advised Ruth to prosecute her labours, and to attend in the fields with the servants of Boaz, during the remainder of the harvest.

The harvest being over, Boaz was very diligent in threshing his corn; and being one day greatly fatigued, he laid himself on the floor and fell asleep, in which situation he was left by the people who had attended him. Information of this being given to Naomi, she advised Ruth to go to the barn, and lay herself gently at his feet, imagining that when Boaz should wake and discover her, it might produce something to her advantage.

Naomi considers how she may prevail with Boaz to marry Ruth.

Ruth, thinking it her duty to comply with the orders of her mother-in-law, immediately went, and getting into the barn, laid herself at the feet of Boaz. About the middle of the night Boaz awoke, and perceiving a woman lying by him, asked who she was. Ruth immediately discovered herself, and begged he would permit her to lie by him as one of his handmaids, which Boaz granted, and again fell asleep. Early in the morning, before the servants were come to their work, Boaz desired Ruth to get up, and, after taking as much corn as she could carry, go immediately to her mother-in-law, that she might not be seen by any of the servants; for though nothing had taken place between them of a criminal nature, yet it was prudent to avoid calumny, which would certainly arise should she be found with him. "But (says Boaz) before you go, I have this to say to you. There is a person of much nearer kin to you than I am. I will ask him if he chuses to marry you: if he consents you must go with him; but if he refuses, I will marry you myself." Ruth then departed; and when she got home, related all that had passed to her mother-in-law, who was highly pleased with her success, and the expectations of so profitable an alliance.

Boaz treats with Ruth's kinsman.

About the middle of the day Boaz went into the city, and convened an assembly of the elders. As soon as they were met, he sent for Ruth and the kinsman nearest allied to her, both of whom appearing, Boaz addressed himself to the man as follows: "If I am not mistaken, you are at present in possession of the inheritance of Abimelech and his sons." To which he replied, "I am, and the law has put me in possession of it, as being nearest of blood." Boaz answered, "The same law that gives you one part obliges you to take the other. Before you stands the widow of Mahlon,

"and you are bound by the law (a) either to marry her, or quit the inheritance." The man said he could not marry her, having already a wife and children. He therefore resigned the woman and estate to Boaz, who was the next in kindred to the deceased. In consequence of this declaration, Ruth was commanded to unloose the shoe (b) of the man, and spit in his face, agreeable to the custom used on such occasions.

A few days after Boaz took Ruth to wife, and at the expiration of a year she was delivered of a son. The boy was placed under the care of Naomi, who called him by the name of Obed, signifying, in the Hebrew language, *service*, or *assistance*; which she expected from him in her more advanced years. From Obed came Jesse, the father of David, in whose family the government continued one and twenty generations. I have been thus particular in my accounts of Ruth, to shew the power and wise dispensations of Providence, who can raise characters to the most elevated dignity on earth, however insignificant the objects from whom they are descended.

The Israelites grew exceeding indolent under the government of Eli, which being observed by the Philistines, they determined to take advantage of it. The general dissipation of the people arose from the precedent set them by the two sons of Eli, named Hophni and Phineas, who was mere libertines. They domineered over the men, and violated the women at their devotions; and so far were they from being content with the portions which God had allotted them as priests, that they forced from the people (even before they had made their oblations) what part of the sacrifice they pleased; which gave so general a disgust, that religion grew into contempt, and the worship of God was almost totally refused.

The Almighty was pleased to chastise them for their remissness, and to forewarn them of the event by the prophet Samuel; of whose birth the following are the particulars:

In the city of Ramah, belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, lived a man named Elkanah, who had two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He went three times a year to Shiloh, to offer up his usual sacrifice, and, as he was a pious and religious man, he generally took his two wives with him, that they, in like manner, might make their oblations. Hannah had not any children, notwithstanding which she was Elkanah's favourite; and at every feast, on the peace-offering, he usually sent her a separate mess, and of this choicest meat. Peninnah, being highly offended at the particular attention being paid to Hannah, vented her resentment by upbraiding her with sterility, or want of children. This greatly affected Hannah, insomuch that all her husband said could not assuage her grief. As soon as she arose from table, she hastened to the tabernacle, and there prayed to God, in the most fervent manner, that he would be pleased to bless her with a son, for which favour she promised to make him a Nazarite, and solely to devote him to his service. Her prayers were heard, and, in a proper time, she conceived, and brought forth a son, whom she called Samuel, that is to say, *Asked of God*. Hannah, as she had promised, went to the tabernacle at Shiloh, and after offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the birth of her son, and paying the tenths according

(a) The reason of this seems to be grounded upon the law, by which the first-born of such marriage was to bear the name of the woman's former husband, in order to keep up his name in Israel; so that if this kinsman had married Ruth, and should have had but one son by her, that son being not to bear his name, but the name of her former husband, he himself would have no son to keep up his name in Israel: so that not being willing to run this hazard, he declined the purchase.

(b) There was a manner of confirming bargains, sales, exchanges, and alienations, among the Israelites. It consisted of two sorts: the first of which was penal, as when a man refused to marry the wife of his brother, who died without issue:

in this case the law commanded that the woman should take off his shoe, and spit in his face, at the same time using these words: "Thus shall it be done to the man that refuseth to raise up issue to his brother's family." The second was cessionary, or in token of resignation, and did not extend to the compelling of the kinsman in the second, third, or fourth degree, to marry the widow, but he might transfer his right to any other of the kindred; and as a sign of his cession or translation of his right, he took off his shoe, and delivered it to that kinsman who would marry the widow in the presence of the elders.

On the...
fulfil...
kinsman,
Boaz mar-
ries Ruth.
Ruth...

The gene-
alogy of Da-
vid.

Notorious
profligacy
of Eli.

Hannah,
one of the
wives of
Elkanah,
makes a
vow to God,
in order to
obtain a son.
1 Sam.

Samuel is
born, and
dedicated
to God.

to custom, she delivered him to Eli, who clothed him with a proper habit, that he might attend on the service of the tabernacle. After this Hannah had several other sons, and three daughters, by her husband, Elkanah.

Samuel endowed with the spirit of prophecy at thirteen years of age.

When Samuel had attained to his thirteenth year, God was pleased to make him his agent, by inspiring him with the power of prophecy. As Samuel was one night asleep, God called him by his name, which he taking for the voice of Eli, immediately ran to him to know his pleasure, when he told him that he was mistaken, for that he had not mentioned his name. On this Samuel retired, and went again to rest, when he was repeatedly disturbed by the same voice; upon which he again went to Eli, and told him how distinctly he had been several times called, and that he thought it to be his voice. Eli said it was not him, but the voice of God. He then told Samuel to retire again to rest, and when he heard the voice again, to say, "Here I am, Lord; speak; for thy servant heareth, and is ready to obey thee." Samuel did as Eli had ordered; and, when he again heard the voice, answered, "Here I am, Lord, ready to do whatsoever thou shalt command." The voice replied, "Know, then, that calamities hang over Israel, greater than have been hitherto known. The two sons of Eli shall be cut off in one day, and the priesthood shall be taken from him, and given to the family of Eleazar: for Eli hath preferred his children to my honour and worship."

The Almighty, by means of Samuel, denounces his wrath against Eli, for the wicked practices of his sons.

1 Sam. iii.

Samuel was unwilling to relate these melancholy tidings to Eli; but being at length urged to it, he gave a particular account of the whole revelation, which Eli received with a mind apparently resigned to the Divine will.

The Philistines conquer the Hebrews.

1 Sam. iv.

The time was now come when Samuel's prophecy was to be fulfilled, and the displeasure of the Almighty manifested to the disobedient Israelites. The Philistines had raised a powerful army, with which they marched against the Israelites, and encamped at Aphek, a city of Judah. Finding no opposition, they advanced farther, and, at length, meeting the army of the Israelites, a desperate battle ensued, in which 4000 of the latter were slain, and the remainder put to flight.

This defeat greatly alarmed the Israelites, some of whom imputed it to arise from the want of the ark in the army, which, as the symbol of God's presence, they said would be a sure means of success. Accordingly a messenger was dispatched to Hophni and Phineas, to bring the ark, which no sooner arrived in the camp, than the people testified their joy by the loudest acclamations. When the Philistines first heard that the ark was brought to the

camp of the Israelites, they were greatly dispirited; but at length taking courage, and exhorting each other to perseverance, they prepared themselves to oppose the enemy. The Israelites, not doubting of success, attacked the Philistines with great fury; but they were soon repulsed, with the loss of 30,000 men, among whom were Hophni and Phineas. The rest of the army were glad to save themselves by flight, so that the ark of the Lord fell into the hands of the Philistines.

The Hebrews are again overthrown by the Philistines, the sons of Eli are slain, and the ark comes into the possession of the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

The Israelites lament the loss of the ark. Death of Eli, the high priest.

THE melancholy news of this defeat was carried to Shiloh on the same day it happened, by a soldier of the tribe of Benjamin, who had made his escape from the field of battle. As soon as it was known, an universal outcry and lamentation prevailed throughout the city; and when Eli came to understand what was the cause of it, he sent for the man to know the particulars. The soldier told him, the Israelites were routed, his two sons slain, and the ark of the Lord taken by the enemy. Eli heard the defeat of the army, and the death of his sons, without appearing in the least agitated; but when he was told the ark of the Lord had fallen into the enemy's hands, his spirits forsook him, he fell from his chair, and instantly expired, in the 98th year of his age, and 40th of his government.

Eli expires on hearing of the loss of the ark.

When the wife of Phineas (who was at this time with child, and near her time) heard of the deaths of her husband and father, and (what was worst of all) of the captivity of the ark, she immediately fell in labour, and being shortly delivered of a son, she had just strength enough to name him Ichabod, which signifies *shame and ignominy*, before she died; because the ark, which was the glory of Israel, was departed from them.

Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar (another of the sons of Aaron) that exercised the function of high priest; for the family of Eleazar officiated in that capacity first, the son still receiving that honour from the father. Eleazar bequeathed it to his son Phineas, he to his son Abiezer, from whom it went to his son Boëjas, and thence to his son Ozis. After, when Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, which was returned in his line until the reign of king Solomon, when it reverted to the posterity of Eleazar.

The 'priesthood' translated from one family to another.

End of the FIFTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK V.

[Including a Period of about Forty Years.]

CHAP. I.

Divers plagues and calamities befall the Philistines for detaining the ark. Resolved in council to restore it. Manner in which it was brought back to the Israelites.

2 Sam. v.

Dagon, the idol god of Ashdod, falls down before the ark.

AFTER the Philistines had defeated the Israelites, and made themselves masters of the ark, they carried it in great triumph to one of their principal cities, called Ashdod, or Azotus, and there placed it in the temple of their god Dagon (*a*), near his image. The next morning, when the people went to the temple to pay their devotions, they found Dagon fallen down upon his face before the ark; but supposing it to be an accident, they set him up again. When they went the following morning to the temple, they found him not only on the ground, but in an imperfect state, his head and hands being broke off in the fall. They again repeatedly set him up, but as repeatedly found him the next day lying prostrate before the ark.

The inhabitants of Ashdod were greatly alarmed at this circumstance, and began to think that their Dagon was far inferior to the God of Israel. They

(*a*) Dagon was represented as a monster, being half a man, and half a fish; whence the learned derive his name from the Hebrew word Dag, which signifies a fish. Milton enumerates this deity among the fallen angels; and thus describes him:

Next came one
Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark
Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lop'd off,
In his own temple, on the groundsel edge,
Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers:
Dagon his name; sea-monster! upward man,
And downward fish; yet had his temple high
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
Of Palestine, in Gath, and Ascalon,
And Accaron, and Gaza's frontier bounds.

had farther reason to imagine this, when they found that a most dreadful epidemical distemper prevailed throughout the city, which carried off great numbers in a very short time; and, to add to this calamity, their fields were over-run with mice, which, destroying all the fruits of the earth, diverted them of the common necessities of life. Thinking these calamities arose from their having in possession the ark of the Israelites, they sent a messenger to the people of Ascalon, desiring them to admit it into their city. This offer was readily accepted, and the ark immediately removed to Ascalon; but when the people found that the same calamities, which had befallen the inhabitants of Ashdod, attended them, they removed the ark to another city. The same calamities attended the people of that place, as also the other cities to which the ark was removed.

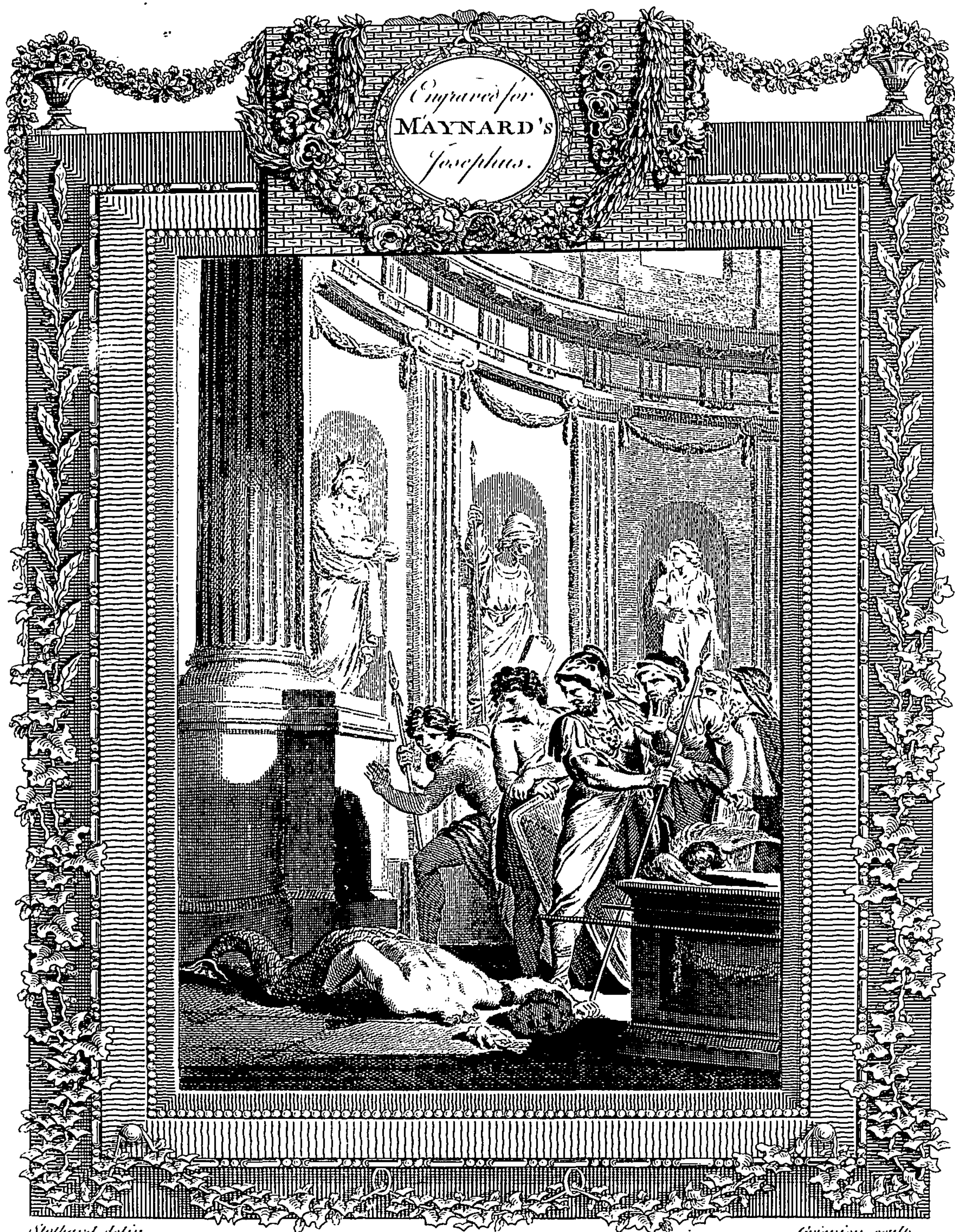
The Philistines are smitten with plagues.

The ark is removed from place to place; but the same calamities befall those who receive it.

The Philistines began now seriously to think that all their troubles arose from having the ark in their possession. They therefore determined to part with it, and for that purpose called together the priests of the different cities in which it had been placed, to consult with them in what manner it should be removed from their country. After different propositions, it was at length resolved, that there should be made five golden images (*b*), one for each of the cities

A consultation held to determine on the manner of disposing of the ark. 1 Sam. vi.

(*b*) "It was an ancient custom (says Mr. Locke) in case a city or country was infested with any plague of diseases, or noxious creatures, to consult the talisman, who ordered an image to be erected of the plague, under a certain influence of celestial configuration; and this was the cause why the Philistine priests gave counsel that golden images should be made to represent the disease with which they had been afflicted, as also of those vermin which had destroyed the fruits of the earth." Tavernier tells us, that something similar to this is still practised among the Indians; for when a pilgrim there goes to a pagod for the cure of any disease, he brings the figure of the member affected, made either of gold, silver, or copper, according to his quality, which he offers to the idol, and then sings and dances for joy, in expectation of his malady being removed. It was also a custom among the ancient heathens



Stothard delin.

Crignion sculp.

DAGON the IDOL of the Philistines, falling before the ARK of GOD,
 (in the Idolatrous Temple of the City of Ashdod.)

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cities in which the ark had stood, to be dedicated to God; as also five golden mice (alluding to the vermin that had destroyed the fruits of the earth.) That these should be enclosed in a box, and, with the ark, put into a cart made for the purpose, to be drawn by two milch cows, who had never been yoked before, and their calves to be closely confined (a). That the waggon, with the ark, should be conducted to a spot where three roads met, and the cattle there left at liberty to go whither they pleased. If they took the Hebrew road, and went on, they might impute their calamities to the ark; but if they took another course, they might consider them only as common accidents.

All things being adjusted, the kine were led to the spot fixed on, attended by a great number of the Philistines, where they were no sooner left to themselves, than they immediately took the Hebrew road, and went lowing along till they came to Bethshemeth, a village belonging to the tribe of Judah, where they stood still by a great stone. As soon as the ark was seen, and the news of its arrival spread about, the people flocked to it in great multitudes; and, after taking out the ark and the box, they burnt the cart, and sacrificed the two kine as a burnt-offering to God; at the close of which ceremony the Philistines, who had attended the ark to this place, returned to their own country.

CHAP. III.

Judgement inflicted for prophanation. Reformation amongst the Hebrews, who are assembled by Samuel, and admonished to recover their liberty. Expedition against the Philistines under the conduct of Samuel. The Hebrews are victorious.

SOME of the Bethshemites (either from joy or curiosity) venturing to look into the ark (which was expressly against the Divine command) were immediately slain, to the number of seventy; which so terrified the rest, that they sent to the people of Kirjath-jearim, acquainting them that the Philistines had brought back the ark, and desiring them to come and fetch it, as they were not worthy to have it in their possession. The inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim accordingly came, and taking with them the ark, it was placed in the house of one Abinadab, a Levite, a man distinguished for his integrity, and religion; in whose charge, and that of his sons, it remained twenty years.

When the ark was removed to Kirjath-jearim, the people applied themselves, with great diligence, to the performance of religious duties, and gave ample testimony of their strict observance to the laws. The prophet Samuel (who succeeded to the government after the death of Eli) seeing this, and thinking it a proper opportunity, harrangued the multitude as follows:

“O ye men of Israel, (said he), ye have fatally experienced the implacable hatred and malice of your enemies; but ye have reason to be once more happy, seeing that your earnest supplications to God have not been in vain. Let me therefore recommend it to you to inure yourselves to the love and practice of justice; purge your minds of all improper affections: turn to God, adore him, and honour him in your lives and conversation, as well as with your lips. If you do good

to consecrate to their idols the monuments of their deliverances.

(a) The learned Dr. Stackhouse, in speaking of this passage, says, “It was no bad policy in the Philistines to take milch kine, that had never been yoked before, to draw the cart, in order to know whether or not there was the hand of God in what had befallen them. As those creatures were unacquainted with the yoke, it would be a wonder if they should go jointly together, and not thwart, or draw counter to each other: it would be a wonder if their natural affection would

“things, good will come of it; that is to say, you will be possessed of liberty and conquest. But these are blessings not to be obtained by force of men, strength of body, or bands of soldiers. It is God alone who can bestow these privileges, which he has promised to do if you adhere strictly to his ordinances; and you may depend upon it he will not disappoint you.”

This speech was universally approved of by the people, who promised Samuel they would strictly observe all he had said, and inviolably obey the Divine commands.

A short time after this Samuel summoned an assembly of the people at Mizpeh, (that is to say, conspicuous), where they held a fast and humiliation to God. The Philistines, being informed of this meeting, marched with a great army towards Mizpeh, intending to attack the Israelites by surprize. As soon as the Philistines were seen, the whole multitude were struck with terror, and told Samuel, there was no possibility of elcaping the fury of so inveterate an enemy, unless he could prevail with God to grant them his Divine assistance. Samuel told them not to fear, for God had promised them his protection, and would most certainly fulfil his word. Samuel then sacrificed a sucking lamb to God, in the name of the people, imploring his aid against the power of the Philistines. The Almighty was pleased to accept the sacrifice, and to promise Samuel, that the Israelites should obtain a complete victory over their enemies.

While the sacrifice was yet on the altar, the Philistines drew out in order of battle; but they had no sooner begun the attack, than the earth shook under their feet with such violence as to prevent their standing; and, in some places, it opened, and swallowed them up. This was attended with a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which so affected them, that they were totally unable to use their arms; and, from the whole, were so frightened, that they betook themselves to flight. The Israelites, seeing this, immediately pursued them as far as Bethshear, (killing great numbers in their way), where Samuel set up a stone in memory of the victory. He called it the *stone of assistance*, intimating, that it was by the help of God they had conquered their enemies.

This defeat struck such a panic into the Philistines, that they did not presume to make any farther attempt on the Israelites. On the contrary, Samuel, with his army, pursued them from one city to another, and at length retook the whole country that lies betwixt Gath and Ekron, which had formerly belonged to the Israelites, but was taken from them by the Philistines.

CHAP. III.

Samuel being advanced in years, transfers the government to his two sons, who degenerate from the conduct and character of their father.

AFTER Samuel had thus reduced the Philistines, and reinstated the people in the possession of their lands and cities, he appointed public meetings to be held at certain times, for the administration of justice; and took a circuit twice every year, to see that it was properly executed, making it his principal care to prevent any violation of the laws of his country.

not incline them to return to their calves, which were left behind: and it would be still a greater wonder, if, when there were so many different ways to take, they should go directly forward towards Judea, without any manner of deviation. It was therefore a matter of no small sagacity for them to make this experiment: To say nothing, that, it was a received opinion among the heathens, that in the motions of an heifer, or cow, that was never yoked there was something ominous, and declarative of the Divine will.

The kine immediately proceeded to the land of the Hebrews, &c.

General joy and sacrifice on the return of the ark.

The Philistines attack the Israelites unexpectedly.

The divine assistance given to Samuel of victory.

A dreadful earthquake, &c.

The Philistines are routed, and take to a precipitate flight.

Samuel recovers the land that had been taken from the Israelites by the Philistines.

1 Sam. viii. Samuel adopts an excellent plan of government.

Samuel addresses the multitude on the subjects of religion and policy.

Samuel appoints his sons judges.

The sons of Samuel become dilute to the highest degree. 1 Sam. viii.

Being now grown in years, and unable, from natural infirmities, to discharge the duties of his office, Samuel relinquished the government, and put it into the hands of his two sons, Joel and Abiah. He appointed one of them to reside at Bethel, and the other at Beer-sheba; and ordered them to go different circuits to administer justice to the people.

The two sons of Samuel acted diametrically opposite to the maxims of their father, and to the injunctions he had laid on them for the government of the people. They prostituted justice for gain, and decided controversies by the value of the bribe. They gave themselves up to every kind of vice, and seemed to bid defiance not only to the injunctions of their father, but the commands of their Maker.

CHAP. IV.

The people, disgusted at the government of Samuel's sons, require a king to rule over them. A king is promised them by Samuel.

THE elders of the people, incensed at the mal-administration of the sons of Samuel, went in a body to their father, who then resided at Ramah, and, after representing the grievances they lay under, from his infirmities, and the mal-administration of his sons, demanded to have the form of their government changed, and that a king might be appointed over them as in other nations.

Samuel is much grieved by the application of the people for a change in the form of government.

This demand gave great uneasiness to Samuel; and, for some time, he knew not how to act. At length he applied to God, who told him to comply with the request of the people, notwithstanding the affront was not so much on Samuel as on himself. But, before they proceeded to the choice of a king, God ordered Samuel to acquaint them with what his prerogatives were, and what they might expect he would demand from them; and withal, to inform them, that slavery to them and their children, subjection to the meanest offices, loss of liberty, heavy taxes, constant war, and other inconveniences, would be the consequence of a kingly power.

Convenes the people, and dissuades them from espousing a kingly government.

Samuel, having received this intelligence from the Almighty, assembled the people together, and told them the various consequences that would follow should they persist in subjecting themselves to the kingly power. But all his remonstrances were of no effect: the people were absolute in their demand; upon which Samuel broke up the assembly, telling the people, he would call them again together as soon as he should receive directions from God who was to be their king.

CHAP. V.

Saul, by the appointment of God, anointed king. Heads an army against the Ammonites, and defeats them.

NEVER was the interposition of Providence manifested in a greater degree, than in the election of Saul as king over the Israelites; the circumstances attending which cannot be read without distinguished admiration.

Saul was the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin. He was remarkably handsome in his person, and had a mind answerable to the graces of his body. It happened at this time that some of his father's asses had gone astray, and he and a servant

1 Sam. ix. Saul, who was sought for the king of Israel, is seen in quest of his father's asses.

(a) By this it appears that Saul's employment, according to the manners of the present age, was but of a mean nature; but it is to be observed that, in ancient times, every thing which pertained to rural life was deemed honourable. Even heroes and princes kept flocks; and such, indeed, was the occupations of the patriarchs. The Scripture speaks of a prince descended from Esau, who kept the asses of his father, Gen.

were sent to look for them (a). They wandered a great way without gaining any intelligence, till coming to Ramah (b), the place of Samuel's residence, Saul, at the instigation of the servant, went to consult with the prophet concerning his asses.

Samuel had been all the preceeding day employed in supplicating God to tell him what person to appoint king; and the Almighty was pleased to answer, that the next day he should receive his order, for there should come to him a young man of the tribe of Benjamin at that same hour.

The prophet staid at home the whole day, and, when the precise period arrived, as he was going down to supper, he met Saul, whom he knew, by an immediate inspiration, to be the person designed for the government. Saul, not knowing him, asked for the prophet, when Samuel answered, he had found him already. He then told Saul, that not only the asses he sought for were safe, but that himself was on the point of being advanced to the highest pitch of sovereign power. When supper was ready, Samuel placed Saul above the rest of the guests, (who were seventy in number), and his servant next him; and ordered the attendants to bring Saul a royal meal. The time being come for the company to break up, they departed to their respective homes, except Saul and his servant, whom the prophet desired to remain with him for that night.

Samuel's tent
Saul and
servant

Early in the morning Samuel called up his guests, and having accompanied them some way from the city, he desired Saul to order his servant to go forward, as he had something to say to him in private. This being done, Samuel took out of his pocket a phial of oil, which having poured on Saul's head, he kissed him, and then spoke to the following effect: "Be thou king; for such thou art appointed to be by God, in order to revenge the injuries committed by the Philistines on the Israelites. In token of this, observe what I am now going to relate. When thou art departed from me, thou shalt find, in thy journey, three men going to Bethel to worship God; the first carrying three loaves, the second a kid, and the third a bottle of wine. They will all shew you great respect; and offer you two of the loaves, which you are to receive. When you have advanced as far as the place called Rachel's Sepulchre, you will meet a man, who will give you tidings of your asses. After this, on your arrival at Gath, you will join with a company of prophets, and, by the assistance of the spirit of God, will prophecy with them to the great admiration of the multitude, who will exclaim, How comes the son of Kish to be found among the prophets? When this shall come to pass, you may be assured that God is with you. Go then to your father and kindred; and when I send for you, come to me at Gilgal, that we may conjunctively offer up our prayers to God, with sacrifices and thanksgiving." Having said this, Samuel parted with Saul, who found every thing to happen as had been told him by the prophet.

Anointing
Saul.
1 Sam. x.

When Saul arrived at his father's house, his uncle Abner (for whom he had a particular esteem) asked him to relate the occurrences that had happened in the course of his journey. Saul told him of his going to the prophet; but did not chuse to mention a syllable of his elevation to the throne, lest, if believed, it should produce the envy, if not the censure, of the people.

Thus was Saul appointed king; but then it was only between Samuel and himself. To make, therefore, his appointment and inauguration more

xxxvi. 24. Asses were a considerable part of the people's possessions in Judea, and persons of the first distinction there commonly rode on them.

(b) Ramah was a city of Benjamin, situated between Gaba and Bethel, six miles to the north of Jerusalem. It was in being in the time of St. Jerome, but was then only a poor village.

public,

CHAP. VI.

public, Samuel convened an assembly of the people at Mizpeh; and when they were gathered together, he addressed them in words to the following effect: "I am commanded, by God himself, to inform you, that it was he who not only delivered you out of Egyptian bondage, but also repeatedly rescued you from the hands of your enemies. In return for which you have been so ungrateful as to shake off his authority, by insinuating to have a king of your own choice; a king who will rule over you with a tyrannical sway, and treat you with such indignation and cruelty, as if himself did not belong to the same species. But since ye are resolved to have a king, divide yourselves by your tribes and families, and then cast lots who shall be the man." The Israelites did as Samuel directed, and the lot of the tribe fell upon Benjamin; that of the families upon Matri; and when they came to try it personally, the lot fell upon Saul, the son of Kish.

Saul, knowing what business was in hand, had concealed himself from a sense of modesty; but being at length found, he was brought before the people, who were highly pleased with his majestic deportment, and the graces of his person. Samuel, addressing himself to the multitude, said, "This is he whom God hath appointed to be your king: look at him, and behold in his person how well he is qualified for such an honour." On this the people universally shouted, "God save the king." Samuel hereupon (having previously written down every thing that was to happen) related the same to the people before Saul; after which he placed the book in the tabernacle of God, there to remain as an undeniable evidence for ever of what he had prophesied.

This business being over, Samuel went to Ramah, and Saul to Gibeah, (a) the place of his nativity. He was accompanied by the principal people of the different tribes, who congratulated him on his accession to the throne with the loudest acclamations. Indeed, he had the good wishes of all the people, except some few disorderly persons, who disapproved of the choice, and, in pure contempt, refused to make him the usual presents; which Saul could not but perceive, though, in point of prudence, he thought proper, for that time, not to notice the circumstance.

Saul had not been many days on the throne, when an opportunity offered for him to shew his regal authority. Nahash, king of the Ammonites, heading a powerful army, had committed various outrages, in different parts, on the other side the river Jordan. He not only destroyed those cities and towns of the Israelites, but exercised the most cruel barbarities on the poor captives, ordering them to be punished with the loss of their right eye (b). At length he laid siege to Jabesh, the capital city of the Gileadites; and sent a summons to the inhabitants, that if they did not deliver up the place, and submit to the loss of their right eyes, he would immediately reduce the whole to ashes. After some consultation the inhabitants returned for answer, that they desired only seven days to send to their friends for relief, and if they did not receive any in that time, they would either surrender themselves up, or stand a contest. Nahash looked on the Israelites in so contemptible a light, and thought himself so secure of reducing them at discretion, that he granted their request.

In consequence of this the Gileadites dispatched messengers to Gibeah, requesting of Saul to send them immediate succour, that they might be enabled to defend themselves against the power of their enemies.

Saul musters a powerful army. Advances and obtains a complete victory over the Ammonites. Acquires glory by his prowess. Is a second time proclaimed king. Samuel vindicates his conduct in a general appeal. Delivers a charge to the people.

WHILE the affairs of the Israelites were in this critical situation, Saul was seized with a prophetic spirit, and sent back the messengers to Jabesh with a promise of assistance in three days, when they should overcome their enemies before the rising of the sun. Being desirous of inclining the minds of the people towards this war, (through fear of the losses they should otherwise sustain), he cut the sinews of his own oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not the next day appear in arms at the river Jordan, and then follow him and Samuel wherever they should lead them. By these means he raised an army of 700,000 men, besides 70,000 more of the tribe of Judah. With this army he marched against the Ammonites, and dividing the whole into three companies, they fell on the besiegers before day-light. After a short contest the Ammonites were totally routed, and the greater part slain, among whom was Nahash, their leader.

This victory, and the deliverance it procured from a barbarous and insulting enemy, raised the reputation of Saul to so great a degree, that some of the people (recollecting the indignities put on him at his coronation) were, in the height of their zeal, for having them immediately punished with death; but Saul very prudently opposed the motion, and expressed his aversion at having the glories of that day sullied with the blood of any of his subjects.

From this victory, however, Samuel took occasion to give those, who had hitherto refused their allegiance, an opportunity of coming in, and recognizing the king. For this purpose he convened a general assembly of the people at Gilgal, when Saul was again anointed king, and his right to the throne fully established. Thus was the government of the Israelites changed to a monarchy, which, for a considerable time before, was lodged in magistrates under the name of judges.

Samuel was at this time to resign the government entirely into the hands of Saul. He therefore made a speech to the people on the occasion, in which, after vindicating himself from any misconduct during his administration, he thus reminded them of their transgressions and disobedience to God: "What (says he) should you choose another king for, after the experience of so many signal mercies, and miraculous deliverances, while you were under God's protection, and owned him for your governor? You have forgot the circumstance of Jacob's coming into Egypt with only seventy men in his train, and purely for want of bread; how God provided for them, and in what manner, by his blessing, they were relieved. You have forgot the slavery to which they were subjected, till, from their cries and supplications, God rescued them by the hands of Moses and Aaron, and brought them into the land you now possess. How can you be so ungrateful now, after so many distinguished benefits received, as to depart from your allegiance to your Divine protector? How often have you fallen into the hands of your enemies for your apostacy and disobedience, and as often restored to God's favour and your liberty, by humiliation and repentance! Who was it that gave you victory over all your enemies but God? It was not by the power of kings,

(a) Gibeah was a city in the tribe of Benjamin, lying north of Jerusalem about twenty or thirty furlongs, and built upon a hill, as its name imports. This city is celebrated upon several occasions. It gave birth to Saul, the first king of Israel; for which reason it is frequently called Gibeah of Saul, or Gibeah the native country of Saul.

(b) As the manner of fighting, in those days, was chiefly

with bows and arrows, sword and shield, the loss of the right eye would have disabled them from doing either. It is probable, such was the natural cruelty of his disposition, that he would have demanded the loss of both their eyes, had it not been for this political reason, namely, that, in such case, they would have been utterly incapable of rendering him any service, or paying any tribute.

but under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness, then, has possessed you, to give up an heavenly governor for an earthly one. However, you have asked for a king, and a king you have got: but to convince you how the Almighty is offended at your conduct, I do now beg from heaven, as a testimony of the truth of what I say, that such a tempest may this instant fall as was never before seen by man."

The truth of what Samuel delivered, is attested by wonderful prodigies.

No sooner had Samuel uttered these last words, than there fell such a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, as almost to pronounce a general dissolution of nature. An universal terror took place among the people: they directly acknowledged their transgressions, and intreated Samuel to intercede with the Almighty to pardon their sins. Samuel not only promised to comply with their request, but to assist them with his best instructions, so long as they adhered to the observation of God's laws; but at the same time told them, if they despised his instructions, not only they, but also their king, would be infallibly destroyed. Having said this, Samuel dismissed the assembly, and immediately retired.

CHAP. VII.

Jonathan, the son of Saul, signalizes himself by obtaining a conquest over the Philistines. Saul, by precipitate conduct, incurs the Divine displeasure. His exploits and progeny.

1 Sam. xiii.

AFTER Saul had defeated the Ammonites, he disbanded his army, retaining only three thousand, two of which he kept for his body guard, and the other thousand he appointed to attend on his son Jonathan, who was a prince of great bravery, and had cut off a garrison of the Philistines at Gibeah. Whenever the Philistines gained an advantage over the Jews, they not only disarmed them, but forbade them the use of iron in any case whatever; so that they were under a necessity of applying to the Philistine artificers for all necessities in that branch.

The Philistines deprive the Hebrews of the use of iron.

Raise a powerful army.

The Philistines, resolving to oppose the Israelites, raised a powerful army, consisting of 3000 chariots, with which they marched against them, and encamped near a place called Michmash. The Hebrew army, which was appointed to rendezvous at Gilgal, came in but very slowly; and of those that did, many were so faint-hearted as to secrete themselves in rocks and caves; while others, from the mere apprehension of danger, retired beyond the river Jordan. In short, not only the people, but even Saul himself was greatly intimidated, and the more so on the account of Samuel, whom they expected, not being yet come. Saul, therefore, fearing the enemy should fall on him before he had addressed himself to God for success, ordered sacrifices to be made; and the burnt-offering was but just finished when Samuel arrived.

The Israelites are intimidated.

Saul offers sacrifices without Divine permission.

Is reprehended by Samuel.

When Samuel found what Saul had done, he reprehended him for his conduct, in having offered a sacrifice to God in his absence. Saul endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying, his people were so intimidated, on hearing the enemy had marched towards Gilgal, that he found it necessary to be expeditious in his motions, lest they should entirely desert him. To this the prophet replied, "It would have been better for you to have followed my advice, and not have acted derogatory to the will of the Divine Being, who otherwise would have established the government in you and your posterity." After this Samuel departed, highly offended at what Saul had done.

Threatened with the loss of his kingdom.

(a) How Jonathan and his armour-bearer only could put the whole army of the Philistines into so universal a consternation, appears, at first sight, very extraordinary; but when we consider, that they climbed up a way never attempted before; that they surprised the enemy unawares, and perhaps when the greatest part of them were asleep; that this army, being composed of different nations, might entertain jealousies and suspicions of each other; and that the darkness of the night

The only alternative Saul now had, was, either to attempt defending himself against the Philistines, or quietly submit to their superior power. After some deliberation, he determined on the former, and, for that purpose, (taking with him his son Jonathan), marched with his army, consisting only of 600 men, towards the enemy. It is to be observed, that Saul's troops were badly armed; for the Philistines, having made themselves masters of various parts of the country, had prohibited the people from making any use of iron, as before observed.

When Saul's army came near that of the Philistines, he, together with his son Jonathan, and Ahiah, the high priest, ascended a steep rock, where they had a full view of the enemy unperceived. On this Jonathan, taking aside his armour-bearer, asked him how far he would assist him in a bold enterprize for the redemption of his country? To which the armour-bearer answered, with an oath, that he would, however dangerous the situation, stand by him to the last extremity. Jonathan then made a proposition, which was immediately agreed to, that he, and his armour-bearer, should endeavour secretly to get into the enemy's camp, and, if they succeeded, fall violently on the Philistines, and thereby throw them into immediate confusion. This design was, with great difficulty, carried into execution. They got into the camp of the Philistines at a time when they were all at rest, and no ways apprehensive of danger. Jonathan, and his armour-bearer, took proper advantage of this favourable opportunity, and immediately falling on the Philistines, put upwards of twenty to the sword, which occasioned such an universal confusion, that the Philistines, mistaking friends for foes, destroyed each other (a). Intimation of this being given to Saul, and the news circulated among the general body of the Israelites, those who had secreted themselves through fear, immediately came from their hiding-places; and Saul, having soon mustered together his army, marched against the Philistines, and fell on them with such fury, that they were totally defeated.

1 Sam. xiii. Jonathan undertakes a bold enterprize. He attacks the Philistines, and kills 20 of them.

Saul and his army are confounded by this success. Jonathan and his armour-bearer are praised for their bravery.

Denounces a curse.

His father curses him for disobedience.

The Philistines are decimated.

Victory is gained by the Israelites.

Saul is terrified.

Saul was so elated at this success, and so fully determined, if possible, to extirpate the Philistines, that he denounced a heavy curse on every Hebrew who should lose time from pursuing the enemy, even to eat or drink, till night should put a period to the slaughter. It happened that Jonathan, who was a stranger to the malediction, in passing through a wood, found a honey-comb, and being greatly fatigued, he took a piece, and sucked it. He soon after repeated this refreshment in the presence of several people, who reprehended him for his conduct, in violating his father's orders; upon which Jonathan immediately desisted; but said, that Saul had committed a great indiscretion in prohibiting such a thing; for had the men been refreshed by eating, they would have pursued the enemy with more vigour, and took captive, or put to the sword, a much greater number.

After the Israelites had pursued the Philistines till night, and slain many thousands, they returned to seize their camp, in which they found abundance of spoil, and withal many sheep, which the soldiers slew and eat, together with the blood. This being an offence against their laws, the Levites complained of it to the king, who ordered a large stone to be placed in the middle of the camp; the beasts to be killed on that stone, and the flesh not to be eaten till the blood had been properly drained from it, being a thing contradictory to the express command of God. This decree was readily obeyed; and Saul erected an altar, on which he offered sacrifices to God for his late success.

Saul, being desirous of improving this victory,

might make them apprehend the whole body of the Israelites was come upon them at once, the fright of the Philistines is not so very surprising: and when we add to all this, what is not improbable, that God might, at this instant, inspire a panic fear into the whole host, our wonder will be turned into praise and adoration of that powerful Being, who, when he sees fit, can make the greatest heroes tremble, and put to flight the most formidable armies.

thought

thought it advisable to follow the blow by pursuing those who had escaped, and falling on them before they could have time to grow formidable by numbers. But previous to his making this attempt, he desired the high-priest to consult the will of God on his intentions. This was accordingly done, when the high-priest returned for answer, "That God was unwilling to satisfy his desire at this time." Saul then said, "There is some cause why God doth not reveal his oracle to us when we ask it, seeing that he has heretofore been so gracious as to prevent our requests by granting them beforehand. There has been certainly some secret sin committed against him that occasions this silence, and I am determined, if possible, to find it out. Now I swear, by the Supreme Majesty of heaven, that whoever shall be found to be the transgressor, my son Jonathan not excepted, his life shall answer for it."

When the multitude heard this they unanimously agreed to undergo the examination, and, for that purpose, immediately assembled at one spot, Saul and Jonathan standing near each other. In order to discover the offender, lots were drawn, when, behold, it fell upon Jonathan, who was accordingly declared the guilty person. On this Saul asked him, in the hearing of the people, what sin he had committed, and in what part of his life he had been guilty of any wickedness or impiety? To this Jonathan replied, "I have been guilty of no other crime than only tasting yesterday, as I pursued the enemy, a little honey; and this I did, not knowing your decree to the contrary." Saul answered, "Though my kindred and relations are dear to me, yet they are but trifling to the obligation I lay under to fulfil the vow I have made. As you, therefore, are the transgressor, you must make atonement by the forfeiture of your life." Jonathan, instead of being in the least dismayed at the apprehensions of death, told his father, with a brave and generous resolution, that he desired not to be forgiven. "That death (says he) shall be welcome to me that acquits my father of the obligation of a religious vow. I have lived long enough, since I have lived to see the pride and insolence of the Philistines brought down by the Hebrews; and this reflection will carry me in peace to my grave."

When the people heard Jonathan say this, they were greatly affected, and swore they would not suffer him to die, who was the principal cause of their late glorious victory. In consequence of this oath Jonathan's life was preserved; and the people unanimously supplicated God, in the most fervent manner, that he would be pleased to pardon the offence he had unintentionally committed.

After this victory Saul returned to Gilgal, and reigned very happily, acquitting himself with great reputation in all his military exploits against the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Philistines, and the Edomites. He had, indeed, a very large and flourishing family. Abinoam, the daughter of Ahiahaz, was his wife; Jonathan, Joshua, and Melchishui, were his sons; Michal and Merab his daughters; and Abner, his cousin-german, was general of his forces. He kept a great number of chariots and horsemen; and whatever enemy he attacked, his endeavours were crowned with success. His body guards, of which he had great numbers, were the tallest and handsomest men that could be selected; and he kept his court in the most splendid manner. In short, he advanced the Israelites to the highest pitch of glory for their martial exploits, and made them so formidable as to be a perpetual dread to their enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

Saul is commanded by the prophet to extirpate the Amalekites. Disobeys by saving Agag, their king. Is punished for his disobedience.

WHILE the Israelites were thus situated, Samuel went to Saul at Gilgal, and told him he had a message to deliver to him by the special

direction of God; and that as the Almighty had been pleased to make him king, in preference to all others, it was his duty to obey his Divine commands, which were as follow: "That whereas the Amalekites had treated the Hebrews with great cruelty when they were come out of Egypt into the land they then possessed, it was the will of God that he should immediately declare war against them; and that, upon subduing them, he should not only put to the sword every man, woman, and child, but that he should also destroy their cattle and sheep. That they should not take to themselves any part of the spoil, but that the whole should be dedicated to God as one common sacrifice. That the very name of Amalek should be razed from mankind, according to the command of Moses; and all this as a just vengeance for the repeated calamities they had brought on the Israelites."

Samuel enjoins Saul to destroy the Amalekites.

Saul promised Samuel that these injunctions should be strictly obeyed, and that he would immediately set about carrying them into execution. He accordingly drew together his forces, which he reviewed at Gilgal, and found them to consist of 40,000, besides 30,000 belonging to the tribe of Judah.

With this army Saul marched into the country of the Amalekites, and placing several of his companies in ambuscade, they suddenly fell on the inhabitants, and put every one to the sword. After this he marched against the main body of the enemy, when a desperate battle ensued, in which Saul was victorious; and such of the Amalekites as did not fall in the battle, were pursued and killed; so that not a single person was left to convey the intelligence of the defeat.

The Amalekites are totally defeated.

Saul, having thus far succeeded in executing his commission, proceeded to invest the cities of the Amalekites, some of which he took by storm, some by mining, and others by stratagem. At length he reduced the whole of their towns, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, except Agag, their king, whom he was induced to preserve on account of the comeliness of his person. In this Saul disobeyed the Divine commands; for the Amalekites had made themselves so abominable in the sight of heaven, that God had ordered him to destroy all, and not suffer a single person to exist. The soldiers likewise made a breach on the Divine commands, by driving away many of the cattle and sheep, and preserving, for their own use, the most valuable articles.

Saul disobeys the Divine command.

In this expedition Saul laid waste the whole country of the Amalekites, from Pelusium, on the borders of Egypt, to the Red Sea, leaving only the Shechemites in the land of Midian. Previous to the commencement of the war, he had sent orders to those people not to join with the Amalekites, but rather to retire, lest they should fall in the general destruction that was to take place. The indulgence shewn these people was out of respect to Moses, whose father-in-law, Jethro, was a Shechemite.

The Shechemites spared.

Saul, having ravaged the whole country of the Amalekites, returned with his army to Gilgal, highly pleased with what he had done, not reflecting that he was deficient in the injunctions laid on him before he went on the expedition. His sparing the life of Agag, and the people converting the spoil to their own use, being two articles expressly forbidden in his commission, gave great offence to the Almighty, who was pleased to declare to Samuel, that he lamented having made Saul king, seeing, that, instead of doing what he had been commanded, he was determined to take the power out of his hands, by doing as he pleased.

Samuel was so afflicted in his mind at this intelligence, that he spent the whole night in fervent prayers and intercessions to God, that he would pardon the offence Saul had committed. But the Almighty, instead of granting his request, gave him an answer to this effect: "That it would be a mistaken lenity to pass over faults of such a nature,

Samuel intercedes in behalf of Saul, but without effect.

“nature, as the pardoning of one offence would be only an encouragement for the commission of another.”

When Samuel found his prayers ineffectual, and that God was so displeased as not to be moved in favour of Saul, he was greatly grieved, and went the next morning to Gilgal, to communicate the melancholy intelligence to the king. As soon as Saul saw Samuel, he ran to meet him, and embracing him in his arms, said, “I return thanks to God for having given me the victory. Moreover, I have performed all that he enjoined me to do.” To this Samuel replied, “How comes it then, that I hear the bleating of sheep, and the lowing of oxen?” Saul answered, “Those were only some beasts the people had reserved for sacrifices; and that he had destroyed all the Amalekites, except Agag, their king, whom he kept prisoner till he might have advice what should be done with him.” “God (says Samuel) delights not in sacrifices, but in the righteousness of good and just men, that is to say, such as observe his holy will, and keep his commandments. He does not consider the sacrifice, but the obedience; without which all oblations are of none effect. Know then, Saul, that thou art fallen under God’s heavy displeasure, for the neglect and contempt of his commandments. What can you say for yourself when he calls you to account for receiving those things for sacrifices which he expressly ordered should be totally destroyed? For this disobedience you are condemned to lose your kingdom, and to be divested of that power which was providentially bestowed upon you in preference to the rest of mankind.”

Samuel convicts Saul of rebellion against God.

Saul acknowledges the charge.

When Saul heard this he made a frank confession of his guilt; but apologized for the conduct of his soldiers, by saying, “That he was fearful, had he prohibited them from taking some of the spoil, they might have revolted, and himself been exposed to an enraged people. But (says Saul to Samuel) let me prevail on you to endeavour to obtain a pardon for me from God; and if you should succeed, and he will be pleased to grant your request, the future part of my life shall be spent in a strict observance of every religious duty, and in an inviolable attention to his most holy will.” After saying this, Saul begged of Samuel, that, before he left him, he would sacrifice to God in his behalf. But Samuel, knowing it would be ineffectual, was going to retire, when Saul caught hold of his garment to detain him, and in the scuffle it was rent asunder. This circumstance was interpreted by Samuel as an omen, that Saul would lose his kingdom, and that it would be given to a man of piety and justice. “The sentence (says Samuel) is passed, and it is not with God as with men; for his decrees are unchangeable.” Saul acknowledged his iniquity, and the justice of the punishment inflicted by Providence. He said, what he had committed could not be undone; and therefore begged Samuel to honour him before the elders of the people, and accompany him to worship God. The prophet yielded to this importunate request of Saul, and went with him to sacrifice; after which Samuel ordered Agag, the king of the Ammonites, to be brought before him. As soon as Agag appeared, he said, “Surely the bitterness of death is past.” To which Samuel replied, “As thy sword has made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.” He then slew Agag with his own hands, and leaving Gilgal, went immediately to Ramah, the place of his residence.

Samuel interprets the rending of his garment.

Samuel slays Agag to fulfil the Divine command.

This was the last interview between Samuel and Saul; the latter of whom, being sensible of his calamities, retired to his palace at Gibeah, and there spent his time in penitence and prayer.

(a) That is, God was no longer with him to prosper and guide him; but left him, as a punishment for his disobedience, to that evil, melancholy, jealous spirit, which afterwards seems never entirely to have left him: and this evil spirit of jealousy, hatred, and cruelty, will, in the nature of

CHAP. IX.

Saul having transgressed the Divine command, the kingdom is transferred, and David anointed and proclaimed privately.

SAMUEL was greatly afflicted for the fate of Saul: upon which God told him to grieve no longer, but to take an horn of oil, and go to Bethlehem, to Jesse, the son of Obed, and anoint one of his sons, whom he had appointed, and would discover to him, to be king over the Israelites. Samuel expressed his fears that, on executing this commission, Saul would seek his life; but the Almighty promising him security from all danger, he went to Bethlehem, where he was received by the people with the most expressive joy; and on being asked what was the cause of his coming thither, he answered, “To perform sacrifice.”

I Samuel. God calls him to the service of the Lord.

The ceremony of the sacrifice being over, Samuel invited Jesse and his sons to partake of the feast; and as soon as he saw the eldest, who was remarkably handsome, he said within himself, “This is to be our king.” But Samuel was mistaken; for on asking God whether he should anoint him, he received an answer to this effect: “God seeth not as man sees. Thou supposest him to be worthy of a kingdom from his outward appearance only; but such honours are not to be bestowed as due to the merit of a person’s figure; they are to be given as a reward for the virtuous qualifications of the mind: wherefore look unto that man who is perfect in piety and justice, courage and meekness, virtues which truly constitute the beauties of the mind.” On this Samuel ordered the other sons, who were six in number, to pass him, one by one: and consulting God, which was to be the person anointed, he was answered, *neither*. Samuel then asked Jesse if he had any more sons. He answered, he had one more, whose name was David, and that he was then looking after his sheep. Samuel ordered Jesse immediately to send for him, as they could not sit down to the feast unless he was present. David was accordingly sent for, and immediately obeyed the summons. As he had a majestic countenance, on the first sight of him Samuel argued with himself, this is the person God has appointed to be king. He then placed David next to himself, and Jesse, with the rest of his sons, in regular order after them. This being done, he took out the oil, and pouring it on David’s head, said, “By this thou art informed, that God has been pleased to appoint thee king over the Israelites. I therefore strictly charge thee to do justice to the people, and be particularly careful to observe God’s commandments. In doing this, thou shalt reign long and happy: thou shalt triumph over the Philistines, and be victorious in all encounters. You shall live great, and die memorable.” Having said this Samuel departed, and the spirit of God passing from Saul to David (a), the latter was immediately possessed of the power of prophecy.

Samuel calls Jesse to the feast, and bids him bring his son before him.

The prophet sees in David a man of excellent qualities.

The son of Jesse passes under the stone of the prophet.

David, the rejected of the prophet, is anointed king.

David is inspired.

In the mean time Saul declined more and more in God’s favour; and as he was naturally of a timorous and suspicious temper, an unhappy turn of mind grew upon him, which at length settled into a confirmed melancholy, of such a nature as to be frequently attended with violent perturbations, and sometimes with a phrenzy. To relieve him in this melancholy state, some of his courtiers advised music, as it would most likely lull his disturbed mind to rest. They recommended David, the son of Jesse, not only as a proper master of music, but likewise as a man possessed of the most distinguished accomplishments.

Saul is greatly affected.

things, banish every princely virtue, and introduce into the mind an almost perpetual gloom, and dispose those who are under the unhappy influence of it to the most unwarrantable and criminal excesses.

Musie being recommended to amuse Saul, David, for that purpose, is sent for to court.
Is held in honour by the king.

In consequence of this recommendation David was sent for to court; and as soon as Saul saw him he was greatly pleased with the beauty of his person. When he heard him exercise his skill on the harp, he was perfectly transported, inasmuch, that it banished from him all uneasy and melancholy thoughts. In short, Saul conceived such a kindness for David for having cured him of his malady, that he made him one of his armour-bearers. When the king was better David returned to his brother, and attended his flocks.

CHAP. X.

The Philistines make another expedition against the Hebrews, in the reign of Saul. A single combat between Goliath and David, in consequence of a challenge from the former.

1 Sam. xvii. The Philistines renew the war with the Israelites.

THE Philistines, having gathered together a considerable army, marched against the Israelites, and pitched their tents between Shechoth and Azekah. In consequence of this Saul drew out his men, and placing them on a mountain, obliged the Philistines to remove, and encamp themselves on another mountain opposite the Israelites, the valley between dividing the two armies.

Goliath challenges by one of the Hebrews to single combat.

While they were in this situation there came from the Philistines one Goliath, a citizen of Gath, a man remarkable for his prodigious stature, being no less than six cubits and a span high. He was dressed in armour, and his coat of mail weighed 5000 shekels. The head of his spear was iron, weighing 600 shekels; and he carried it on his shoulder. Thus accoutred did this mighty man march down the hill, attended by a troop of armed men; and placing himself in the middle of the valley, between the two armies, he thus addressed himself to the Israelites: Ye men of Israel, I am come hither to do "an office of humanity, by preventing the loss of many lives. Why should thousands perish, when the dispute may be determined between only two people? I offer myself as a champion for the Philistines: do you choose another for my opponent; and whoever conquers, the people belonging to him vanquished shall be subject to those of the conqueror. It is better to expose one than so many thousands." Having said this Goliath retired, but returned the next day, and repeated his challenge, which he continued to do forty days successively, the Israelites not knowing whom to choose for his antagonist.

David is sent to the camp by his brother.

In Saul's army were three of the sons of Jesse, to whom their father sent David their brother with necessities, and to bring him intelligence of the situation of the Hebrews. Soon after David arrived at the camp Goliath again appeared, and reproached the Hebrews with cowardice, saying, they had not a man in their army that dare look him in the face. David was so irritated at this, that he told his brother he would accept the challenge himself. But Eliab, the eldest, chastised him for his ridiculous presumption, and told him to go again to his father, and attend his sheep. Though David paid great respect to his brother, yet he could not help repeating what he had before said in the hearing of the soldiers; which being reported to the king, he sent for him, and asked him what he had to say relative to Goliath? David replied, "Great Prince, fear not: I am he who will take down the pride of this mighty boaster, and make your terrible enemy appear ridiculous when they shall behold him fall by the hand of an inexperienced boy." Saul stood amazed at the intrepidity of the youth, but did not think it prudent to try the issue on so unequal a match. David, finding Saul's diffidence, told him, the combat was not to be considered as a trial of skill between Goliath and him, but Goliath and God. "It is not (says he) my arm that will fight the battle, but the power of a gracious God, who frequently makes the weakest objects to be instruments of his Divine purposes. In that God I put my trust, and doubt not but he will protect me, however difficult the task in which I engage, having already experienced, in two instances, his

"Divine assistance. On a time, while I was attending my father's sheep, a lion suddenly came among the flock, and ran away with a lamb. I pursued the robber, and having come up with him, rescued the lamb, and put a period to the lion's existence. I had an encounter of the like nature with a bear, which proved equally successful. Now I doubt not but I shall do with this Philistine as I did with the lion and bear; that he shall no more bid defiance to the army of the Israelites, or reproach the living God, but that he shall fall a victim, by my means, through the Divine assistance, to his daring presumption."

From the manner in which this speech was delivered, Saul thought David's resolution arose not from presumptive courage, but Divine inspiration. He therefore said to him, "Go, and the Lord be with thee." After which he prepared David for the action, by dressing him in his own armour, and giving him his coat of mail, sword, and helmet. David, not having been accustomed to such arms, found them rather burthensome than useful, and told Saul they were much fitter for a prince than a shepherd; begging, at the same time, that he would permit him to throw them off, and take his own way. This being granted, David took his shepherd's staff, a sling and five smooth stones, and with these only he advanced towards his antagonist. When Goliath saw David he looked upon him with contempt, and, in a deriding manner, said, "Comest thou to fight a soldier or a dog?" To which David replied, "I come to fight neither; for thou art very unlike the first, and much worse than the last." This so exasperated Goliath, that he swore, by his gods, he would give David's flesh to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field. David answered, "You come to me with a sword, a spear, and a coat of mail; but I come to you in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom you have defied. This day will the Lord deliver you into my hand; and I will smite you, and take your head from you, and give your carcass to the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth, that all the world may know there is a God in Israel. The whole assembly shall see that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear. The battle is his, and he will deliver you into our hands."

David lays aside Saul's armour, and goes out to meet the huge Philistine with his shepherd's staff, a sling, and five small stones.

Goliath advanced toward David with as much expedition as the weight of his armour would permit; at the same time intimating, by his gestures, the contemptible light in which he considered this almost defenceless adversary. David, putting his trust in the Almighty, hastened to meet him, and, when he thought himself at a proper distance, he took one of the stones, put it into his sling, and cast it at the Philistine. The stone went in such a direction as to strike him in the forehead, and that with such force, that he immediately fell prostrate on the ground. David seeing this ran directly to Goliath, and taking his sword from the sheath (not having any of his own) slew him, and cut off his head.

David overcomes Goliath with a stone from his sling, and severs his head from his body with his own sword.

CHAP. XI.

Saul pursues and totally routs the army of the Philistines. Conceives an envy and jealousy against David, for his success in the combat. Endeavours to ensnare him by a plot.

WHEN the Philistines saw the fate of their champion, they were so chagrined that they immediately betook themselves to flight. The Israelites availed themselves of this circumstance, and pursuing the Philistines as far as the skirts of Gath, and the very gates of Ascalon, killed upwards of 30,000, besides wounding double the number. Saul, in his return, first pillaged their camp, and then set fire to it: and David carried the head of Goliath to his tent, and dedicated his sword to the Lord.

This distinguished conquest raised the reputation of David to the highest summit; but, at the same time,

1 Sam. xviii. The Philistines battle themselves to flight. Are pursued with great slaughter.

time, it procured him the mortal hatred of the king. On Saul's return from the victory, he was met by great numbers (a) of women out of every city, who congratulated him on his success with different sorts of musical instruments; some of them singing, *Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands.*

7 Sam. xviii.
Saul envies
David's suc-
cess, and re-
solves to ex-
pose him to
dangers.

Saul was so irritated at this superior compliment paid to David, that he grew jealous of him, fearful lest, in time, he might become so popular among the people as to injure him in the sovereignty. As the character David was then in, namely, that of armour-bearer, obliged him to be near the king, Saul removed him from this office, and made him captain over a thousand men. This, indeed, was a more advantageous office than that of armour-bearer; but Saul's bestowing it on David did not arise from respect to him; on the contrary, it was from a design against his life, as he intended to employ him in the most dangerous enterprises.

David, however, escaped the malicious designs of Saul; for, having God on his side, he proved successful in all his undertakings. He became not only universally beloved by the people, but also by those about the court: and such were the graces of his person, and so distinguished his conduct, that he particularly attracted the notice of Saul's daughter, who gave evident signs of her wishes to form with him a matrimonial alliance. Saul took no notice of his daughter's affection for David, but did not appear in the least averse to it, thinking to make this the means of producing an opportunity that might prove effectual in his design against David's life.

The daugh-
ter of Saul
conceives an
affection for
David.

Saul promi-
ses David his
daughter in
marriage, on
condition of
bringing
him the
heads of 600
Philistines.

After some consideration Saul hit upon a project for answering his purposes, which was, to make a proposition, that whoever brought him the heads of 600 Philistines, should have his daughter in marriage. He imagined that David, from his renowned courage, would not hesitate to accept this offer, and that the attempt would cost him his life. This he thought the most decent method of obtaining revenge on David; as it would look better to have him destroyed by the Philistines, than by his express orders.

Having formed this plan, Saul employed some of his domestics to sound David with respect to his affection for his daughter, and whether he would be willing to receive her in marriage. They told him he was beloved both by the king and people, and that it was Saul's desire he should become his son-in-law. "You, perhaps, (says David), may not think it any great matter to be the son-in-law of a mighty prince; but, under the circumstances of my quality and extraction, I am not vain enough even to think of such an honour."

When Saul's messengers told him what David had said, he sent them back with these instructions: "Tell him (says he) I desire neither money or presents: when I part with my daughter she shall be bestowed, not sold. I am determined to give her to a man, not renowned for his wealth, but his courage, and other virtuous accomplishments. Let him only bring me the heads of 600 Philistines, and they will be more acceptable to me than all the possessions of the world. On such a

(a) It was common, in ancient times, for the women to go out in order to meet the conquerors; and, on such occasions, they sang songs in praise of their valour. When they said that David killed his ten thousands, they meant that he had killed Goliath, who was so much esteemed among the Philistines, that his life was reckoned more valuable than the lives of ten thousand men.

(b) The conduct of Jonathan, not only in this affair, but also various others that succeeded, is highly meritorious. When his father ordered him to kill David, he disobeyed the command, and instead of being accessory to the murdering of him, pleaded his innocence and merit as reasons for being saved. He discovered to David his father's design, and fixed resolution of destroying him; in doing of which he neither acted inconsistent with his duty as a child, or to the allegiance he owed his father as a subject. He who knows of a conspiracy against an innocent person's life, and doth not discover it, or who kills such a one by another's instigation or command, is himself a murderer;

"man will I freely bestow my daughter, which will be an honour to her, and give me the most pleasing satisfaction."

David was so pleased with Saul's proposition (not suspecting but his intentions were honest, and only calculated to confirm a strict tie of friendship) that he did not consider the difficulty of the action, or how far it was likely to be practicable. He immediately set out with his army to meet the enemy, in order to execute what was desired, and to obtain the king's daughter in marriage. By the assistance and protection of God he succeeded in the undertaking; and having killed 600 Philistines, he cut off their heads, and brought them to the king, demanding him to perform the covenant made between them relative to his daughter. Saul would willingly have evaded the fulfilment of his promise; but thinking it might disclose the treachery of his heart, he at length complied, and gave David his daughter Michal to wife.

David suc-
ceeds in the
enterprise.

Saul fails
his engage-
ment with
David.

CHAP. XII.

Saul continues to lay snares for the life of David, which he escapes through the friendly offices of Jonathan.

THE alliance between Saul and David did not in the least mitigate the enmity of the former against the latter. He found that David grew daily more and more the favourite of the people; and thinking himself in danger while he lived, he formed the resolution of having him dispatched, and ordered Jonathan his son, with some of his most trusty servants, to perpetrate the horrid deed.

Forming
sign against
him.

Jonathan
discovers
David's
design to
have him
taken off,
but inter-
cedes for
him.

Jonathan was thunderstruck when he received these orders from his father. He loved David to his soul, and determined to pervert the base designs of the king. He accordingly hastened to David, and told him Saul's intentions, advising him, as he loved his life, immediately to retire. "In the mean time (says he) I will go to my father, and ask him the cause of the disgust he has taken against you, and endeavour, as far as lays in my power, to appease his wrath." David, knowing the fidelity of Jonathan, took his advice, and immediately departed.

CHAP. XIII.

Jonathan interposes with his father in behalf of David. Effects a reconciliation, and David's reinstatement in his former office.

EARLY the next morning Jonathan went to his father's apartment, and finding him in a pleasant humour, he took the opportunity of fulfilling the promise he had made to David. "Father, (says he), I cannot conceive (b) the reason of your having taken so great a dislike to David, as to issue orders for his death. Has he committed any offence for which thou thinkest he deserves to die? Was not thy life, in a great measure, preserved through his means? and have not the Philistines felt the force of his avenging arm? Did he not vindicate the honour of our

7 Sam. x.

Jonathan
reconciles
Saul to
David.

and no duty to a father, or allegiance to a prince, can oblige any one to shed innocent blood. Jonathan was therefore so far from acting contrary to his duty and allegiance, in refusing to become his father's instrument in murdering David, that he gave a noble instance of filial piety, affection, and duty, in his repeated endeavours to preserve him from so unnatural and atrocious a crime; and humanity and virtue will ever applaud him for the generous concern he expressed for the honour of his father, and the preservation of his friend. It is to be observed, that Jonathan ever considers David as an innocent person, and pleads for him to his father, not as a rebel, or notorious offender, to obtain his pardon, but as a person having never done any thing to forfeit Saul's favour, or lose his own life: and therefore Jonathan must be commended in disobeying his father's orders, and doing all that laid in his power to avert Saul's designs of taking away David's life.



Trepisiani delin.

Tooke sculpt.

*The TRIUMPH of DAVID, after having slain the Giant GOLIATH,
the great Champion of the Philistine Army.*

Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke N^o 74 Paternoster Row.

“ nation from the scandal of a forty days affront in
“ in the challenge of the giant? Did he not purchase
“ my sister for his wife at your price, by bringing
“ you the heads of 600 Philistines? Surely, in-
“ stead of your resentment, he is entitled to your
“ esteem and tenderness, not only by his distin-
“ guished courage, but his close alliance with your
“ family. Consider with yourself what great injury
“ you will do to your daughter, by making her
“ feel the miseries of a widow before she has tasted
“ the enjoyments of a mother. Let me beg of you,
“ my dear father, to reflect on these things, and to
“ be more moderate in your determination. Re-
“ member, it was this person who relieved you
“ from bodily complaints of the most horrid na-
“ ture; and remember it was him, next under God,
“ who delivered us from our most implacable
“ enemies. These are benefits of the most distin-
“ guished nature, and, if forgot, will stain your
“ character with the sin of ingratitude.”

Saul de-
clines, upon
oath, his de-
signs against
the life of
David.

This forcible speech made such an impression on Saul, that he bound himself, by oath, never to do any thing more to the injury of David secretly.

Jonathan, as soon as possible, hastened with the welcome news to David, told him the particulars of all that had passed, and assured him he need not be afraid, for his father had made a solemn vow never to do him the least injury. He then took David with him to court, and presenting him to the king, a seeming reconciliation took place, and David was reinstated in his office.

CHAP. XIV.

Saul, still jealous of David, tries various means to take away his life; but he escapes, and flies to the prophet Samuel. Jonathan forms a league of friendship with David, for which he incurs his father's displeasure. David goes to the city of Nob, and receives protection from Abimelech, the high-priest. Saul's cruelty to Abimelech and his family. He pursues David from one place to another without effect. David has the opportunity of taking away Saul's life, but refuses embracing it, for which Saul acknowledges his generosity, and asks forgiveness. The death of Samuel. David's interview with Abigail, Nabal's wife, whom he afterwards marries. Achish, the king of Gath, entertains David, and makes him a present of the city of Ziklag. David defeats the Amalekites, and obtains considerable booty.

The Philis-
tines renew
their hosti-
lities. Are
again over-
come by
David.

THE Philistines, having again made war against the Israelites, and brought into the field a very considerable army, Saul ordered David to march with all expedition to give them battle. David obeyed the king's order, and meeting the Philistines, he fell on them, and obtained a total defeat, the greatest part being slain, and the remainder put to flight.

The en-
mity and jeal-
ousy of Saul
prevail.

Pleased with this success, David hastened to communicate (as he thought) the agreeable news to the king. But Saul, instead of expressing his satisfaction at the victory, was highly jealous of David's increasing reputation, and imagined that what tended to his honour must be prejudicial to himself. He forgot the obligations he was under to David, and the vow he had so lately made not to injure him. Pride and enmity proved predominant over reason, justice, and gratitude; and he again determined to take away the life of David.

Saul enters
David's house,
and takes up
a javelin, and
throws it at
David.

Saul being one day attacked with a fit of his old disorder the phrensy, he sent for David to play on the harp to him. David accordingly obeyed, but, while he was tuning the instrument, Saul suddenly arose, and taking up a javelin, threw it with all his might at David. The javelin luckily missed him, and stuck in the wall; upon which David hastily left the room, and ran to his own house, where he continued the remainder of the day.

In the mean time Saul sent messengers, with a body of his guards, to watch David's house, and to prevent his making his escape, ordering them,

as soon as it was day-light, to seize and bring him with them, for that he should suffer death as a common criminal.

Michal, David's wife, being apprised of the king's intentions, told her husband the danger he was in, and that if he did not make his escape before morning, he would certainly be a dead man. David readily took his wife's advice, and, after embracing each other in the most tender manner, she let him down, by the assistance of a rope, from a back window of the house, and not being perceived by the guard, he made his escape.

Michal ap-
prises Da-
vid of her
father's in-
tentions a-
gainst his
life. Assists
him in his
escape.

As soon as David was departed, Michal made up the bed in such a manner that it appeared to contain a sick person; and to make the deception greater, she placed beneath the covering the liver of a goat she had slain for the purpose. Early in the morning, when the messengers asked for David, she told them he was sick, and had been restless all the night. The messengers seeming to doubt her word she took them up stairs, and they being deceived by the motion arising from the liver, appeared satisfied, left her, and returned to relate the particulars to the king.

Saul, fired with indignation, ordered the messengers immediately to return, and bring David in whatever situation they found him; for he was determined he should be put to death. The messengers accordingly returned, and, on removing the bed-clothes in search of David, discovered the deception, and that the motion of the clothes, which resembled the palpitation of the heart, was occasioned by the warm liver of the goat.

When the messengers returned to Saul and told him the trick that had been played on them by Michal, he sent for her, and upbraided her for her conduct: but she excused herself by saying, she did it through fear, as David had threatened her life: that it was not done from choice, but necessity; and that she thought he was not so anxious for the destruction of David as he was for the preservation of his daughter's life. Saul admitted this excuse, forgave Michal, and restored her to his favour.

Saul re-
proaches
his daugh-
ter, who
pleads her
excuse, and
obtains his
pardon.

In the mean time David went to the prophet Samuel at Ramah, to whom he related all the snares that had been laid for him by Saul, and the manner in which he had made his escape. He told Samuel he was not conscious of having committed the least offence; that he had always behaved himself to the king as became a dutiful subject; that, by the assistance of God, he had repeatedly conquered his enemies; and this, he feared, was the only cause of the king's displeasure.

David ap-
plies to the
prophet Sa-
muel.

Samuel, being informed of the unjust proceedings of Saul, left Ramah, and taking David with him, went to a place called Galbaath, (in the scripture Naioth), where they resided together for some time.

David re-
tires with
Samuel.

When Saul understood where David was, and with whom, he dispatched a body of men to Galbaath, with orders to seize David, and bring him immediately to the palace. But when they came to Galbaath, where Samuel was teaching and instructing the young prophets, they were seized with the spirit of prophecy, and could not return. In consequence of this Saul sent other messengers, and after them others again; but no sooner did they come near the place than they were all affected in like manner. Saul, at length, impatient of these delays, went himself; but as he drew near the place, the spirit of prophecy seized him also, so that he went along prophesying till he came to the spot where Samuel and David were, and then, taking off his upper garment, he lay (as it were in an extasy) on the ground all that day and the following night.

The mes-
sengers, as
well as Saul
himself, are
seized with
the spirit of
prophecy.

David took this opportunity of making a private visit to his friend Jonathan, with whom he expostulated on the unkind behaviour of his father, when he had committed no manner of injury or injustice against him. Jonathan told him not to judge rashly, nor to place too much confidence in the tales of other men; that he was sure, if his father meant him any harm, he would have made him privy to his intentions; and, had that been the case, he

Jonathan
counsels
David to
be cautious
in judging
of his fa-
ther's in-
tentions.

he should certainly have told him of it, and put him on his guard. David then affirmed, with an oath, what he had said relative to Saul's unkindness, and told Jonathan not to be too credulous where the life of his friend was at stake. "It is not (says he) to be supposed that the king, who knows the friendship subsisting between us, should ever communicate to either a design he may have on the life of the other."

Jonathan is convinced of Saul's hatred to David.

A consultation between David and Jonathan.

This weighty argument greatly affected Jonathan, who begged of David that he would make his mind as easy as possible; "For (says he) whatever services are in my power to do, you may readily command." To this David replied, "I am very sensible of your good-will and readiness to serve me. Now to-morrow their will be a new moon, and consequently a festival. At such times, you know it has been customary for me to sit at meat with the king; but, if you think well of it, I will go out of the city, and secrete myself in some private place in the fields, where you may come to me when convenient. If the king asks for me, tell him I am gone to Bethlehem to celebrate the day with my own tribe, and that I had your permission. If he speaks kindly, take it for certain he has no malice in his heart against me; but if otherwise, depend upon it he bears me a grudge. Fail not to communicate to me the issue with all expedition, as you value the sacred and mutual league of friendship formed between us."

Jonathan promised David he would do every thing he desired, and that, if he found his father had any plot against him, he would be sure to give him timely notice. He sealed this declaration with an oath, that he would leave nothing unattempted, which might conduce to his preservation. "That God (says he) looking up to heaven, who saw all things, and is omnipresent, knows the utmost secrets of my heart: and here I call that God to witness the covenant I make with thee, that I will never give over searching into the private deliberations and purposes of my father, till I have discovered the bottom of his heart; and when I have done this, whether it be for or against thee, I will not lose a moment till I have informed thee of it. God himself knows how earnestly I have prayed to him for your safety. That God is with thee, and will not forsake thee; but (whether my father Saul or myself should prove thy enemy) will keep thee safe and unhurt. Remember the things I have now told thee; and if it should be my fate to suffer death for pleading in your behalf, do you supply my place, and acknowledge my services, by being a father to my children."

Jonathan and David enter into a covenant of amity.

A private token settled between the two sworn friends.

Having said this, Jonathan desired David to retire to the corner of a certain field; and when he had done the business he had promised, he would immediately come to him, and make known the issue by certain tokens. "I will come (says he) attended by a boy, and as soon as I enter the field, will shoot three arrows. If you see the boy take them up, and bring them to me, set your heart at rest, that all is well; but if not, take it for granted you are in danger. However, be assured of this, that happen as it may, it shall be my particular care you come to no harm I can prevent." Having said this, they embraced each other, and David departed to the spot agreed on for his concealment.

The next day, which was the feast of the moon, Saul purified himself according to custom, and sat down to meat, Jonathan his son being placed on his

right hand, and Abner, his captain-general, on the left; but the seat of David was left vacant. Saul took no notice of his absence the first day, supposing he might not be properly circumstanced for attending (a); but missing him the second day, he sternly asked Jonathan what occasioned the son of Jesse (b) to be absent from the feast two days together? Jonathan told him, he had given him leave to go to Bethlehem, to feast with his own tribe on the occasion; that David had entreated his company, and, as he knew the friendship he had for him, if he pleased he would follow him. This expression touched Saul to the quick; and being no longer able to conceal his hatred against David, he fell into a violent passion, called Jonathan a traitor, and an enemy; an abettor of, and confederate with, David; and that he was a conspirator against his own family. "He must be blind (says he) who cannot see that myself and kingdom are in the most imminent danger while David lives. I command thee, therefore, immediately to send for him, that he may be brought to justice." Jonathan, in a very cool and respectful manner, begged his father to tell him what capital crime David had committed; for that he had never known him guilty of the least disobedience. This question threw Saul into such a rage, that he immediately snatched up a javelin, and would certainly have sacrificed Jonathan to his resentment, had he not been prevented by some of his friends then present.

Saul is affected with his son's going to David.

In rage, he attempts to slay Jonathan.

This violent outrage convinced Jonathan of his father's hatred to David, and that he was determined to put a period to his life. He quitted the company as soon as possible, and retiring to his chamber, spent the whole night in prayer and supplication for the safety of his friend. Early the next morning he took his bow and arrows, and, attended by a boy, went into the fields, under pretence of shooting, but, in reality, to discover to David the disposition of his father, as had been before agreed. He conveyed the first intelligence by leaving the armour on the ground; after which he sent the lad back to the city, that he might have the opportunity of going to David, and informing him of all that had passed. As soon as Jonathan came near to David, the latter fell prostrate at his feet, and called him his mighty preserver. Jonathan immediately raised him from the ground, and, after embracing him, with tears, he told him all that had passed between him and his father; that he was implacable, and determined to destroy him; and therefore he advised him to make his escape as fast as possible. They then made fresh protestations to each other of perpetual friendship; and having again embraced, Jonathan left him, with fervent prayers that the Divine protection might accompany him wherever he went.

Jonathan puts in execution the scheme between him and David.

David, knowing the necessity there was for attending to the advice of Jonathan, left the place of his retirement, and went to Nob (c), where, at that time, stood the tabernacle, and where Ahimelech was high-priest. Not having any attendants with him, Ahimelech took notice of it, and asked him the reason (d). David told him, he was come on very particular business, at the express order of the king; that, as it was of a private nature, he had, for the present, discharged his train; but that they were to meet him at a certain time and place he had appointed. He then told Ahimelech he was greatly distressed for necessaries to prosecute his journey, and that he should consider it as the most friendly office if he would supply him with such as he wanted. This request the high-priest cheerfully granted; upon which David told him he would greatly increase the obligation, if he would furnish him

1 Sam. xvi. David repairs to Ahimelech, the high priest.

(a) It is probable that Saul imagined something had happened to David by which he had been polluted; such as the touching a dead body, in which case it would not have been proper for him to attend on this occasion.

(b) Saul's calling David the son of Jesse, was spoke by way of derision, thereby intimating to those who were present, that he despised him for the meanness of his birth.

(c) The city of Nob belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, and was situated about four leagues from Gibeon, not far from

Anathoth. It was in the north part of the sacerdotal cities; and it is probable that Saul ordered the tabernacle to be removed from Shiloh to this place.

(d) From the whole of this affair it is evident that Ahimelech knew nothing of the circumstances of David. He was insensible of Saul's displeasure against him, or of his determined resolution to destroy him; and, therefore, as he was the king's son-in-law, he was surprized to see him without any attendants.

with a sword, or spear, and some pieces of arms. The high-priest said, he had no other arms than the sword that killed Goliath, which was hung up, and dedicated to God; and if he chose to accept that, it was at his service. (An unfavourable circumstance attended this conversation between David and Ahimelech, for there happened to be within hearing a servant of Saul's, named Doeg, who was a Syrian by birth, and enjoyed the office of groom to the king.)

David, being provided with necessaries for a journey, and having with him the sword of Goliath, left Nob, and went to the city of Gath, belonging to Achish, king of the Philistines. He had not been long here before he was discovered, and the king informed of his being the person who had so often defeated and destroyed the Philistines. In consequence of this information David was taken before Achish, when, to avoid the danger that threatened him, he feigned madness and an epilepsy, which he did in so artful a manner, that the king, after rebuking the officers, ordered him to be discharged.

The next day David left Gath, and took up his residence in a cave near Adullam, a town belonging to the tribe of Judah. His friends and relations, hearing where he was, came flocking to him, together with many malcontents, and men of desperate fortunes; the whole amounting to about four hundred.

This junction was very acceptable to David: but his mind was greatly distressed on account of his aged parents, whom he feared would fall victims to the rage of Saul. He therefore applied to the king of Moab, beseeching him to take them under his protection. The king readily complied with his request, received them with great cordiality, and treated them with distinguished respect.

David continued, with his little army, in the cave for some time; till at length he was advised, by the prophet Gad, who attended him, to return to the land of Judah; which he accordingly did, and took up his station in the forest of Hareth.

Saul, being informed of David's situation, and the number of men he had with him, was greatly alarmed. He knew his natural intrepidity, and was fearful of the consequences. He therefore convened an assembly of his friends, captains, and the tribe to which he belonged, at Gibeah, who being met, he addressed them as follows: "Ye men of Benjamin (says he) ye cannot be insensible of the many good offices I have done you; and that through my means many of you have been advanced to the highest posts of honour. Wherefore, I now ask, whether ye expect greater favours from the hands of the son of Jesse than ye have received from me? I am informed that ye are all ready to revolt to him; and that ye are countenanced in your conduct by my son Jonathan. I am no stranger to the solemn league and confederacy between him and David; nor of his abetting the cause of my adversaries with his power, interest, and council. Let me intreat you not to listen to his advice, nor to suffer any of his persuasions to direct your conduct; but be good subjects, and you shall find in me a firm protector."

As soon as Saul had finished his speech, Doeg, the groom (who overheard all that passed between David and Ahimelech at Nob) arose, and related the following particulars: "When (says he) I went to Ahimelech, the high-priest, in the city of Nob, I saw David, who had come thither to consult the oracle. Ahimelech furnished him with conveniences for his journey, and, as an instrument of defence, gave him the sword with which he had slain Goliath."

In consequence of this declaration, Saul immediately sent for Ahimelech, and ordered that all his relations should be brought with him. When the high-priest arrived, Saul addressed him as follows: "What evil or bad usage (says he) hast thou re-

ceived at my hands, that thou shouldest entertain the son of Jesse, to whom thou not only gavest victuals, but armour, to enable him to lie in wait for my kingdom. Thou well knowest that he hath secretly withdrawn himself from me, to avoid that punishment his treacherous conduct justly merits."

Ahimelech did not attempt to deny the charge, but frankly confessed he had supplied David with the articles mentioned. "I did it (says he) not to gain his esteem, but to promote your service. I did not receive him as your enemy, but as the faithfulest of your friends and officers; and what is still more, as the son-in-law of a great sovereign. How should I imagine him to be your enemy on whom you have conferred the most distinguished honours? It was more reasonable for me to suppose him one of your dearest friends. If he consulted me about the will of God, it is not the first time he has done it, nor the first time I have given him an answer. He told me he came from you on business of the most important nature; and if I had not relieved his wants, it would have been an indignity to you more than to him. Wherefore I beseech you not to blame me, even though you should find David guilty as you suspect. The service I did him was a matter of respect to the king's son-in-law, and the king's military officer, not to the person or interest of David."

The endeavours of Ahimelech to justify his conduct to David availed little with Saul, who, as soon as he had finished, ordered him and all his family to be put to the sword. The guards, who stood by, and heard the high-priest's defence, refused to execute the royal orders, thinking it an act of the most sacrilegious nature. In consequence of this the king commissioned Doeg, Ahimelech's accuser, to perform the bloody deed. He made not the least hesitation to execute the royal commands, but, beginning with Ahimelech, slew him and his family, the whole amounting to 385 persons. Not satisfied with this, Saul dispatched a party to the city of Nob, with orders to put to the sword every creature they found, and afterwards to burn the city to the ground. Thus was fulfilled what had been foretold by God to Eli, the high-priest, namely, that his posterity should be destroyed for the abominable impieties of his two sons.

The enormous cruelty of Saul, in extirpating the sacerdotal race, putting to death both old and young, without either pity for the one, or reverence for the other; the destroying a city God himself had honoured with a peculiar privilege, by setting it apart as a nursery for priests and prophets: these inhuman violences, I say, display the natural corruptness of Saul's heart, and point him out to us in his just colours. While men are low, poor, subject to laws and penalties, and, in truth, under the necessity of appearing honest for want of power to be wicked, how temperate, just, humane, nay, how religious, do they pretend to be! they live as if they acknowledged a Providence, and believed the omnipresence of an all-seeing God: but no sooner do they come to an advanced station, than they become quite different creatures: like actors on the stage, they lay aside their manner with their dress, and change both the scene and the person. They grow proud and imperious, and pay no respect either to God or man. Instead of being pious, and administering that justice which alone can secure them from detraction, they live and act as if either God knew not what they did, or as if their elevation placed them above the reach of Divine justice. When this arrogant vanity is on the wing, what confusion ensues! They govern by passion, not reason: they unjustly take umbrage at some, and bestow their favours with partiality to others. They endeavour to make the world believe their conduct is directed by the will of heaven, though, at the same time, they have not the least thought of futurity. Those who have done them any signal services they compliment with honours and rewards;

A a

Saul represents the high priest.

Ahimelech urges divers pleas in his own defence.

The high priest and his family are slain, at the king's command, by Doeg, his groom.

The inhabitants of Nob put to the sword.

Extirpation of the sacerdotal race.

Josephus comments on the perverse disposition of men in authority.

Ahimelech supplies David with necessaries for the prosecution of his journey.

The converse between David and Ahimelech overheard by Doeg, the king's groom.

David flies to Gath, and escapes from the Philistines by feigning madness.

Secretes himself in a cave, near the city of Adullam. Sam. xxii.

Afterwards repairs to the king of Moab, who takes him and his company with hospitality.

Saul complains to the courtiers of the favour David.

In them David's reception from Ahimelech.

but then it is in the power of any base incendiary not only to divert them of their dignities, but also their lives; and all this without trial, or even examination. This tyranny does not so much affect the real guilty, who deserve punishment, as it does those who frequently suffer on the most erroneous accusations (a).

It is remarkable, that the same person, who was the first king of the Hebrews after the dissolution of the monarchy, and taking the administration out of the hands of the judges. On a bare suspicion of some injury done him by Ahimelech, he not only caused him, together with more than three hundred priests and prophets, to be put to death, but also their city to be reduced to ashes, and the place, which contained the tabernacle of God, to be rendered desolate.

The difference thus stated between a low and elevated situation, in the same person, is evidently manifested in Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king of the Hebrews after the dissolution of the monarchy, and taking the administration out of the hands of the judges. On a bare suspicion of some injury done him by Ahimelech, he not only caused him, together with more than three hundred priests and prophets, to be put to death, but also their city to be reduced to ashes, and the place, which contained the tabernacle of God, to be rendered desolate.

Saul's intentions were totally to extirpate the family of Ahimelech; but it happened that one of his sons, named Abiathar, fortunately escaped, and fled to David, to whom he related all the particulars relative to his father, and the destruction of his kindred. David was greatly afflicted when he heard of Saul's cruelty, and the more so, as he considered himself, in some measure, as the innocent occasion of it. "I thought (says David) when I saw Doeg at your father's house, he would be calumniated before Saul, and am sorry to find my conjectures were too well founded. I lament that so melancholy a circumstance should have taken place on my account; but fear not, Abiathar, place yourself under my protection, and I will shield you from all danger."

The Philistines renew their revenge on the territories of the Israelites.

While Saul was embruing his hands in the blood of his innocent subjects, David was employing his arms in the necessary defence of his country; for, hearing the Philistines had made an incursion upon Keilah, a city of Judah, he went and retrieved the place, repulsed the enemy with a great loss of men, and took from them a considerable booty in cattle.

The news of this action soon reached the ears of Saul, who, supposing David would fortify himself in the town, sent an army to invest it. In the mean time David, having consulted the Divine Oracle (b), and being informed that the inhabitants of the place would prove perfidious to him, he left it before the arrival of Saul's army, and retired, with his men, to a wood in the deserts of Ziph (c).

Saul, not knowing whither David had fled, could not pursue him: but Jonathan, his son, having received private intelligence, immediately repaired to him, and gave him all the comfort and encouragement he could. He assured him his father's malice could never reach him; that he doubted not but the time would come when he should see him king of Israel; but that he must consider such blessings were not to be obtained without toil and hazard. They then renewed the league of friendship between them, and, after embracing each other, parted.

The inhabitants of Ziph were very officious in sending intelligence to Saul where David was, and told him, if he would supply them with a proper

(a) This paragraph (says a celebrated writer) contains an admirable reflection of Josephus concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in of rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to Divine Providence and the fear of God, which they either really had, or pretended to have, while they were in a lower condition. It can never be too often perused by kings and great men, nor by those who expect to obtain such elevated dignities among mankind.

(b) This was one of the most noble adventures of David's life, and perhaps the most extraordinary of any recorded in history. Another man, in David's place, would have rejoiced at this invasion, and perhaps encouraged it; and this both from self-preservation and policy. First, because he had nothing to fear for himself, while Saul had so many enemies upon his hands; and, secondly, because the distress of his country was the like-

force, they would engage to deliver him into his hands. Saul thanked them for the intelligence, and immediately sent a body of men to assist them in the execution of their intentions, resolving soon to follow with his whole army. David, being apprized of the conspiracy of the Ziphites, baffled all their schemes, by retiring, with great precipitation, to a rock in the wilderness of Maon.

The inhabitants of Ziph give intelligence to Saul of David.

Saul, having received intelligence whither David had retired, marched against him, and pressed him so close, that the two armies were only separated by a narrow valley. Saul's intention was, to encompass the army of David, in order to prevent their escape; but before he could carry this design into execution, news was brought that the Philistines had broken in upon the Hebrews, and were ravaging their country: so that Saul was forced to drop his private resentment for the public good, and to divert his arms another way. David, having thus escaped the danger that surrounded him, left the rock, and took shelter, with his army, in the wilderness of Engedi.

An insurrection of the Philistines diverts Saul from pursuing David.

In the mean time Saul, having defeated the Philistines, and received intelligence where David had retired, selected 3000 of his choicest men, and marched against him with the greatest expedition. David and his men had concealed themselves in a cave, which was very deep and wide, and extended a considerable distance in length. It happened that when Saul came to this cave, he had occasion to give a loose to nature, and, not suspecting that the place was inhabited, retired from his army, and went into it for that purpose. One of David's men seeing Saul, and knowing him, communicated the intelligence to David, telling him, he had now the opportunity of a glorious revenge, by cutting off the head of his mortal enemy, for that God had delivered Saul into his hands. But David rejected the proposition with abhorrence, saying, "God forbid I should stretch forth my hands against the Lord's anointed;" and only (to shew Saul how much he was in his power) went softly, and cut off the skirt of his upper garment.

After Saul had overcome the Philistines he resumed his pursuit of David. 1 Sam. xx

Saul falls into the hands of David, and nobly expresses his repentance and spares his life.

When Saul was gone out of the cave, David followed, and called after him. The king, well knowing the voice, turned about, when David, with great reverence and respect, addressed him in words to this effect: "What an unhappy thing it is, when a great prince so listens to the tongues of calumniators and detractors, as to suspect the integrity of his tried and most faithful friends! It certainly would be much more laudable to judge every man by his works. Words may be false as well as true: but demonstration by fact is infallible. Believe me, great king, when I tell you I am a well wisher both to you and to your family, and yet you make it your constant business to endeavour to seek my life. How can you excuse yourself to God for committing so enormous a wickedness as to desire the death of a person, who this very day had it in his power to revenge himself by depriving you of your existence? I could as easily have taken your head from your shoulders, as this piece of stuff from your mantle, (shewing the skirt he had cut off); but I had not the heart to commit so vindictive an act; while you, at the same time, without the least scruple of consci-

ence, liek means to bring Saul to reason, and force him to recall, and be reconciled to, his best companion. But David was governed by other than these narrow views; nor safety nor honour were desirable to him, purchased by the distress of his country and his friends. His bosom beat with an earnest desire to relieve Keilah; but it was not an adventure to be unadvisedly undertaken; and therefore we are assured, that he enquired of God, saying, "Shall I go and smite these Philistines?" None but an hero could put the question, and none but God could solve it. And the Lord said unto David, "Go, and smite the Philistines, and save Keilah."

(c) This mountainous wilderness was within the precincts of the tribe of Judah, and on the confines of Edom. It is supposed to have had its name from the Hebrew word Zepheth, which signifies pitch, it being remarkable for abounding in that article.

"ence,

"ence, pursue me with a most injurious persecution. But let God judge between us; and, if I have done any thing, either in thought or deed, to your detriment, let me be punished as I deserve."

The graceful and modest manner in which David delivered his speech, and the circumstance of his sparing the king's life when he had it in his power to take it away, made such an impression on Saul, that he fetched a deep sigh, which being answered by David, the king said, "Such lamentations better become me than you. Thou hast been the author of many good things to me, but I of many calamities to thee. You have convinced me, by your conduct, that you are not degenerated from the goodness of your ancestors, who, when they had their enemies in their power, refused to take advantage of it, by giving them their lives and liberty. From the transactions of this day it appears manifestly evident that you are designed by God as the ruler over this kingdom, and that the whole nation of the Israelites will be subject to your government. Wherefore I have this request to make, that you will promise, on oath, to forgive all the injuries I have done you; and that, when you come to be possessed of your government, you will be merciful to my family."

Saul having obtained this request, returned home; but David, not choosing to trust to his fair words, kept himself close in the fastnesses of the hills.

About this time died the prophet Samuel, a man universally respected by the Hebrews for his probity and virtue. He was buried at Ramah (a); and the people testified their respect for him by mourning more than the usual time, and celebrating his funeral rites with the most distinguished pomp. While he lived his actions declared him born to execute justice, which he adhered to, in every circumstance of life, with an impartial hand; and on that account was particularly beloved of God (b). He died in the 98th year of his age; twelve of which he governed alone, and eighteen in conjunction with Saul.

During the time of lamentation for Samuel, David removed from Engedi, and retired farther into the wilderness of Paran, not far from Maon, where he had once before taken up his residence.

In the neighbourhood of this place lived a person named Nabal, a man naturally of a very savage and morose disposition. While David abode in this part of the country before, he had taken great care to restrain his men from doing any injury to Nabal's flocks; and it being now the time of sheep-shearing (which was always a season of great festivity and entertainment) he sent messengers to him, requesting that, in consideration of the many civilities he had shewn him, he would be pleased to send some provisions for the support of his army. Nabal received the messengers in a very abrupt manner; and, with some opprobrious reflections on David himself, sent them away empty. This treatment so exasperated David, that, in the heat of his resentment, he vowed he would destroy all Nabal's family before the next morning. But he was prevented from executing his design by means of Abigail, Nabal's wife, (a very beautiful woman, and, in temper, quite the reverse of her husband), who, being informed of what had passed, took the following expedient to divert David's resentment a-

against her husband. She ordered her servants to pack up two hundred loaves of bread, two bottles of wine (c), five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs. With these articles, placed on asses, Abigail hastened to meet David, who was marching with all speed, accompanied by four hundred of his men, (the number being now increased to six hundred, two of which he left behind to take care of the baggage), to put in execution his rash vow. As soon as Abigail saw David she threw herself prostrate on the ground, and besought him to pass over the words of her husband, he being a man whose name was suited to his nature; (Nabal, in the Hebrew language, signifying a fool or madman.) She said, she saw not the messengers that came, begged pardon for what had happened, and desired David to give God thanks for sending her as the instrument to keep his hands from being stained with blood. "Be pleased, Sir," (said she) I beseech you, to accept of the goodwill of your poor servant, with these small presents, and, upon my humble request, to pass over the offence of my husband, who has so justly incurred your displeasure; for there is nothing so well becoming the character of the person who is designed for a crown as clemency and compassion."

The very feeling manner in which Abigail addressed herself to David so wrought upon him, that he accepted the presents. His indignation was totally laid aside, and they both parted with mutual satisfaction: he, for being thus prevented from shedding blood; and she, for having thus happily succeeded in her embassy.

When Abigail arrived at her home she found her husband rioting and drinking; so that she deferred telling him what had passed till the next morning. But when he came to understand the danger to which he had been exposed he was so terrified at the thoughts of it, that he suddenly became quite stupid; and continued in that state for ten days, when he gave up the ghost.

David, hearing of Nabal's decease, sent for Abigail; and married her; as he did also another woman, whose name was Ahinoam, a Jezreelite: for his first wife, Michal, had been some time given by Saul to Phalti, the son of Laish, of Gallim.

Some time after this the Zephites (who were professed enemies to David) gave information to Saul of the place where he and his men were concealed; in consequence of which (notwithstanding the solemn promises Saul had made not to do any thing in future to the injury of David) he headed 3000 men, and, marching with all expedition against him, pitched his tents on the mountains of Hachilah.

David having received intelligence where Saul's army lay encamped, went first privately himself to reconnoitre it. On the evening of the same day he went again, taking with him his nephew, Abishai, and Ahimelech, the Hittite; who, on their arrival at the camp, found Saul in his tent, with his general Abner, and the guards about him, all fast asleep. Abishai, seeing the king in his bed, and his spear by him, would willingly have dispatched him; but David restrained his hands, saying, "He is God's king, and therefore only accountable to him for his misdeeds. But, (says he), that he may be

they be understood of such bottles as are now commonly in use with us: But, in these eastern countries, they used to carry and keep their wine and water in leathern vessels made on purpose to hold liquids, which vessels they called *bottles*. Such were the bottles brought by the Gibeonites to Joshua's camp, which they said were worn out, and torn, in their pretended long journey. See Josh. ix. 13. And of such as those it is not unlikely Our Saviour speaks, Matth. ix. 17; where, in the marginal note of our old Bible, *bottles* are explained by bags of leather, wherein wine was carried on asses or camels. And that two such vessels as these might hold a quantity of wine proportionable to the rest of the present which Abigail took with her, is not to be disputed.

"convinced

(a) In the time of the emperor Arcadius his remains were removed to Constantinople, and (as St. Jerome informs us) received, both by the clergy and laity, with a joy unspeakable, and honours almost infinite.

(b) A late learned writer, in describing the character of Samuel, says, "He was, indeed, while he lived, an excellent governor, and, through his whole administration, above vanity, corruption, or any private views. Those that attend to his life may observe, that he was modest without meanness, mild without weakness, firm without obduracy, and severe without rashness."

(c) It will, at first view, appear obvious that what is called two bottles of wine could bear no proportion to the other parts of the present, nor answer the exigencies of David's army, if

"convinced how much he was in my power, I will take with me his spear, and the pitcher of water from his bed-side." Having done this they immediately left the tent; and when David had got at such a distance as to be distinctly heard, he called aloud unto Abner, who, waking, and desiring to know who was the person that called, was answered, "It is David, the son of Jesse:" after which he thus ironically upbraided Abner: "Are not you (said he) a very proper person to be the favourite of a great prince, the general of his army, and the protector of his royal person; and, under all these obligations, to lie stretching yourself at ease, when your master's life is in danger? Can you tell what is become of the king's spear, and the pitcher of water that were this night taken by the enemy out of his tent, and from his very bed-side, without you or your guards knowing any thing of the matter? Whether this arose from neglect or treachery is immaterial; for which ever it was, thou deservest death."

David re-
prehends
Abner and
the guards.

Saul, hearing the voice of David, came out of his tent, and understanding the great danger he had been in, and that his life was in the hands of the very person he meant to destroy, he was so sensible of the goodness of David, that he gave him public thanks for his life. He accused himself of cruelty, applauded David's generosity, confessed his guilt, and promised, for the future, never to make any farther attempts on his life.

Saul pub-
licly ac-
knowledges
the clem-
ency of
David.

When Saul had done speaking, David desired him to send some person for his spear and the pitcher of water; after which he called upon God to judge betwixt them, and to bear him witness, that, when he took them from Saul's bed-side, he could with as much ease have deprived him of his existence.

Saul now returned home with his army; soon after which David, knowing the instability of his temper, and how impossible it was for him to live in safety while he continued in his dominions, determined to go over to the Philistines. Accordingly, having obtained from Achish, king of Gath, a safe conduct for himself and men, he lived for some time in the royal city; but not liking his accommodation, and growing more and more in favour of Achish, he obtained from him a town called Ziglag, which the king gave to him and his heirs for ever.

1 Sam. xvii.
David goes
to Achish,
king of
Gath.

Ziglag is
granted to
David as a
place of re-
sidence.

David
makes in-
cursions
into some
adjacent
countries.

During David's stay at Ziglag (a) he made several incursions into the territories of the Amalekites, and other nations, from whom he took very considerable booties; but was cautious in not detaining any prisoner, lest it might be known by Achish from whom he had obtained the plunder. He made great presents to the king, who asked him from whence he had obtained them; to which David replied, from the southerly parts of Judah. This gave great satisfaction to Achish, who imagined, that whilst David abode in his territories, and continued to commit hostilities against his own nation, he would become his most trusty and faithful servant.

CHAP. XV.

The Philistines make war against the Israelites. Saul consults the Witch of Endor. David follows the camp of the Philistines, and, in his absence, the Amalekites destroy Ziglag. He marches against them, and obtaining a defeat, recovers the spoils they had taken. Saul engages the army of the Philistines, is defeated, and his three sons slain; upon which he puts a period to his own existence.

1 Samuel
xviii.
The Phi-
listines re-
new their
hostilities.

THE Philistines having determined to lead an army against the Israelites, they dispatched messengers to all their allies and auxiliaries, to pre-

(a) Ziglag was situated in the extreme parts of the tribe of Judah to the south, not far from Hormar, where the Israelites met with a defeat while they sojourned in the wilderness. In the division of the land of Canaan it was first given to the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 31. and afterwards to the tribe of Simeon.

pare themselves on the occasion, and to assemble forthwith at Shunem, the place designed for the general meeting of the army. In consequence of this resolution Achish acquainted David with his intentions of taking him and his men with him to assist him against the Israelites. This declaration was far from being displeasing to David, who answered, he was ready to perform the duty he owed him; and farther said, he hoped the time was now come when he should be able, in some measure, to make a return for the great services he had received at his hands. To which Achish replied, "If we succeed in this battle, I promise to invest thee with all the honours it is in my power to bestow."

David
promises
his assis-
tance to
Achish.

Saul, having received intelligence that the Philistines were advanced as far as Shunem, and had encamped on the plain there, marched with his forces against them, and pitched his tents near the mountain of Gilboa, directly opposite the camp of the enemy. Having in this place a full view of the army of the Philistines, and finding them much more numerous, and in better order than his own, Saul began to despair of success; but his heart quite misgave him, when he found, on application to God, that he would not be consulted by him, nor give him any instructions in what manner to act.

Saul is
timidated
by the
prohibition
of the
enemy.

Some time before this Saul had banished all diviners, and such as dealt with familiar spirits, out of the nation; but being now in the utmost perplexity, he was resolved to consult some person of this profession, in order to know what would be the issue of the war. At a place called Endor, about three leagues from Mount Gilboa, he was told there lived a witch, or sorceress; upon which, disguising himself, and taking but two servants with him to avoid suspicion, he went to the woman by night, and desired her to use her skill in calling upon the ghost of such a person as he should name. The woman at first refused, saying, if it was known, she should be infallibly ruined. But Saul assuring her, with the most bitter imprecations, that no mortal should ever know a syllable that passed between them, she at length consented: upon which Saul desired her to raise up the ghost of Samuel; and, on her complying with his request, a phantom immediately appeared. From this spectre the woman learnt it was Saul who had employed her: and Saul, when he saw it, knowing it to be the figure of Samuel, bowed his face to the ground. The apparition spoke first, and demanded of Saul the reason why he had raised him from the dead. Saul replied, that the Philistines, with a powerful army, had invaded him, and that, in his distress, God had forsaken him, and would give no answer which ever way he consulted him. The spirit answered, that, for his disobedience in not destroying the Amalekites, God had taken away the kingdom from his family, and given it to David; and that, as to the fate of the war, the Philistines, the next day, should rout his army, and he and his sons fall in the battle.

1 Samuel
xxviii.
Saul is
seduced by
God.

Importance
the witch
of Endor
to call
up the
ghost of
Samuel.

It appears

Forbidden
directly
to Saul.

Saul was so affected at this information, that his spirits left him; he fainted, and fell to the ground. He was, indeed, at this time exceeding weak in body, not having taken any refreshment for a considerable time. When he had a little recovered himself, the woman entreated him to taste some kind of sustenance, saying, she desired no other reward for the danger in which she had placed herself, than the opportunity of enabling him to return to his army. After many importunities Saul was at length prevailed on to accept the woman's offer; upon which she immediately killed a young calf (the only companion of her solitary life) and having properly prepared the flesh, set it before Saul and his attendants, who, after eating thereof, returned that night to the camp.

Saul falls
into a
sweat.

The re-
maning
woman
serves
Saul
in his
distress.

Josh. xix. 5. But the Philistines seem all along to have kept possession; so that it never came into the hands of either tribe, till, by the gift of Achish, it became the peculiar inheritance of David and his successors.

It.



*The APPARITION of SAMUEL raised by the WITCH of ENDOR
at the request of King Saul.*

Josephus commends the liberal behaviour of the woman.

It is but justice due to this poor woman, that we should here take some notice of her distinguished liberality towards Saul. She had been greatly injured by the king, in being restrained from the practice of that art whereby she comfortably maintained herself and family. He came to her as a mere stranger, and requested her advice by methods himself had prohibited; when, notwithstanding the danger she was in, she complied with his request. She likewise treated him in the most hospitable manner her circumstances would permit, and all this without the least expectation of any future reward; for she knew that Saul was on the point of losing both his kingdom and life. Such generous conduct finely displays to us the honour and humanity of relieving the distressed; and we may be assured that a sincere and unaffected charity is a virtue of all others the most acceptable in the sight of God.

Encomium upon Saul.

Some encomiums are likewise due to Saul on this occasion. He was certain he should die in the combat, having been told so by the prophet; notwithstanding which he was determined to submit to his fate, and not save himself at the expence of his people. He esteemed it a glory to die fighting for the defence of his government; and rather to have his sons, and his whole family, share with him in the conflict, than be left at the disposal of the person who should succeed him. Such conduct dignifies the man and the prince, and ought to be an example to all elevated characters. The man who hazards his life in the common course of war, acts between hope and fear, and, by favourable circumstances, may escape; but the great soul is placed in him, who, when he knows he must unavoidably perish, boldly meets his destruction, and encounters his fate, without the least hope of being able to surmount it. This character is justly due to Saul; and his conduct should be an example to all future princes, in whom either a mediocrity of courage or virtue, is a kind of reproach. But I leave this digression, and resume the history.

Sam. xxix. The leaders of the Philistines objected to David's going with them to battle.

The Philistines having gathered their troops together from all quarters, according to their distribution into tribes, kingdoms, and governments, Achish, the king of Gath, with his men, after the rest, and David, with his little army, after Achish, some of the Philistine commanders observing there were many Israelites among them, asked, who they were, from whence they came, and who brought them thither? To this question Achish replied, that the young man (pointing to David) was one of Saul's servants, but that having incurred his displeasure, he was obliged to have recourse to flight. "He came to me (says Achish) and solicited protection for himself and his people. I received him, and provided for him; and he has promised, on this occasion, to use his utmost efforts in assisting us against the Israelites, as an acknowledgement for the services he has received at my hands."

David leaves the camp of the Philistines. Sam. xxv.

When the Philistines knew who David was, they strongly objected against accepting his assistance, saying it was certainly dangerous to place the least confidence in a person belonging to their professed enemies. They therefore insisted that he should be dismissed; upon which Achish, calling David aside, told him the desire of the people, which being far from disagreeable to David, he immediately left the camp, and departed, with his men, for Ziklag.

David, in the course of his march, was joined by several of the tribe of Manasseh, so that his army

(a) These Amalekites appear to have been clans of straggling free-booters, who rambled from place to place, and, like the Arabians, were common enemies to mankind. It may seem strange, that David, having killed all he could meet with in one of his excursions against them whilst at Ziklag, they should not have served his people in the same manner. But, though they sought revenge, yet they gave the preference to booty. Being a poor and covetous people, they spared not the men and women from compassion, but avarice; because they wanted slaves either for their own use, or to sell to others. The gracious interposition of Providence is very conspicuous in this event; for, doubtless, it is most extraordinary that the captives should have been thus spared, to be recovered afterwards, safe and unhurt, out of the hands of a people so abandoned and execrable as the Amalekites.

(b) The number of Amalekites that fled were equal to all

No. 9.

became considerably augmented. This, indeed, was a favourable circumstance; for when he came to Ziklag, he found that the (a) Amalekites had, during his absence, pillaged and burnt the place, carried away his two wives, and all the inhabitants: but what added to this misfortune was, the soldiers accused him of being the occasion of it.

In consequence of this disaster, David consulted Abiathar, the priest, whether, if he went against the Amalekites, he should prove successful, and recover the spoils they had taken? The high priest bid him follow them, and prosper. On this encouragement David, leaving two hundred of his men to take care of the baggage, marched the rest against the enemy. Having gained intelligence which way they took, he soon came up with them, and found them so intoxicated in consequence of the spoil they had taken, as to be totally insensible. He took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and immediately falling on them, put the greater part to the sword, a very few only saving themselves by flight (b). He then gathered together the people whom they had made captives, and, with the spoils they had not only taken from him, but from others, in their expedition, returned to Ziklag.

David is encouraged by the high priest to pursue his enemies.

Vanquishes them with dreadful carnage.

Recovers the spoils they had taken.

A dispute arises concerning the partition of the booty.

David adjusts the matter.

An equality of division passes into a law.

1 Samuel xxxi. A desperate engagement ensues.

The issue of this battle occasioned a dispute between the soldiers who were left as guards over the baggage, and those who attended David, the latter not agreeing to allow any part of the booty to the former, except their wives and children. After some altercation the dispute was settled by David, who told them, the victory was God's, and being a blessing in the common cause, it was but reasonable that the whole body should partake of the benefits; for that those who guarded the camp and baggage, did equally their duty as those who attended in the field. From this circumstance David established it as a law, (which has ever since been in force,) that whatever plunder should be obtained in war, an equal division thereof should be made, as well among those who were ordered to guard the camp, as those who were present in the battle.

During these transactions a desperate engagement took place between the two armies of the Philistines and the Israelites. The former were so powerful that the latter were obliged to give way, and they maintained a running fight till they came to Mount Gilboa, when, taking advantage of the ground, they attempted again to rally, but with as little success as before. Saul and his sons did all that was possible for brave men to do; but the Philistines aiming wholly at them, in a short time overpowered them with numbers; so that Jonathan, with two of his brothers, Abinadab and Melchishua, were killed on the spot, and the whole army thrown into confusion.

Saul's sons are slain in the action.

Saul defended himself, for a time, with unparalleled resolution: but the small party that remained with him being at length entirely broken, and the enemies archers pressing hard, he found himself so weakened from the wounds and loss of blood, that, to prevent falling into the hands of the Philistines, and being insulted by them, he begged of his armour-bearer to dispatch him. The man refused to perform the office; upon which Saul fixed the point of his sword to his breast, and leant on it; but not being able, from weakness, to finish what he had began, he requested the assistance of a young man, an Amalekite, who stood near him. The young man readily complied, the sword penetrated to the heart

Saul leans upon his own sword, and, by the assistance of an Amalekite, puts a period to his existence.

David's forces; and out of self-preservation he was obliged to put as many of them to the sword as he could, to prevent being surrounded and destroyed by so superior a number. A partial victory, instead of being any service to him, would have rather turned out to his disadvantage, because the straggling parties might have united, and watched an opportunity of retrieving their defeat by a second attack. Besides, it was unknown to David, nor can it be unknown to every attentive reader, that the Amalekites were such inveterate enemies to the Israelites, and so restless at the same time, that they would have lost no opportunity of wiping off their disgrace, or endangering the very being of the Israelitish nation. It is to be observed, lastly, that David in this case, not only acted with great prudence, in pursuing his victory, and endeavouring to extirpate the Amalekites, but also manifested his duty to God, who had condemned them to be utterly cut off.

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of Saul, and he fell, and died; after which the Amalekite took the golden bracelets from his arms, and the royal crown from his head, and fled away. When the armour-bearer saw his master dead, he desperately followed his example, and, in the same manner, put a period to his existence. There was not a single person of the king's guards that escaped; the whole number, without distinction either of age or sex, being put to the sword.

No sooner did the Hebrews, who resided in the valley beyond Jordan, as also those who inhabited the cities in the plain, hear of the death of Saul and his sons, with the destruction of the army, than they immediately withdrew themselves to fastnesses and strong holds; while the Philistines, in the mean time, quietly made themselves masters of the places they had quitted.

The Philistines expose the bodies and armour of Saul and his sons in an ignominious manner.

Early the next morning the Philistines went into the field of battle, to take a view of the general carnage, when finding the bodies of Saul and his sons among the slain, they stripped them of their armour, cut off their heads, and sent expresses to every place

of their victory. They sent their armour to the temple of Ashtaro, and their bodies they hung on gibbets against the walls of Bethshan.

This barbarous outrage committed on the bodies of Saul and his sons, coming to the ears of the people of Jabesh-gilead (who retained a grateful sense of the services Saul had done them) they sent a party of their best soldiers by night, who took down their bodies and brought them to Jabesh, where they first burnt their flesh, and afterwards honourably interred the bones and ashes in a grove near the city. The people mourned, on this occasion, seven successive days; during which time men, women, and children, kept a strict fast, and continued to express their grief by the greatest lamentations.

The inhabitants of Jabesh testify a respect for the memory of the deceased king and his sons.

Such was the end of Saul, according to the prophecy of Samuel, (a) for his having disobeyed God in not destroying the race of the Amalekites, and for putting Ahimelech, and his whole family, to the sword. He ruled forty years; eighteen of which were during the life of Samuel, and twenty-two after his decease.

(a) But while we consider the obstinacy and fate of Saul, who can avoid dropping a tear over the faithful, the amiable Jonathan? There are few characters among men more lovely, or more extraordinary. He was possessed of fortitude, fidelity and

magnanimity. He had a soul susceptible of the most refined friendship, and superior to all the temptations of ambition and vanity; and all these good qualities were crowned with the most resigned submission to the will of God.

End of the SIXTH BOOK.





The PHILISTINES depositing the Armour, &c.
of Saul in the Temple of ASHTAROTH.



Metz delin.

Sect sculp.

*The PHILISTINES cutting of the HEADS of SAUL and his three SONS
after having defeated their Army near Mount Gilboa.*

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK VII.

[Including a Period of about Forty-One Years.]

CHAP. I.

David laments the deaths of Saul and Jonathan. Is appointed to the sovereignty by the tribe of Judah; but opposed by Abner, the late king's general, who proclaimeth Ishbosheth, the only remaining son of Saul, successor to the throne. Abner marches against the army of David, and is defeated by Joab, his general. He goes over to David, and is barbarously murdered by Joab. David laments his death, and pays the greatest respect to his funeral obsequies.

THE battle between the army of the Philistines and that of the Israelites happened on the very same day that David returned to Ziklag, after defeating the Amalekites. In the morning of the third day after this, the man who had slain Saul, having escaped out of the battle, came to Ziklag, and, with his cloaths rent, and ashes on his head, threw himself prostrate on the ground before David. Being asked from whence he came, and why he appeared so mournful, he answered, that he was an Amalekite, and came to inform him of the event of the battle between the Hebrews and Philistines. That the king and his sons were slain, and the greatest part of the army shared the same fate. He told him, that what he said might be depended on, for that he was a spectator of the whole scene. That he stood by Saul when he attempted to stab himself, but not having strength enough, from the many wounds he had received, to force the point of his sword through his body, after he had leant upon it, he begged him to finish what himself was unable to perform, and that he readily obeyed the royal command. To confirm what he had related, he produced the golden bracelets and crown of Saul, and told David he took them

away, after Saul was dead, with no other design than to make a present of them to him.

David, being convinced of the truth of this relation, rent his cloaths, and spent the whole day in fasting and lamentation. He was particularly afflicted for the loss of Jonathan, who had more than once been the preserver of his life. And such respect did he still shew to the memory of Saul, notwithstanding the repeated attempts he had made to take away his life, that, instead of rewarding the man for the presents he brought, he ordered him to be put to death, not only as an enemy, but a professed regicide.

When David had performed his last duties to the memory of Saul and his sons, and the time of mourning was expired, he consulted God, by the prophet, which of the cities of Judah should be allotted for his habitation. Being answered, the city of Hebron (*a*), he immediately left Ziklag, and removed hither with his family and forces; soon after which the princes of Judah came to Hebron to congratulate him on his return to his native country, and in a full assembly, convened for the purpose, elected him their king.

By this time David had been informed of the generous conduct of the people of Jabesh-gilead, in rescuing the bodies of Saul and his sons, and giving them honourable interment. He was so pleased with this information, that he sent messengers to thank them for what they had done, and to assure them that they might ever depend on his favour and protection. He likewise desired the messengers to inform them, that he had been chosen, by the tribe of Judah, as successor to the sovereignty.

While the princes of Judah were interesting themselves in behalf of David, Abner, the late king's uncle, and general of the army, set up (*b*) Ishbosheth, the

David laments Saul's death, but more particularly Jonathan's.

David gives orders for executing the Amalekite as a regicide.

Resides at Hebron, and chosen king unanimously by the people.

Abner set up Ishbosheth as king of all Israel, Judah excepted. 2 Sam. ii.

(*a*) The city of Hebron stood in the midst of the tribe of Judah, and being the metropolis of the whole tribe, it was very commodious for David's residence at this juncture; for he could not be insensible that the determination of the people of that metropolis in his favour, would be of the greatest weight to influence the whole tribe.

(*b*) Ishbosheth was forty years of age at the time he was elected king. He reigned (properly speaking) only two years, though seven years and a half elapsed before David (who resided all the time at Hebron) was made king by the general voice of the people. As Ishbosheth was a very weak and inactive prince, when the war broke out with Judah, Abner took the government

2 Sam. i. The Amalekite, having confessed against Saul's death, humbled himself before David.

Produces tokens to confirm the truth of his assertion.

the only remaining son of Saul, as successor to the throne. He appointed Mahanaim (a), on the other side of Jordan, as the place of his residence; and, by his great interest and authority, Ishbosheth was recognized king by all the tribes, except that of Judah.

Abner was so incensed against the tribe of Judah for choosing David their king, that he determined to make war against them, and accordingly dispatched a body of the best men he could select from his whole army for that purpose. In the mean time Joab (the general of David's forces) hearing that Abner was on his way, marched from Hebron with his army against him, taking with him his two brothers, Abishai and Asahel. When the two armies came near each other, and were drawn up in order of battle, Abner proposed that the contest should be determined by twenty-four men, twelve to be chosen out of each army. This proposition being agreed to, the men were selected and engaged, when their skill was so equal on both sides, that every man killed his antagonist, and the whole twenty-four lay dead on the spot. In consequence of this a general engagement commenced between the two armies, which, for some time, was exceeding desperate on both sides; but at length Abner was totally routed, and put to flight. Joab, and his two brothers, pursued the fugitives; and Asahel, the younger brother of Joab, being much more active than the rest, got greatly a-head, and made the best of his way after Abner. As soon as he came up with him, Abner, who knew him, begged he would desist, and not attempt to attack him, as he should be very unwilling, by defending himself, to rob him of his existence. Asahel paid no attention to this remonstrance, but, ambitious of taking a general prisoner, made a stroke at Abner, who, with his spear, gave him a wound, of which he immediately died.

When the victorious army came to the spot where the body of Asahel lay, they were so shocked at the spectacle, that they immediately ceased the pursuit. Abner availed himself of this opportunity to rally his scattered forces, and making a stand on an advanced ground where he could not be attacked, he sounded a parley, and calling aloud to Joab, thus addressed him: "This outrageous animosity (says he) has already gone too far among people of the same blood and profession. As for your brother Asahel, I begged him to desist, but he was so obstinate in his determination, that I was reduced to the necessity of taking away his life for the security of my own; so that his death was owing to his own misconduct." Joab could not but admit the justice of Abner's argument, upon which he sounded a retreat, and the two armies separated. Abner immediately marched with his men to the palace of Ishbosheth, but Joab encamped on the spot that night. The next morning he took a view of the dead, and found, upon computation, that Abner had lost about 360 men, and himself nineteen, exclusive of Asahel, whose remains were carried, by Joab and Abishai, to Bethlehem, and there interred in the sepulchre of their ancestors. After this ceremony they returned to Hebron, whither David had arrived with his army.

From this period a civil war continued between the families of Saul and David for some years; during which time the forces of the latter, in most rencounters, had the advantage; and the interest of David increased in the nation, as that of Ishbosheth sensibly declined.

While David resided at Hebron he had six sons, born of as many wives; namely, Amnon, the son of Ahinoam; Chileab, the son of Abigail; Absalom, the son of Maachah, the daughter of Talmais, king of Geshur; Adonijah, the son of Haggith; Shephatiah, the son of Abital; and Ithream, the son of Eg-lah.

ment upon himself; so that the other five years and a half, which passed before David ascended to the throne of Israel, is not reckoned as part of Ishbosheth's reign, because he was only a nominal king, not having the least authority.

(a) Mahanaim was a place belonging to the tribe of Gad, and had its name from the appearance of an host of angels to Jacob, as he went with his family from Padan-aram, Gen. xxxii, 1. The reasons why Abner retreated hither in the beginning of Ish-

While the civil war lasted between David and Ishbosheth, Abner was the grand support of the latter, and, by his prudence and interest, the people were kept to obedience; but a circumstance at length occurred, which produced a fatal dissension to both parties. Abner had for some time preserved a familiar intimacy with Rizpah, the daughter of Sibeth, one of Saul's concubines. Intimation of this coming to the ears of Ishbosheth, he severely rebuked Abner for his conduct, who, thinking, himself treated with indignity, vowed no less a revenge than converting his interest from Ishbosheth to David.

In consequence of this determination, Abner sent a commissioner to Hebron, with full power to form a league with David, on the following single condition: That from and after the time he should draw off the tribes from Ishbosheth, and place David upon the throne by the universal consent of the people, he should be received as his prime-minister, and have the chief management (exclusive of himself) in all public affairs.

This proposition was very acceptable to David, who, in return, requested of Abner, as an earnest of their future alliance, that he would restore to him his wife Michal, whom he had not only purchased with the heads of six hundred Philistines, but also at the most imminent danger and hazard of his own life.

These matters being reciprocally agreed to, Abner immediately took Michal from Phalti (on whom she was bestowed by Saul with the privacy and assistance of Ishbosheth) and sent her to David; after which, calling together the elders and principal people, both civil and military, he thus addressed them: "There was a time (says he) when ye would willingly have renounced your allegiance to Ishbosheth, and gone over to David: I was then against it; but you are now at liberty to use your own discretion. I am fully convinced that, as God, by the prophet Samuel, hath anointed and constituted him king over all the Hebrews, and hath foretold that he should be the scourge of the Philistines, and shall subdue and bring them under his obedience, so shall he actually obtain the sovereignty over all Israel." When the elders, and the officers of the army, found the sentiments of Abner corresponded with those they had themselves entertained, they unanimously agreed with him in opinion, and from that time acted openly in favour of David.

Abner, having thus far proved successful, summoned together the tribe of Benjamin, which included the guards of Ishbosheth, to whom he addressed himself in the same manner as he had done to the elders and officers. These likewise he found condescending, and ready to favour his design; upon which, selecting twenty of the choicest, he took them with him, and went to David, in order to ratify the treaty that had been agreed on between them. David received Abner and his company with the greatest affection, and entertained them, for some days, in the most sumptuous manner; at the expiration of which Abner desired to be dismissed for the present, that he might go and bring the army and people to Hebron, in order to make good what he had undertaken, by publicly delivering up the government into his hands.

Abner had hardly quitted the gates of the city, when he met Joab, David's general, to whom he related the particulars of all that had passed relative to the treaty of alliance between him and David. Joab, at this information, was immediately struck with an outrageous fit of jealousy, thinking, from the great ambition of Abner, he would infallibly supplant him in his master's esteem. He therefore hastened to David with all expedition, and remonstrated with him on the impropriety of his conduct in listening to any terms proposed by Abner, whom, he said, was

bosheth's reign were, that he might seduce the people on that side the Jordan, especially the gallant inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead, who were firmly attached to the house of Saul; and, chiefly, that he might be at a greater distance from David, have the new king more absolutely under his command, and a better opportunity of recruiting his army among a people, who were not only very courageous by nature, but likewise well affected to the cause he had espoused.

to be considered in no other light than a spy, and whom he knew to be the protector and supporter of his professed enemy. That what he had done was all a delusion, and that he was probably gone home to take advantage of his great and ill-judged credulity.

David, not seeming to countenance the observations made by Joab, the latter (determined to seek revenge on Abner by some means or other) formed the resolution of effectually obtaining his wishes by taking away his life. He accordingly dispatched messengers after Abner, in the name of David, requesting his immediate return, as some things were omitted in his instructions that were exceeding important. The messengers overtook Abner at a place called Sirah, about twenty furlongs from Hebron, and communicating their business, he immediately returned.

In the mean time Joab, attended only by his brother Abishai, planted himself in a private place without the gates of the city; and when Abner came to the spot, he called him aside, telling him he had some business to relate to him of a private nature. Abner, not suspecting any danger, complied with Joab's request, when the latter, suddenly drawing his sword, stabbed him to the heart. Thus was this brave man taken off by the perfidy of Joab, who pretended he did it in revenge for the death of his brother Asahel; but, in reality, it was to gratify his jealousy and revenge, for fear of being supplanted in the king's favour.

When David was informed of Abner's death, he was so affected, that he knew not how to contain himself. But, stretching out his hands, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he solemnly declared, in the presence of all about him, that he was neither accessory to the murder, nor knew any thing of it previous to its being perpetrated. He denounced the most heavy curses on Joab and his family, wishing they might receive that punishment due to so enormous a crime. He ordered all the army to march before the bier of Abner, and, with tears and lamentations, with their clothes rent, and putting on sackcloth, to bewail his loss, and to perform all funeral rites to him in the most solemn manner. He attended himself as chief mourner; and the example he set in expressing his lamentations for the loss of Abner, was followed by the whole body of the people. In short, so affected was David at this melancholy circumstance, that, notwithstanding the earnest persuasions of his friends, he could not be prevailed upon to take the least refreshment that day, swearing, he would not taste any thing till the sun was down. The severity of this religious strictness gained the universal affection of the people, who were sufficiently satisfied that David was not only a total stranger to the murder of Abner, but that he held him in the highest esteem. Besides this, it greatly enhanced the character and reputation of David, the people naturally imagining, that if any future circumstance should arise of the like nature, he would shew the same respect to their memories as he had done to that of Abner.

When the funeral ceremonies were over, David addressed the multitude in a very pathetic harangue, in which he first pointed out to them his own particular unhappiness in being deprived of a friend for whom he had so great a value; and then told them, that his loss must be sensibly felt by the whole nation, since he was not only a brave soldier, but a wise and prudent counsellor. "But that God (says he) who governs all things, will not let this murder pass unrevenge. He is my witness that my situation will not permit me to do by Joab and Abishai as they deserve, they having, probably, a greater interest in the army than myself; but I doubt not that, sooner or later, Divine justice will find them out, and inflict on them that punishment they merit for so enormous a crime."

Thus did the great general Abner fall a sacrifice to the jealousy and resentment of an inveterate assassin.

No. 9.

CHAP. II.

The perfidious murder of Ishbosheth avenged by David on the regicides. He is universally recognized as king. Besieges and takes the city of Jerusalem. Joab signals his bravery on the occasion.

WHEN Ishbosheth heard of the death of Abner he was greatly afflicted in his mind, not only on account of having lost a relation, but the person who had been the means of advancing him to the throne. He did not, however, long survive his friend, being soon after treacherously murdered by Baanah and Rechab, the sons of Rimmon. These two persons being Benjamites, and of the first rank, thought if they put Ishbosheth to death, it would be well received by David, and that, for their conduct, he would advance them to some honourable employment. Having resolved on carrying their design into execution, they went into that apartment of the palace where Ishbosheth was accustomed to repose himself during the heat of the day. There being no guards about the place, and the servant appointed to watch the door absent, they stole into the chamber, where finding Ishbosheth alone, and fast asleep, they first stabbed him, and then, cutting off his head, halted, with all expedition, to Hebron, in order to present it as fresh as possible to David. They made not the least doubt of being amply rewarded for this singular achievement: but they soon found themselves mistaken; for when they presented the head to David, he was so far from approving of what they had done, that he expressed his detestation of so impious an act in words to this effect: "Ye basest of wretches, (says he,) immediately prepare yourselves to receive the just reward of your horrid villainy. What! have ye so soon forgot the punishment I inflicted on him who brought me the crown of gold belonging to Saul, after he had slain him, at his own desire, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy! Do you imagine I am not the same person now I was then? Or can you suppose me so abandoned a wretch as to countenance the murder you have committed on your master, by taking off his head in his own bedchamber; the head of him who never did injury to any man, and who, in an especial manner, heaped his favours on you? Wherefore I will avenge his death by taking away your lives, and avenge myself on you for cutting him off under pretence of doing me service. Your entertaining such base sentiments of me is the greatest injury you could have done to my honour and reputation." Having said this, he ordered their hands and feet to be cut off, and their bodies to be hung up in a public place, as a terror to all regicides; after which he ordered the head of Ishbosheth to be honourably interred in the sepulchre of Abner.

As soon as the death of Ishbosheth was generally known, all the tribes sent deputies to David, acknowledging his right to the sovereignty, and promising him their allegiance. David received them with the greatest respect, and assured them, that so long as they continued obedient and dutiful subjects, they should not have reason to repent having chosen him as their king. He entertained the deputies for several days in the most hospitable and magnificent manner; after which he dismissed them, with orders to summon the whole body of the people to repair immediately to his palace at Hebron.

The deputies having obeyed these orders, and the different tribes being gathered together, the number in each appeared as follows:

Of the tribe of Judah, 6,800, armed with shields and lances. These had been of Saul's party.

Of the tribe of Simeon, 7,100.

Of the tribe of Levi, 4,700, headed by Jehoida, their captain. With these was Zadock, the high-priest, accompanied by twenty-two of his kindred, all captains.

Of the tribe of Benjamin, 4,000, armed. This tribe was of opinion that some of Saul's family would succeed to the government.

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2 Sam. iv.

Ishbosheth is slain by treachery, and his head presented to David.

David reprehends the regicides in the severest terms.

Commands them to be put to death, and the funeral obsequies of Ishbosheth to be honourably performed.

The heads of the people pay court to David.

2 Sam. v.

Are sumptuously entertained. David summons a general assembly at Hebron.

A general muster.

1 Chr. xii.

Joab sends for Abner in David's name.

Perfidiously slays him.

David laments the death of Abner.

Does him all funeral honours.

David tells his esteem for Abner in an eulogium on his character.

Prefigures a judgment on his murderer.

Of the tribe of Ephraim, 20,800, all stout and courageous men.

Of the half tribe of Menasses, 18,000.

Of the tribe of Issachar, 20,000 armed, besides 200, who were skilled in foretelling future events.

Of the tribe of Zebulon, 50,000, all well armed.

Of the tribe of Naphthali, 1000 commanders, armed with shields and spears, and attended by an innumerable multitude of their followers.

Of the tribe of Dan, 27,000 choice men.

Of the tribe of Asher, 40,000.

Of the two tribes beyond Jordan, and the other half of the tribe of Menasses, 22,000, all armed with shields, spears, swords and helmets.

Each of these tribes brought with them great quantities of corn, wine, and other provisions, which were respectfully received by David; and in the presence of the whole multitude he was anointed king over all Israel, after having reigned at Hebron, over the tribe of Judah only, for the space of seven years and six months.

David, being now invested with full regal power, and having a multitude of brave and gallant soldiers to attend him, formed the resolution of making an expedition against Jerusalem, which was at this time inhabited by the Jebusites, a people belonging to the race of the Canaanites. He accordingly marched with his army towards the place; and, when he came to the castle, or fort of Zion, which commanded the city, and was thought impregnable, he summoned the inhabitants to surrender. But they were so little intimidated, that they bid defiance to him, and, by way of derision, placed on the walls great numbers of people, who were lame and infirm, saying, they wanted no other guard to protect them from such an enemy. This insult so irritated David, that he resolved immediately to attack the city, reasonably imagining, that if he made himself master of that, it would so terrify those in the castle, that they would readily submit. He accordingly besieged the place with the flower of his army, and making a general assault, soon entered the Lower Town. The Jebusites made all the resistance they were able; but, by the intrepidity of David's army, they were soon overpowered, the greater part being killed on the spot, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitate flight. Having thus made himself master of the lower city, he marched to the castle; but the inhabitants being still resolute, and the place so strong as to render the attack dangerous, he knew not, for some time, how to act; till at length, in order to animate his men to undertake the arduous task, he caused a proclamation to be made throughout the camp, that whoever first mounted the walls, and made good his station, should be made captain-general of all his forces. This had the desired effect, a general emulation immediately taking place among the people; but Joab, being more alert than the rest, got before all, and having ascended the tower, called aloud to David to fulfil his promise. The rest of the troops immediately following Joab, the besieged soon gave way, and, in a short time, abandoned the place. After this, David expelled the Jebusites, enlarged the buildings of the Lower City, which he joined to the citadel, made it his place of residence, and gave it the name of *The City of David*. He erected many fortifications in different parts of it, surrounded the whole with a strong wall, and gave the command of it to Joab; who, in the mean time, repaired and enlarged the upper city, for the better accommodation of the people. From this time David kept his court at Jerusalem.

CHAP. III.

Hiram, king of Tyre, courts the friendship and alliance of David. His wives and children.

ABOUT this time Hiram, king of Tyre, hearing how prosperous David was in all his affairs, sent ambassadors to congratulate him on his accession to the throne, and to join with him in a treaty of alliance and friendship. He likewise sent him a present of cedar trees, with carpenters and other artificers, to assist him in erecting a royal palace at his new city.

The city of Jerusalem (which name David exchanged after subduing the Jebusites) was called, in the days of Abraham, Solyma; and it is imagined that Homer points at this city when he speaks of the people of Solyma; that word, in the Hebrew language, signifying a *fortress*, or *place of defence*. From the time that Joshua waged war with the inhabitants of Canaan, and, after subduing them, divided their country among the Hebrews, the Jebusites still kept possession of this city; nor could they be driven out of it till it was effected by David, which was an interval of no less than 515 years.

There was left amongst the Jebusites one Orphan, who was not slain at the siege of Jerusalem, at the particular instance of David, because of the good will he bore the Hebrews in general, and the king in particular. So that his name is worthy of record.

Soon after David had established himself in his new city, he took to him several new wives, as also many concubines. By these he had born to him eleven sons, named Amnon, Ellus, Ebas, Nathan, Solomon, Jebar, Elial, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenas, and Eliphel; besides a daughter, named Tamar, who was sister to Absalom. The nine first of the sons were by his lawful wives, but the two last by concubines.

CHAP. IV.

David totally routs the Philistines and their allies. Removes the ark to Jerusalem. Forms a design of building a temple, and acknowledges the Divine favour.

IN the mean time the Philistines, having heard of David's increasing greatness, and supposing it a sure presage of their own downfall, determined to check his power as soon as possible; to effect which they raised a considerable army, and marching towards Jerusalem, encamped in a place called *The Valley of the Giants*, not far from the city.

David, not choosing to engage in any enterprize without first consulting the Divine oracle, commanded the high priest to signify to him the pleasure of the Almighty, and what issue he would vouchsafe to give should he engage the Philistines. Having received for answer that he should obtain the victory, he immediately drew out his men, and marching with all expedition against the enemy, fell on them so suddenly, that they were thrown into the greatest confusion, and, in a short time, totally routed. Great numbers were killed on the spot, many others desperately wounded, and the remainder saved themselves by flight.

But the Philistines were so far from being intimidated at this overthrow, that, a short time after, they came again, with an army consisting of thrice the number they had before, having been joined by the Syrians, Phoenicians, and other warlike nations. On this occasion David again consulted the oracle, and received orders that he should march with his army to a certain place, not far from the enemy, called *The Wood of Lamentation*; from whence he should not attempt to move, on any account whatever, till he saw the branches of the trees move, without the blowing of the wind. That when this took place, he might suppose the time was come that Providence had allotted for his encountering the enemy, and that he should immediately leave the place and begin the attack. David strictly attended to these directions, and, as soon as he discovered the providential signs, immediately marched out with his army, fully assured the business he was about would prove successful. The Philistines gave way at the first onset; when they found themselves closely attacked, they betook themselves to flight. David pursued them as far as Gaza, a city on the extreme borders of their country, and killed great numbers in his way; after which he returned to their camp, took what valuables they had left behind, and destroyed their idols. This defeat so weakened the Philistines that they did not attempt to attack the Israelites for many succeeding years.

The war with the Philistines being now over, and all things quiet, David thought it a very proper season to remove the ark of God (which, for almost fifty

fifty years, had continued in the house of Abinadab, at Kirjath-jearim) to a place which he had prepared for it in his own city. For this purpose, he assembled the elders and principal men of the respective tribes, together with the priests and Levites, and taking with him a strong guard for the protection of the ark, in case any enemy should attempt to surprize them, went in grand procession to Kirjath-jearim. Having removed the ark out of Abinadab's house, instead of carrying it on mens shoulders, they, in imitation of the Philistines, put it into a cart drawn by two oxen, and in this manner proceeded with it towards Jerusalem; the king going before it, and the multitude following after, singing praises to God, and dancing to various tunes played on different instruments, such as harps, plalteries, cornets, and cymbals. When they came to a place called *Nachon's Threshing Floor*, the cart was near being overturned; upon which Uzzah, one of the drivers, in order to save the ark, put his hand upon it; for which presumption (not being in holy orders) the Almighty was pleased to punish him with instant death. This melancholy circumstance not only afflicted David, but the whole multitude; and, as a memento, they called the place ever after by the name of Perez-Uzzah, that is, *the Breach of Uzzah*.

David was so terrified at the sudden death which the Almighty had inflicted on Uzzah, for touching the ark, that he was apprehensive of meeting the like fate should he presume to carry it to the place intended. Instead, therefore, of proceeding towards the city, he turned out of the way, and went to the house of a righteous man, a Levite, named Obed-Edom, into whose custody he left the ark, where it remained for the space of three months. At the expiration of this time, David, having heard of the great prosperity that had attended Obed-Edom, since the ark had been in his possession, was delivered from the fear he had conceived, and resumed his intentions of removing it to his own city, which he did in great form and solemnity. It was borne on the shoulders of the priests, whom David had caused to be sanctified on the occasion: seven companies of singing-men went before it, and the king himself followed, dressed in a linen ephod (a), dancing and playing on his harp. The ark being brought into the city, and properly secured in the place allotted for it, David offered sacrifices to God of considerable value; after which he made a feast for the people, giving to each person a cake of bread, a flaggon of wine, and a piece of the sacrifice.

When David returned home, he was met by his wife Michal (the daughter of the late king Saul) who, having seen him through a window dancing before the ark, upbraided him for his condescension, saying, such locusts were beneath the dignity of a king. In reply to this, David told her, that what he had done was in honour of that God who had chosen him to govern Israel, in preference to her own father, and to all other men; and that such condescension would never bring him under any just contempt. Michal had not any children by David; but she had five sons by her other husband, to whom Saul, her father, gave her in marriage, after he had forcibly taken her from David.

By this time the palace (which Hiram, king of Tyre, had furnished David with men and materials to build) was finished; and as he was reflecting on the meanness of God's habitation compared with his own, it came into his mind to build a temple for his religious worship, and to place in it the ark of the Lord. He communicated his design to the prophet Nathan, who at first approved of it: but that night the word of the Lord came to Nathan (b) to this effect: "Go and tell David I accept of his good-will in being the first proposer of erecting

" a temple to my services; but, as he has been engaged in so many wars, and has embued his hands in the blood of his enemies, I will not permit him to carry his design into execution. The care of this undertaking I shall reserve for his son Solomon, over whom I will be as a tender father, and will continue the government in the line of his family; and, if he should be guilty of any transgressions, I will not totally reject him as I did Saul, but only punish him with pestilence and famine."

The prophet Nathan, having communicated these tidings to David, he was so rejoiced at the thoughts of the succession being secured to his posterity, and the honour of his family so graciously provided for, that he immediately repaired to the ark of God, and throwing himself prostrate before it, addressed his Divine benefactor to this effect: "Blessed be thy name, for all the benefits and mercies thou hast been pleased to bestow on thy servant. Thou hast raised me from the lowest situation in life to the summit of dignity and power. I bless thee for all this; for thy continued providences to myself, and thy promises to my posterity; as also for thy multiplied deliverances and protections to thy own people." After this he arose, sang an hymn, and then departed.

The Divine will is communicated to David by the prophet Nathan.

David ascribes praises to the Almighty for his multiplied favours.

CHAP. V.

David wages a successful war against the Philistines and their confederates.

AS the Almighty had thought proper to refuse David the privilege of building him a temple, and had reserved that work for his son Solomon, he thought it advisable to employ his time in subduing his enemies on every side, that, when his son came to undertake so great an affair, he might meet with as little interruption as possible.

In consequence of these thoughts he immediately gathered together his forces, and resolved first to attack the Philistines, who had twice invaded him soon after his accession to the throne. The army being prepared, he accordingly marched against the enemy, took from them the greatest part of their country, and added it to the possessions of his own people. He then marched against the Moabites, whom he totally subdued; and having destroyed two thirds of their army, took the rest captive, and rendered them tributary. After this he turned his victorious arms on Adrazar, the son of Arach, king of Sophene, whom he defeated near the Euphrates; 20,000 foot, and 5000 horse, falling in the action. Of a thousand chariots taken he reserved but one hundred, ordering the rest to be consumed.

CHAP. VI.

David obtains a complete conquest over Adad. Subdues the Idumæans. Forms an alliance with the king of Hamah. Is mindful of the friendship of Jonathan, the son of Saul. Wages war against the Ammonites.

IN the mean time Adad, king of Syria and Damascus, having heard of the ill success of Adrazar, who was his particular friend and ally, marched with a strong body of forces to his assistance. He joined Adrazar's army near the river Euphrates, when a desperate battle ensued between his army and that of David, in which the former, contrary to his expectations, was defeated, 22,000 of his men being killed on the spot, and the remainder obliged to save themselves by a precipitate flight.

This king Adad is taken notice of by Nicholas of

2 Sam. viii. David defeats Adad.

Account of Nicholas, the historian.

(b) At what time this prophet began to appear in Israel we are not any where informed. He was a man of great prudence and fine address, who knew how to mitigate the rigour of his reproofs with a great deal of sweetness and wisdom, which qualified him so well for the conversation of kings, and other great persons. He was equally esteemed and beloved by David; and, in his conduct towards him, maintained a just medium between an inflexible austerity, and a servile flattery.

(a) David laid aside his royal ornaments, and was girded with a simple ephod, which was used by those who were not priests. His moving in certain solemn measures, suited to music of the same character and tendency, was highly to the purposes of piety; and his mixing with the public festivities of the people was a condescension not unbecoming the greatest monarch. Policy taught Augustus to put himself on a level with his subjects in their public rejoicings; piety taught David that all men were upon a level in the solemnities of religion.

Damascus, in the fifth book of his history; who says, "A certain valiant man, named Adad, reigned over Damascus and Syria, Phœnicia only excepted. He having declared war against David, several encounters took place between them, but at last he was overcome at Euphrates, behaving himself with the resolution of a brave prince and a great commander." The same writer, in speaking of the posterity of Adad, says, "After his death his posterity, for the succeeding generations, possessed the sovereignty, each, at the time he became king, taking upon him the name of Adad, as the kings of Egypt did that of Ptolemy. The third of these becoming very powerful, resolved to renew the war his father had begun; upon which he made an inroad into Judea, and sacked the country now called Samaria." This account of Nicholas is authentic; for this is that Adad who invaded Samaria, when Ahab reigned over Israel.

David having vanquished the enemy, obtains an immense booty

David, having reduced the Syrians, and made himself master of that country, put garrisons into the fortified cities, and made the inhabitants tributary. Having done this he returned home, loaded with spoils and honours: but all the valuable articles, such as gold, silver, and a particular sort of brass, which was more esteemed than gold, was the metal Solomon afterwards used in making some of the vessels for the service of his temple.

The Idumæans are subjected.

The successes of David were enhanced by those which attended his deputies, several of whom he dispatched, with a proper number of forces, to engage the enemy in such parts as he had directed. Among these was Abishai, Joab's brother, who being sent out with an army against the Idumæans, totally subdued them, killing 18,000 on the spot, and making the survivors tributary to David.

The king of Hamah sends to congratulate David.

When Toi, the king of Hamah, heard of the great victories obtained by David, he sent his son Joram to congratulate him on the occasion; and made him a considerable present of vessels of gold, silver, &c. (all which he dedicated to God) as an acknowledgment for his having destroyed the power of his most inveterate enemies.

David's officers of state.

Though David's attention had been engaged in the prosecution of foreign wars, yet, at the same time, he was not unmindful of administering justice to his subjects at home; for the effecting of which he had a certain number of very great men employed in the highest offices of trust. Joab was captain-general; Jehosaphat, keeper of the records; Abiathar, high-priest; Sezai, secretary of state; Benaiah, captain of his guard; and his own sons, prime ministers of his household. To these David added one more, namely, Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, whom, with great difficulty, he found out, by means of one Ziba, who had for many years been a servant to Saul. He restored to him all his grandfather's estates; and though he was a cripple (a), and lame of both his feet, yet (from the great respect he had for his father) he entertained him with the most distinguished kindness, and ordered him to sit with his own sons at the royal table.

David's kindness to Jonathan's son.

King Nahash dies. David sends to congratulate his son.

His ambassadors are treated with ignominy.

Some time after this, David, hearing of the death of his good friend and ally Nahash, king of the Ammonites, sent his compliments of condolence to his son and successor Hanun: but the great men who were about the young king made him believe that the sole intent of David's sending this embassy was, to spy out the weakness of the city, and in what place it might be most advantageously assaulted. In consequence of this, he ordered his ambassadors to be half shaved (b), and their cloaths cut short even to the

waist; and with this ignominious appearance they were dismissed.

David, fired with indignation at this treatment of his ambassadors as a violation of the law of nations, as well as hospitality and honour, determined to assert his dignity, and avenge the insult he had himself through them received from their king. The principal men amongst the Ammonites, conscious that so flagrant a breach of friendship would excite the resentment of the king of Israel, no sooner heard of his determination, than they prepared for opposition, and dispatched ambassadors to Syrus, king of Mesopotamia, as well as the kings of Zoba, Maachah, and Ishob, who, for valuable considerations, furnished them with a powerful armament.

David determines to assert his dignity, and avenge the insult he had himself through them received from their king.

The Ammonites form a powerful alliance.

C H A P. VII.

Joab's victories over the Ammonites. The history of David and Bathsheba, the wife of one of his military officers. Absalom takes away the life of Amnon for committing a rape on his own sister.

DAVID, by no means intimidated by the preparation of the Ammonites in forming such powerful alliances, maintained his resolution, conscious of the justice of his cause, and depending therefore on the Divine aid and protection. He appointed Joab commander of a select body of forces, and dispatched him against the enemy. He pitched his camp near Rabbath, their metropolis; whereupon they came out, and set themselves in array in two bodies, the auxiliaries being fixed on the plains by themselves, and the Ammonites before the port over-against the Hebrews. Joab observing the disposition of the enemy, as an expert general opposed stratagem to stratagem, and selecting the choicest men, prepared to head them, and charge the confederates; while he gave his brother Abishai the command of the rest of the army, with orders to attack the Ammonites, and come to his relief, if he should find him oppressed by the confederates.

2 Sam. 1.

David sends a body of men against the Ammonites.

Having exhorted his brother, and the troops under his command, to a conduct becoming their country and cause, Joab began the action by an attack on the Syrians, who, for some time, withstood him with great bravery, till, dismayed by the slaughter around them, they betook themselves to flight; and the Ammonites, observing the confusion into which the confederates were thrown, followed their example, and, with the utmost precipitation, ran towards the city, before Abishai's detachment could come up with them. So that Joab returned to Jerusalem with honour.

This defeat, however, did not suppress the hostile designs of the Ammonites, who sent to Chalama, a king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired of him an army of auxiliaries. Shobach was his lieutenant-general, and had command of 80,000 foot and 7000 horse. When David received intelligence that the Ammonites were so powerfully reinforced, he determined to take the command in person; so that passing the river Jordan with the whole army, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter. Forty thousand foot, and seven thousand of their horse, fell in the action; and Shobach, the general of the Syrians, received a wound which proved mortal. The Mesopotamians, awed by this victory, submitted to the king of Israel, and gratified him with presents by their ambassadors. After this glorious enterprize, David returned in safety to Jerusalem. As soon as the season would permit, he sent Joab

The king goes in person against the confederates, and obtains a complete victory.

The Mesopotamians submit to David.

(a) Mephibosheth was very young at the time his father was slain at the battle of Gilboa; the news of which threw the nurse into such consternation, that, as she was endeavouring to make her escape with him, she let him fall, and he received such injury as to be lame ever after.

(b) The wearing of long beards and garments was then (as it still is) the fashion of the east, where they were deemed badges of honour, and consequently, the cutting off, or curtailing of either, was considered as the greatest indignity. Nay, in some places, the cutting off the beard was not only looked upon as a matter of the highest reproach, but also of the severest punishment. It was the same thing anciently among the Indians,

and is at this day among the Persians. It was one of the most disgraceful punishments for cowardice in Sparta; for those who turned their backs in the day of battle, were obliged to appear abroad with one half of their beards shaved, and the other half unshaved. There were two reasons which caused the easterns of old, as well as at present, to look upon the beard as venerable: in the first place, they considered it as a natural ornament designed to distinguish men from women; secondly, it was the mark of a free man in opposition to slaves; so that, in every view, the insult of Hanun to the ambassadors of David was capital. It was a violation of the law of nature, of hospitality, and of the right of nations.

against

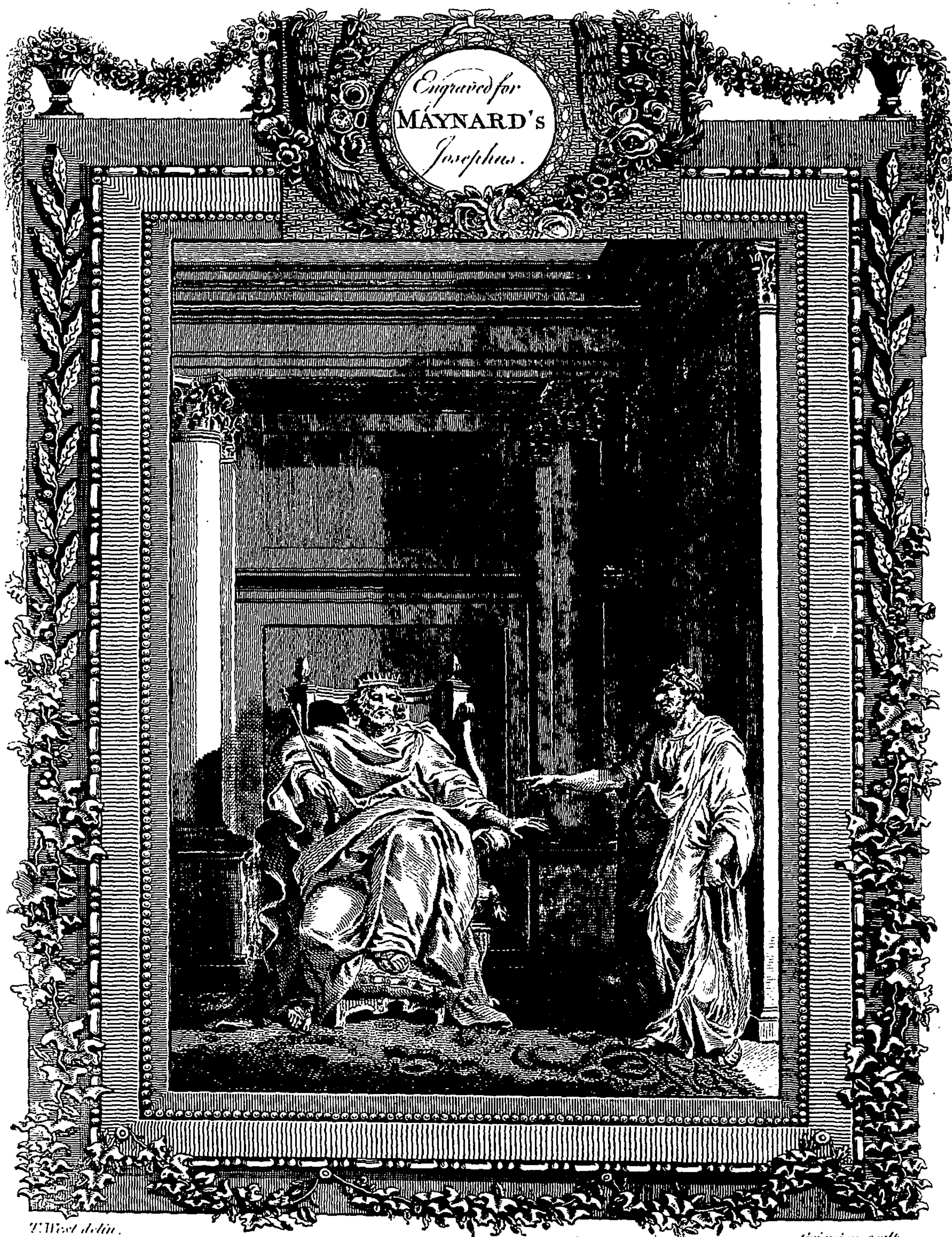


Graves delin.

Noble sculp.

King **DAVID** *presenting* **URIAH** *with the* **LETTER** *to* **JOAB,**
wherein Uriah's fatal Commission was Sealed.

Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke N^o 7 Paternoster Row.



T. West delin.

W. Simpson sculp.

The PROPHET NATHAN rebuking KING DAVID *and foretelling*
the Calamities that afterwards befel him.

Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke N^o 7 Paternoster Row.

Joab blocks up the Ammonites.

against the turbulent Ammonites, over-ran their country, laid it waste, drove them into their metropolis, and blocked them up.

Sam. xi.

While Joab was carrying on the siege of Rabbah, David, though a person of great piety towards God, justice with respect to man, and a strict observer of the laws and customs delivered by his forefathers, became guilty of a great sin and offence against his Divine Protector. As he was one evening walking on the top of his palace, for the benefit of the air, he espied a woman, of a most exquisite shape and beauty, bathing herself in her garden. He was so struck with her appearance, that he made immediate enquiry who she was, and was informed that her name was Bathsheba, and that she was the wife of Uriah, the Hittite, an officer of his army, who was then with Joab at the siege of Rabbah. In consequence of this information, he ordered her to be brought to the palace, when her appearance so wrought on his passions, that he took her that night to his bed, and the next morning dismissed her. A short time after, finding herself with child, she went to David, told him her situation, and withal desired him to consult her honour and safety, in devising some means whereby it might be concealed. David hereupon sent a messenger to Joab, with orders for Uriah to come to him immediately, as he had some business to relate to him of a very particular nature; but his whole intent was, to give Uriah the opportunity of lying with his wife, that the child, when it was born, might be reputed his. Uriah was sent for agreeable to the royal order; and after the king had asked him some questions relative to the situation of the army, and the state of the siege, he ordered him to go home and refresh himself after his journey, sending after him a handsome collation for his entertainment.

Uriah, instead of going home, as the king had ordered, slept that night in the guard-room; information of which being given to David the next morning, he resolved on another expedient to accomplish his wishes. He invited him to sup that night at his own table, and prevailed with him to drink to such a pitch, that he did not doubt but the heat of the liquor would so inflame his desires as to make him go home to his wife. This scheme likewise failed; for Uriah slept in the same place he had done the preceding night; upon which, the next morning, David asked him how it came to pass, that, after being so long away from his wife, instead of going to her, as most men would do in his circumstances, he seemed to shun her company? To this Uriah replied, "I do not think it fair to indulge myself in the arms of my wife, at a time when I know my general and fellow-soldiers are lying on the bare ground in an enemy's country."

David, finding all his efforts proved ineffectual, at length hit upon a project for taking away Uriah's life. He ordered him back to the army, and with him sent a letter to Joab, commanding him, on the first dangerous attack, to place Uriah in the front, and privately to tell those who should be with him at the time, that, as soon as they found the Ammonites press forward, they should retreat, and leave Uriah exposed to the enemy. Joab strictly obeyed the king's orders: he posted Uriah on the very spot where he knew the enemy would make the most vigorous defence, and, the better to conceal the design, placed with him some of the bravest men in his army. He made an apology to Uriah for allotting him so dangerous a situation; but being a man of courage, and not suspecting the mischief intended, he undertook the charge with the greatest cheerfulness.

When the Ammonites saw the Hebrews approach near the walls of the city, they thought it high time to begin the attack; and suddenly throwing open one of their gates, made a desperate rally on the front ranks of the Hebrews. The men who were with Uriah, agreeable to the orders of Joab, immediately fled, and left their leader to fall a sacrifice to the enemy. He did all that was in the power of a single man to do against numbers, and, after receiving several wounds, fell like a man of honour and courage.

As soon as Uriah was dead, Joab dispatched a messenger to inform David of the event, who returned with orders to carry on the siege till he had made himself master of the city; then to raze it to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

In the mean time Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, being informed of her husband's death, lamented and mourned for him some days: but as soon as the time was elapsed for observing that ceremony, David sent for her, and took her to wife, soon after which she brought him a son.

This marriage greatly offended the Almighty, who appearing to Nathan, the prophet, in a dream, enjoined him to inform David how much he was displeased with his conduct. Nathan, who was a man of great prudence, considering within himself that kings, when angry, are prone to hearken more to the dictates of passion than reason, resolved not to tell David in plain terms the wrath and threatenings of the Almighty, but to discover it to him in such a manner, that he should be under the necessity of condemning himself. Accordingly, when he came before the king, he addressed him as follows: "There were (says he) two men who lived in the same city: the one was rich, and possessed many asses, and great herds and flocks of oxen and sheep; the other was poor, and had but one little ewe-lamb, which he had brought up and nourished with his children. It happened that a stranger came to the rich man's house, whom he was bound, by honour, to entertain; but instead of doing it at his own expence, he sent a person to bring away, by force, the poor man's ewe-lamb, which he dressed, and set before his guest." A villain! says the king, to do so base and unjust an act. I would have him make four-fold satisfaction, and after that be put to death. "Why then, (says Nathan,) thou thyself art the man, and out of thy own mouth hast thou pronounced judgement on thyself." He then told him that he had greatly deserved the Divine displeasure, in offending that God, who had made him king over all the Hebrews, and lord of the nations round about him; and who had several times delivered him out of the hands of Saul. That the Almighty had given him wives, whom he had lawfully married; and that for him to take away another man's wife, and to betray her husband to the enemy, and to death, was a crime of the most unpardonable nature. That God would chastise him for this transgression, by causing his women to be ravished by one of his sons, who should lay snares for his life; and that he, who had committed so great a sin in private, should be brought to public shame and punishment. He concluded with this preface, that the son of his unlawful love should surely die.

David having received this message from God, by the mouth of Nathan, was thrown into the greatest confusion: he wept bitterly, made an ample confession of his guilt, and, in the most fervent manner, implored pardon for the offence he had committed. Till this time he had lived in the fear of God, and, except in the case of Uriah, had never been guilty of any kind of wickedness. Wherefore the Almighty, upon his sincere repentance, took compassion on him, and commanded Nathan to tell him, that the eternal punishment due to his transgression he had remitted, but the temporal should be inflicted on him: that he should not be put to death, or lose his kingdom; neither should the sword depart from his family.

It was not long before part of the sentence, denounced against David for his transgression, took place; for the child, which he had by Bathsheba, was taken sick, and died. While it was ill, David fasted and prayed for seven days, beseeching the Almighty to preserve its life; but when it was dead, he acknowledged the justness of God, and cheerfully submitting to his will, made his ardent supplications to him, that the remainder of his afflictions might be mixed with mercy. This was, in some measure, complied with; for, in a proper space of time, he had another son by Bathsheba, who, by the direction of the prophet Nathan, was named Solomon (a).

During

(a) The word Solomon is properly derived from *Schalom*, which signifies *peace*, intimating that his reign should be *peace*.

able: but Nathan gave the name of *Jedidiah*, which signifies *the beloved of God*. The scriptures, however, never call him

Joab certifies David of his death.

David takes Bathsheba to wife, and hath a son by her.

Nathan, by an allegorical fable, convinces David of the heinousness of his crime.

Nathan foretels David of the Divine vengeance.

David repents.

David's son by Bathsheba dies.

Birth of Solomon.

During these transactions Joab was carrying on the siege of Rabbah, and renewing his assaults every day. He at length got possession of the works which supplied the city with water. Having thus far distressed the enemy, he dispatched a messenger to acquaint the king, that the city was reduced to the utmost extremity; that it was in no condition to hold out much longer; and therefore he desired him to come in person, that he might have the honour of taking it. David, agreeable to his general's desire, went with a strong reinforcement, took the place by storm, and divided the spoil among his soldiers, reserving only to himself such articles as belonged to the king, among which was the crown, of inestimable value. Having thus reduced the city, he put those, who had held out against him, to the most exquisite torments; and the inhabitants of other places, who would not immediately surrender, he treated with the like severity. Thus were the Ammonites totally subdued by David, who, returning with his army to Jerusalem, was received by the people with the loudest acclamations of joy.

David had been but a short time at Jerusalem, after conquering the Ammonites, before a circumstance occurred in his family that gave him great uneasiness. He had several sons, but only one daughter, a virgin, named Tamar, who was sister to Absalom by the same mother. She was most exquisitely beautiful in her person, and possessed of every female accomplishment. Amnon, the eldest son of David, by another queen, fell desperately in love^(a) with her, and, for some time, pined away with an hopeless desire of obtaining her. At length, by the advice and contrivance of Jonadab, his intimate friend and counsellor, he found means to decoy her into his apartment, when, notwithstanding all her entreaties and expostulations, he first ravished her, and, when his brutish passion was satisfied, in a sudden humour bid her be gone. She for some time remonstrated with him on the ill-treatment she had received, and the ignominy to which she must be exposed; but all remonstrances were in vain; and Amnon, finding her unwilling to go, at length ordered his servants to turn her out of the house.

In this distressed situation Tamar immediately repaired to her brother Absalom, and related to him the whole particulars of what had passed. Absalom, though a man naturally of a high spirit, advised her, as the most prudent method, to be silent on the occasion, because her ravisher was heir apparent to the crown; and he so artfully concealed his own resentment, that the people doubted whether he even knew of the transaction. In the mean time David, having heard of the circumstance, was greatly afflicted; but as Amnon was his eldest and most beloved son, he did not think proper to expose him by punishment.

About two years after this (during which time Tamar resided with her brother) Absalom took the opportunity of revenging the injury done by Amnon to his sister. It being the time of sheep-shearing (which was usually attended with great mirth and jollity) he invited the king, and all the princes of the blood, to come to his country seat at Hazor, to partake of the entertainment. David excused himself, by saying he would not put him to so great a trouble as must consequently follow his attendance. On this Absalom desired he would permit his brothers to come; to which the king readily complied.

by this name, only by that of Solomon; but for what reason we cannot tell, unless we may suppose that the people, being harrassed in war during his father's reign, might be pleased with this name, and use it rather than the other, to intimate their hopes and long desire of peace. And for this reason, among others, it may be inferred, that Solomon was born after the conclusion of the Ammonitish war; though the sacred history takes occasion, from the death of Bathsheba's first-born, to relate that event first. Bathsheba had some time after another son, whom David called Nathan; and it is in him that the two lines of Our Saviour's genealogy unite themselves, who, on Joseph's side, descended from Solomon, and on Mary's, from Nathan. See Matth. i. 6, 7. Luke iii. 31.

(a) It is natural to think that the passion of love is no where so wasting and vexatious, as where it is unlawful. A quick sense of guilt, especially where it is enormous, as in the present

They accordingly went to Hazor, where, while they were engaged in feasting and drinking, the servants of Absalom (who had received previous instructions how to act) suddenly fell on Amnon, and immediately dispatched him.

CHAP. VIII.

To escape his father's resentment, Absalom flies to Geshur. Joab reconciles him to David. Absalom engages in rebellion, and is guilty of breaches of piety and filial duty through the persuasion of Abithophel.

THE unexpected violence on Amnon so alarmed the rest of the princes, that, fearful of meeting the like fate, they precipitately left the place, and fled, with all expedition, to their father's house. A messenger, who was dispatched on the occasion, arriving first at the palace, with a relation of the event, David was thrown into the utmost consternation, supposing that Absalom had killed all his sons; but his fears were soon removed by the arrival of the princes, when a scene of the most affecting nature took place, the father and sons reciprocally greeting each other with tears, and all lamenting the cruel death of Amnon.

In the mean time Absalom, knowing how highly his father would resent this treacherous murder, fled to his mother's relations, and was entertained by his grand-father Talmi, at Geshur. Here he remained three years; at the expiration of which Joab, perceiving that David had a secret desire to see Absalom, projected a scheme for facilitating the accomplishment of his wishes, without exposing him to censure for his conduct. He procured an ancient and artful woman from Tekoah, and having dressed her in mourning, introduced her to the king, with a feigned petition for the life of one of her sons who had killed the other. She related her tale in so apparently an affecting manner, that the king was induced to comply with her request; upon which she told him that the case she had been stating was Absalom's, and that, if he was disposed to shew mercy to a private man, there was much more reason for his pardoning his own son, whose absence the people lamented, and for whom they had the greatest respect.

David easily saw through this piece of artifice, and, on interrogating the woman, found it (as he suspected) to have been concerted by Joab. He therefore sent for him, told him he had gained his point, and ordered him to recall Absalom. Joab, highly pleased with the royal command, immediately went to Geshur, and, without delay, brought Absalom with him to Jerusalem. When the king was informed of his arrival, he ordered him to go to his own house, and there live retired with his family, as he did not yet choose to admit him into his presence; nor would he, by any means, allow him to appear in public.

In this recluse manner did Absalom live for two years with his family, (which consisted of three sons, and one daughter, named Tamar,) when, being tired of his situation, he sent to Joab, intreating him to intercede with his father for a free pardon. Joab, not complying with his request, he sent to him again; but receiving no answer, he ordered some of his people to go to a field of corn belonging to Joab, and set it

instance, strikes the soul with horror; and the impossibility of an innocent gratification loads that horror with desperation. A conflict too cruel and too dreadful for human bearing. Witness the two most remarkable instances of it found in history; that of Antiochus for Stratonice, his mother-in-law; and this of Amnon for Tamar, his sister. Indeed, that of Antiochus appears the less criminal of the two, inasmuch as he seemed determined to conceal his till death, and at the same time to hasten that death to prevent its publication, had not the sagacity of his physician discovered it. Though possibly Amnon had done the same, had not the importunity of his false and subtle friend Jonadab, the son of Shimeah, David's brother, drawn the secret from him. It is lamentable to think that the heirs of royalty, whose virtue is of infinitely more consequence than that of meaner men, should yet be under more temptations to taint it.

David repairs in person to the siege of Rabbah.

Takes it by assault, and divides the spoil.

The Ammonites are totally defeated.

Amnon is enamoured with his sister Tamar.

Ravishes her, and afterwards treats her most inhumanly.

Absalom endeavours to pacify her.

Concerts a plan to take off the spoiler of his sister's honour.

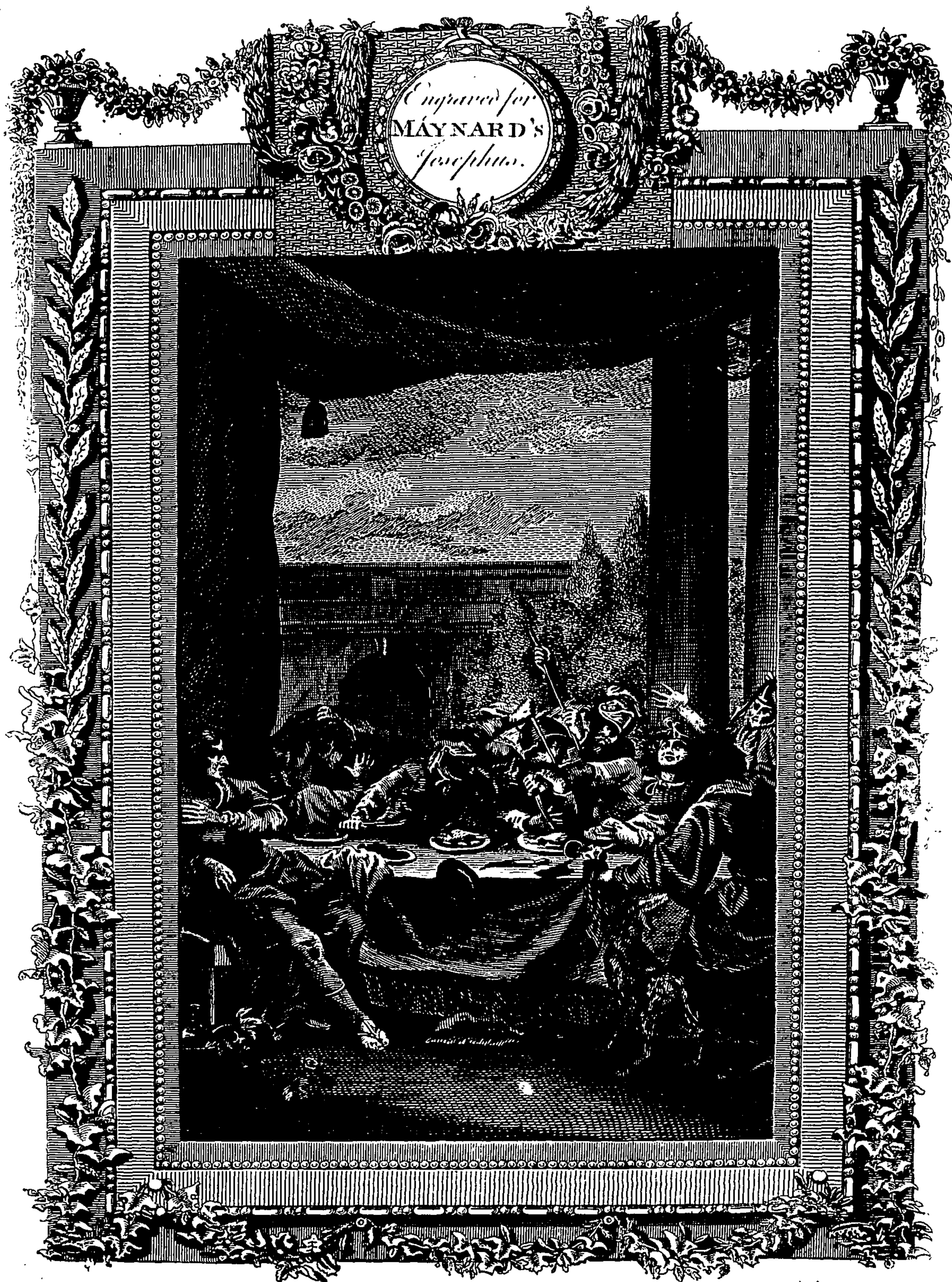
David's brothers pair to their father.

David is relieved from the most distressing apprehensions by the arrival of his sons.

Absalom returns to Geshur.

Joab's design to bring about the reconciliation of David and Absalom.

Joab brings Absalom to Jerusalem.



*The ASSASSINATION of AMNON by order of his —
— Brother, Absalom! —*

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on fire. As soon as Joab was informed of this, he went to Absalom, and asked him why he treated him in that manner? Upon which he answered, "I had no other method of getting a sight of you. I wrote to you about interceding for me to my father, but you have not taken the least notice of it. Let me beseech you to try if you can pacify him; for the manner in which I now live is a greater punishment to me than when I was in exile." This had the desired effect. Joab immediately complied with his request, and so far succeeded, that Absalom was ordered into the king's presence. As soon as he saw his father he fell prostrate on the ground, and, in the most humiliating manner, begged pardon for the offence he had committed. Upon this the king took him by the hand, raised him from the ground, and saluted him, as a token of his forgiveness and royal favour.

Absalom re-instated in the king's favour.

Absalom was, in person, one of the handsomest men in all Israel; nor was his beauty the least impaired by the punishment he had lately undergone. He was remarkable for having a prodigious head of hair, which he had cut once every year; and the quantity was usually so great, that, in general, it weighed about two hundred shekels. This greatly added to the natural beauty of his person; and having a graceful air of address, he was particularly noticed by all ranks of people.

Absalom aspires to the crown.

Courts popularity by dissimulation.

Some time after Absalom was restored to his father's favour (Amnon, his elder brother, being slain, and his second brother dead) he considered himself as presumptive heir to the crown, and thereupon affected a state and equipage greater than usual. He provided himself with chariots and horses, and had a guard of fifty men to attend his person. But notwithstanding all this pomp, he was so obsequious and humble in his manner, as to stoop to the meanest people who had any thing to say to him. He offered his service to all who requested any favour at court; and, at proper opportunities, took the advantage of instilling into the peoples' minds a bad opinion of his father's administration, intimating, that the public affairs were neglected, and that, if he was at the helm, business should be conducted in a very different manner. By these arts and insinuations, which were advantageously seconded by the comeliness of his person, and the familiarity of his address, he gained the hearts of the people, and prepared them for becoming serviceable to his ambitious and treacherous designs.

In the fourth year after the reconciliation took place between David and Absalom, the latter, thinking matters were properly ripe for his purpose, desired leave of his father to go to Hebron, pretending he had made a vow in his exile, that, whenever it should please God to bring him back to Jerusalem, he would offer, in that place, a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving. The king, little suspecting his hidden design, and being desirous that all religious services should be performed, gave him free permission to go, wishing him a good journey, and a safe return.

Goes to Hebron on a preconcerted design.

Absalom accordingly set out for Hebron, accompanied by a great multitude of people, exclusive of his own guards and attendants, who, not knowing his design, went from a pure motive of attending the sacrifice. As soon as he came to Hebron, he sent for Ahithophel, David's counsellor, and dispatched emissaries into different parts to sound the inclination of the several tribes, and to exhort those, whom they should gain over to his party, to be ready to take up arms, as soon as they should hear that he was proclaimed king.

Ahithophel becomes a principal conspirator.

These emissaries proved very successful in their embassy. Absalom was the darling of the people, who, on the summons, flocked to him from every part; and, being proclaimed king in Hebron, a general insurrection took place.

Absalom is proclaimed king.

In the mean time David, having received intelligence of his son's treachery, and the great success he had met with among the people, thought it not safe to continue any longer in Jerusalem. Leaving, therefore, his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, he set out with a design of retiring beyond Jordan, taking with him the six hundred troops who had so closely stuck by him during the time he was perse-

David departs from Jerusalem.

cuted by Saul, and accompanied by a great number of his most intimate and sincere friends.

When Zadock and Abiathar, the high-priests, understood that David was about to leave Jerusalem, they took out the ark of the Lord to accompany him in his distress; but he desired them to carry it back, and to continue in Jerusalem, as they might be useful in giving him intelligence of the enemy's motions and designs; while their own characters were too sacred to fear any violence from the usurper. Ahimaaz, the son of Zadock, and Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, he left with their fathers, knowing them to be strictly devoted to his interest; but Ittai, the Gittite, who was no less his friend, would not leave him, notwithstanding David earnestly pressed him to continue in the city.

The high priest and Levites desire to accompany him, but are refused.

As David was ascending Mount Olivet, walking barefoot, and the company about him weeping, he received intelligence that Ahithophel was gone over to the faction of Absalom. This gave him great uneasiness, well knowing his distinguished abilities as a statesman; upon which he prayed to God so to infatuate Ahithophel, that he might be deprived of his powers, and thereby rendered useless to his rebellious son and rival.

David hears of the defection of Ahithophel.

When David had got to the top of the mount, he espied his faithful friend and counsellor Hushai, who had followed him unknown, and, with all expressions of sorrow at seeing him in such distress, earnestly intreated that he might share with him in his fortune. But David enjoined him to return, telling him he would be more serviceable to him in the city, by pretending to adhere to Absalom, and by defeating the counsels of Ahithophel, who was engaged in his son's measures, and from whose great abilities he thought himself in the utmost danger.

Encounters Hushai, a confidential adherent of David.

David had scarce passed over Mount Olivet, when Ziba, whom he had made steward to Mephibosheth, his friend Jonathan's son, accosted him, and presented him with a considerable quantity of wine and other provisions. David asked him where his master was; to which the perfidious wretch replied, he had left him in Jerusalem, where he determined to remain, in hopes, from the present broils, of being himself chosen king. The too credulous David, in this general distraction of his affairs, believing the accusation to be true, made an hasty grant of all Mephibosheth's estate to the base and treacherous Ziba.

Ziba falsely accuses the master, and gains his estate.

When David came near to Behurim, a city belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, one Shimei, a descendant of the family of Saul, who lived there, threw stones at him, and, in the hearing of the whole multitude, loaded him with the bitterest reproaches. This so irritated Absalom, that he begged permission to dispatch the rebel for his insolence; but David would not, by any means, suffer him to commit such a violence. He bore all with great patience and resignation to the Divine will, being conscious of his own guilt in the case of Uriah, and of the Divine justice in thus punishing him for his transgressions.

Shimei curses David, who restrains the resentment of Absalom.

While David was at Behurim, Absalom, and his party, entered Jerusalem, and were received with the general acclamations of the people. Hushai, not forgetting the instructions given him by David, went to Absalom, complimented him on the occasion, and offered him his services. The latter, knowing that Hushai was his father's friend and counsellor, at first bantered him for pretending to desert his old master; but Hushai excused himself in such a manner, and answered all his questions with such subtilties, that Absalom's jealousy ceased, and he admitted him a member of his privy-council.

Hushai perfidiously goes over to Absalom.

Absalom, placing his dependance chiefly on the abilities of Ahithophel, sent for him to consult what measures were most proper to pursue, in order to establish him on his father's throne. The treacherous statesman advised him, first, to lie publicly with David's concubines; "for (says he) by so doing, you will convince the people that a reconciliation can never take place between you and your father; the consequence of which will be, that the soldiers will exert their utmost endeavours in your behalf. They have hitherto been fearful of openly espousing your cause, being apprehensive that if a reconciliation should take place, they might fall victims to your father's resentment." This advice being

Ahithophel's treacherous counsel to Absalom.

Abfalom
impiously
follows.

being approved of by Abfalom, he ordered a tent to be immediately erected on the top of the palace, where (as had been foretold by the prophet Nathan) he lay with his father's concubines in the presence of the people.

CHAP. IX.

Abfalom rejects the counsel of Ahithophel, who hangs himself in the rage of disappointment. Abfalom engages the army of his father, is defeated and slain by Joab.

Ahitho-
phel's coun-
sel for tak-
ing off the
king sud-
denly.

Hushai op-
poses the
counsel of
Ahithophel.

It is univer-
sally ap-
proved.

Hushai ac-
quainteth
David with
what passed,
by means of
the high-
priests' sons.

They are
concealed in
a well.

They come
safe to Da-
vid.

David passes
the river
Jordan.

HAVING thus far followed the advice of Ahithophel, Abfalom next asked him, what steps he thought most proper to take, in prosecuting the war against his father. Ahithophel asked for ten thousand choice men, with whom, he said, he would set off that very night in pursuit of David: that as his guards must, from the great fatigue of marching, be unable to make any material resistance, he should consequently reduce them to immediate subjection; and he doubted not of bringing back with him the head of David, as a proof of his conquest. Though this proposition was not disapproved of by Abfalom, yet he did not chuse to have it carried into execution, without consulting Hushai. He accordingly sent for him to attend the council; when being informed of what had passed, he did not seem to disapprove of Ahithophel's proposal; but, at the same time, gave it as his opinion, that it would be better to delay the attempt till they had got together a more considerable army: "For (says he) as David and his men are known to be brave, and at this time both exasperated and desperate, if they should defeat the party sent against them, it would be the means of discouraging others, and be thought a very inauspicious beginning; whereas, if you postpone the attempt till you have got together a more numerous army, there is not the least doubt but your efforts will be crowned with success." This advice being universally approved of by the council, it was admitted in preference to that given by Ahithophel.

As soon as the council broke up, Hushai hastened to Zadock and Abiathar, the high-priests, to whom he related all that had passed; and at the same time desired them immediately to dispatch messengers to David, acquainting him with every particular, and advising him instantly to pass the river Jordan, lest Abfalom should change his mind, and, by falling on him suddenly, obtain a victory.

The high priests immediately dispatched their sons on this important business; but, being seen on the way by some of Abfalom's party, whom they found pursuing them, they went out of their road to the habitation of a poor woman, who, in order to conceal them, let them down into a well, and covered the mouth of it with the skins of beasts. When the pursuers arrived, they asked the woman if she had not seen two men lately pass that way; to which she replied in the affirmative, and said, if they were expeditious, they might soon overtake them. They accordingly went some way farther, but not seeing any thing of the people they were after, they gave over the pursuit, and returned by the woman's house in their way to Jerusalem. As soon as the woman found all was safe, she assisted her guests in getting out of the well, and they prosecuted their journey with the utmost expedition. When they arrived at the camp of David, they immediately delivered to him their dispatches; in consequence of which he decamped by break of day, passed the river Jordan, and marched to Mahanaim, a city of Gilead, where he was kindly entertained by the chief of the people, who furnished him with every article necessary for the accommodation of himself and army.

Ahithophel was so irritated at the thoughts of Hushai's counsel being admitted in preference to his, that he determined no longer to assist Abfalom with his advice. He accordingly left Jerusalem, and went to his family at Galmon, the place of his re-

fidence. As soon as he had got home, he assembled all his people together, to whom he related the advice he had given to Abfalom, and the disregard he had paid to it, which, he said, would, in a short time, prove his destruction. He told them, that David would prove victorious, and would be soon reinstated in his kingdom. "Therefore (says he) it is better for me that I put a period to my existence willingly and courageously, than to come under the power of David, and be made an example, by an ignominious death, for having conspired with Abfalom." After saying this, he retired to a private chamber, where he first made his will, and then hanged himself.

In the mean time Abfalom, having got together a very considerable army, (the command of which he gave to Amasa, a relation by marriage,) he left Jerusalem, and passed the river Jordan, in pursuit of his father. David, hearing of his son's approach, and foreseeing that a battle was unavoidable, divided his army into three bodies. The first was commanded by Joab; the second by his brother Abishai; and the third by his old friend Ittai, the Gittite. David intended to have gone with them himself; but, by the importunities of the people, he was prevailed on to stay at Mahanaim. He was, in all probability, more easily dissuaded from his intentions than he otherwise would have been, because the battle was to be against a son, for whom he still retained a tender affection; as a proof of this, he gave the three generals a strict charge, in the hearing of the soldiers, that, in case Abfalom should fall into their hands, they would, for his sake, not only spare his life, but treat him in a manner consistent with the dignity of a royal captive.

The two armies met on a plain near the wood of Ephraim, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh. The battle was exceeding desperate for some time; the one party fighting for the recovery of what they had lost, and the other for the defence and maintenance of what they had got. At length victory declared in favour of David; the army of Abfalom, though much superior in numbers, being totally routed, and put to flight. The loyalists behaved so gallantly that 20,000 of the rebels were killed on the spot, besides great numbers in the pursuit; and the slaughter would doubtless have been carried much farther, had not Abfalom (who was the chief cause of all this mischief) been overtaken and slain. His hair (as we have before observed) was of a prodigious length and thickness, and, as he was in his flight from the enemy, mounted on a mule, and riding with great speed under the trees, with his hair flying about from the quickness of the motion, it entangled on one of the boughs in such a manner, that it lifted him from the saddle, and the beast, continuing its speed, left him suspended in the air, and unable to disengage himself.

In this situation was Abfalom found by one of the soldiers belonging to David's army, who telling it Joab, he blamed him for not having killed him; but the man, in excuse, urged the command which he had heard the king give the generals, to be very tender and careful of his son should he fall into their hands. Upon this Joab commanded the man to direct him to the place where Abfalom was hanging, whither he had no sooner arrived, than he gave him his death's wound with a javelin, and ordered the people who attended immediately to dispatch him. This was accordingly done; after which Joab founded a retreat to prevent any farther effusion of blood, and to give Abfalom's party an opportunity of escaping to their respective homes.

Thus fell the wicked and rebellious Abfalom, whose body, instead of an honourable interment fit for a prince, was taken down, and thrown into a pit, which being filled up, was covered with a heap of stones by way of sepulchre.

Abfalom had, some time before he rebelled against his father, erected (a) pillar of marble, on a spot called the King's Dale, about two furlongs from Jerusalem. He named it the *Hand of Abfalom*, and

(a) Abfalom, having lost his sons, and being desirous to perpetuate his memory, had erected a pillar, which, no doubt,

he designed as a mausoleum, or burying-place, and which, it is reasonable to imagine, was equally magnificent with the ambi-

Ahithophel, on Abfalom's rejecting his counsel, goes home and hangs himself.

2 Sam. xiii. Abfalom pursues his father.

David sends out his soldiers to battle.

Continues himself at Mahanaim.

The armies meet and come to action.

The rebel army is defeated, and put to flight.

Abfalom cannot help the king his father a tree.

Abfalom's pillar of marble.

and was accustomed to say, that if all his children should perish, that column would perpetuate his memory to future ages.

He had three sons, besides a daughter, named Tamar, one of the most beautiful women of the age in which she lived. She was afterwards married to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, by whom she bore a son, who succeeded to the kingdom.

CHAP. X.

David laments the death of Absalom. His return to Jerusalem. Is reconciled to Shimei, and returns Mephibosheth half his possessions. Sheba raises an insurrection; upon which David sends Amasa against him, who is treacherously murdered by Joab. Sheba's rebellion suppressed, and Amasa's head brought to David. The Israelites afflicted with a famine. Are again punished with a pestilence, on account of David having numbered the people.

AS soon as the army of David had obtained a complete victory over that of Absalom, Ahimaaz, the son of Zadock, the high-priest, begged of Joab that he might be immediately dispatched with the glad tidings to the king. Joab, at first, did not think proper to comply with his request; but sent a person, named Chusi, in his stead. Ahimaaz still soliciting Joab to let him go, he at length complied; when Ahimaaz, knowing the nearest way, and being more alert than Chusi, got first to David's camp. He found the king sitting at the gate of the city, waiting, with anxious expectation, to know the event of the battle. As soon as David saw him, he hastily asked, "What news from the army?" To which Ahimaaz replied, "Great success, and victory." David then asked, what was become of his son Absalom: to which the other replied, he could not inform him, having been dispatched in such haste, that his orders were only to carry the news of the victory; and that, at his departure, the name of his son was not even mentioned. By this time Chusi arrived; when the king, asking him what was become of his son, he replied, "As it is with him, so may it be with all the enemies of my lord the king."

These words struck David to the heart, and all the joy of victory was immediately turned into sorrow. He withdrew himself to the top of one of the highest turrets in the city, where he gave a vent to his grief, by beating his breast, tearing his hair, and thus exclaiming: "Oh! my son Absalom! my son Absalom! Would to God I could have died for thee, my son!" As for the army, instead of returning in triumph, they stole silently into the city, as if they had done amiss, and, instead of obtaining, had lost the battle.

David was so affected at the loss of his son, that he gave himself up to the deepest melancholy. This was easily perceived by Joab, who being sensible that such excessive grief, at this juncture of affairs, would be of great prejudice to the king, went boldly to his apartment, and expostulated with him on his conduct in the following terms:

"My Lord (says he) you dishonour yourself by this ridiculous and effeminate lamentation. It appears as if you detested the very people, who have preserved your life at the hazard of their own; and that you respect those mortal enemies who have suffered a punishment they justly deserved. If Absalom had overcome us, and possessed himself of the kingdom, he would have begun his vengeance on you and your family, and the whole of us should have fallen in an undistinguished ruin. Both your conscience and your honour ought to check you for this intemperate tenderness for the memory of so implacable an enemy. 'Tis true, he was your son; but he was certainly a most ungracious one; and you cannot be just to God's providence, without acknowledging the blessing

of his being taken away. Let me, therefore, beg that you will immediately shew yourself cheerfully to your people, and tell them that, next under God, it is owing to their loyalty and courage, you are indebted for the honour of this day. If you persist in your lamentations, your army and kingdom will fall into other hands, and then you will have just cause to weep and lament your absurd conduct."

This speech had the desired effect: the king was roused from his melancholy, and appeared in public, to the great satisfaction of his subjects. He was, however, greatly offended with Joab, for the blunt manner in which he had chastised him; and, as he had thought himself insolently treated by him on several other occasions, he resolved, from this time, to take the first opportunity he could of dismissing him from his military services.

Those of David's subjects, who had appeared in arms against him, being now made fully sensible of the folly of their rebellion, became the forwardest in shewing their loyalty: but, what greatly afflicted David was, his own tribe (that of Judah) appearing very indifferent. In consequence of this he sent to Zadock and Abiathar, the high-priests, not only to remind them of their own duty, but to authorize them likewise to treat with Amasa, who had commanded Absalom's army, and was a man of great authority in the tribe. David told them to offer Amasa a free pardon, and to assure him, that if he would come fully into his interest, he should be placed in the same character that he had been in under Absalom. The high-priests strictly obeyed the king's orders; and Amasa, being satisfied with the promise made him, was readily brought over to the interest of David.

All things thus conspiring to David's happy restoration, he left Mahanaim, and set forward on his journey towards Jerusalem. He was attended by the chiefs of the respective tribes; but those of Judah were now the most forward in shewing their loyalty. They went before him to the banks of the river Jordan, and, assisted by some others belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, laid a bridge over the river, for the better convenience of his passing it with his troops.

Among many others, who came to meet David on this occasion, was Shimei, the Benjamite, who, but a short time before, had loaded him with curses and imprecations. He was attended by a thousand men of his own tribe, whom he brought with him as witnesses of his humiliation for his past conduct. As soon as he saw David he threw himself at his feet, begged pardon for the indignities he had put upon him, and hoped that his early repentance, and return to his allegiance, would, in some measure, atone for his past transgression. Abishai would willingly have had him put to death; but David strongly objected to this proposition, saying, he would not eclipse the public joy with the blood of any one. He therefore gave him his royal word and oath that no harm whatever should come to him on his account; upon which assurance Shimei made his reverence, and departed.

The next distinguished person who appeared before David was Mephibosheth, the grandson of Saul. He was dressed in a very mean habit, with his hair dishevelled, and his clothes rent, in which state he had remained ever since the king's departure from Jerusalem. Having prostrated himself before David, and done him reverence, the king asked him, "Why he did not follow him, and make himself a companion of his flight and troubles?" Mephibosheth replied, that it was owing to the injustice of Ziba, his servant, who, instead of getting things ready for his journey, as he had desired, totally neglected him, and rather treated him as his slave than his master. That he refused getting him his ass to ride on, though he knew, from his great lameness, it was impossible for him to walk. "But, (says he,) this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me: he has also raised calumnies, and forged lies to

Joab's bold and animated reproof has a good effect on the mind of David.

The insurgents recant.

The tribe of Judah lukewarm in the interest of David.

Amasa, tho' means of the high-priest, is brought over to David.

As also the tribe of Judah.

Shimei meets David, and humbles himself before him.

Obtains the royal pardon.

Mephibosheth's humiliation and apology for the want of loyalty.

tion of him who reared it. But see how short sighted are mortals. The same Absalom, so far from being buried in this proud monument which he had erected, was killed and buried

like a traitor, thrown into a pit, and covered with no other monument than a heap of stones.

“ provoke my lord and master against me. But I know thou art so righteously disposed, and such a lover of truth, that thou wilt not give credit to unjust detractions.” Having said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba. He told him, that, believing him to be negligent in his duty, he had given all his possessions to Ziba; but he now forgave him, and promised that one half (a) of his estate should be restored to him. Mephibosheth replied, “ Let Ziba possess the whole: it is enough for me that my lord has recovered his kingdom.”

Barzillai congratulates David on his restoration.

Is promised great things by the king, but desires to go home.

Another remarkable person who came to wait on David, and pay his respects to him before he passed the river Jordan, was one Barzillai, who had been very kind to him in his exile, and constantly supplied him with provisions while he continued at Mahanaim. After he had paid the king reverence, David, in gratitude for his kindness, invited him to go with him to Jerusalem. Barzillai modestly excused himself, saying, that from his great age (being near fourscore) he had lost the relish of the pleasures of a court, and rather desired that he might retire to his own estate, and spend the remainder of his days in preparing himself for a happy dissolution. David admitted his request; but desired that he would leave with him his son, Chimham, on whom he would bestow some distinguished favours. This being agreed to, Barzillai left his son, and, after paying reverence to the king, and wishing him success in his undertakings, departed to his own home.

Leaves his son at the court. Contention between the princes of Israel and the tribe of Judah.

An insurrection of the other tribes, headed by Sheba.

The tribe of Judah adheres to David's interest.

David expels the concubines from court.

Amasa made commander in chief instead of Joab.

He delays, and Joab is sent against the insurgents.

David, having passed the river Jordan, was desirous of making all possible haste to Jerusalem; and, as the tribe of Judah was the first that came to conduct him home, he (probably to gratify them) marched on without waiting for the great men of Israel, who were flocking from all parts in order to join him. This circumstance occasioned some dispute between the princes of Israel and those of Judah; and as the king was unwilling to displease either party, and therefore did not think proper to interfere in the controversy, several of the tribes of Israel took umbrage at it, and an insurrection ensued. Sheba, of the tribe of Benjamin (a man of a factious and turbulent spirit, and probably a descendant of Saul) made public proclamation, by the sound of trumpet, that, “ since the tribe of Judah had engrossed David to themselves, they might even take him; and since all the other tribes had visibly deserted, the wisest way would be to stand to their arms, and take such measures as were most proper for their own security.” In consequence of this many of the tribes followed Sheba; but the men of Judah persisted in their loyalty, and conducted the king to Jerusalem.

The first thing David did, after his arrival in the city, was to clear his palace of his concubines, who had been defiled by Absalom. They were accordingly removed to a building appointed for the purpose, where they were supplied, by the king's especial command, with all things necessary for their subsistence. In this place they were kept during the remainder of their lives, the king never after having the least intercourse with them.

David, having appointed Amasa his general instead of Joab, ordered him to gather together what troops he could from the tribe of Judah, and bring them to him in three days, that he might give him the sole command of them, with orders to march against Sheba. Amasa found more difficulty in executing this order than was expected; and not having accomplished it at the time limited, David sent Joab, accompanied by his brother Abishai, with his guards, and the company of six hundred men, in quest of Sheba, desiring him, as soon as possible, to join his army with that of Amasa, and engage the rebels, lest they should secure themselves in some fortified place, from whence it might be difficult to rout them.

(a) By David's disposal of half Mephibosheth's estate to Ziba, one would imagine that he was much dissatisfied, and doubtful whether Mephibosheth's story was entirely true or not. Nor does David now invite him to diet with him, as he did before, but only forgives him as if he had been wholly guilty. Nor is this odd way of mourning that Mephibosheth made use of, here, and

Joab resolved to make no delay; but taking with him his brother, and the troops assigned him, marched in quest of Sheba. When they came to a village called Gibeon, about forty furlongs from Jerusalem, they met with Amasa, who was marching, with all expedition, at the head of a considerable army. As Amasa was to take upon him the sovereign command of the whole troops, Joab advanced with all seeming friendship to salute him on the occasion. In his way he designedly caused his sword to fall from the scabbard, which he took up, and kept naked in his right-hand till he closely approached to Amasa, when, taking him by the beard with his left-hand, as if going to salute him, he, with the other, plunged the sword into his heart, and he immediately expired.

Joab perishes doubly by Amasa.

Joab then ordered a proclamation to be made throughout the army, that Amasa was a bad man, and that he had served him only according to his deserts. As the body of the deceased particularly attracted the notice of the people, Joab, fearful it might produce bad consequences, ordered it to be removed to a private place at some distance; after which he took the command of the troops, and marched, with all expedition, in pursuit of Sheba.

In the mean time Sheba had applied to all the tribes of Israel, to try if he could prevail with them to take up arms against David; but finding very few who were willing to engage in his measures, he was forced at last to shut himself up in Abel, a fortified town belonging to the tribe of Naphtali, in the northern part of Judea.

As soon as Joab received intelligence of Sheba's retreat, he immediately marched to the place, laid siege to it, and made the necessary preparations for an assault: but he was prevented from executing his design by the interposition of a woman, who, getting on the top of the walls, called to the besiegers, and desired she might be permitted to speak to their general.

Joab besieges Abel, where Sheba had retired.

This being granted, Joab approached the walls within hearing, when the woman addressed him as follows: “ It has (says she) been always a custom, founded on the law of God, that whenever the Hebrews came before any city, to offer peace in the first place, even though the inhabitants were of another nation; much more ought it to be done to a people, who are all of the same blood, and the greatest part of them loyal subjects to the king.” Joab replied, “ He had not any ill design against the people of the city; all he required was, that they would deliver up the rebel Sheba, on doing which he would immediately raise the siege, and draw off his army. The woman begged him to desist for a short time, and his request should be complied with, for that the head of Sheba should be thrown to him from the battlements. She then went to the principal people of the city, and expostulated with them to this effect: “ Will ye, (said she,) like traitors, suffer your wives and children to perish for the sake of a villain, whom none of you know? What has Sheba done for you that can balance the obligations you lie under to David? Or, setting aside all other arguments, how can you be so unreasonable as to suppose that you are able to resist the force of so powerful an army as is even now before you? Be quick in your determination, for on that depends either your safety or immediate ruin.” This had the desired effect: Sheba was immediately seized, his head cut off, and thrown over the walls to the soldiers. Joab, according to his promise, immediately raised the siege, and taking with him the head of Sheba, returned with his troops to Jerusalem. David was so pleased with his services on this occasion, that he laid aside his former wrath, and reinstated him in his office of captain-general of his army.

The city saved by the mediation of a woman.

Sheba's head thrown over the walls.

Joab returns to Jerusalem.

Some time after this there happened a most dreadful famine throughout the whole country; and the

2 Sam. xix. 24. wholly free from suspicion of hypocrisy. If Ziba neglected or refused to bring Mephibosheth an ass of his own, on which he might ride to David, it is unreasonable to suppose that so great a man as he was should not be able to procure some other beast for the same purpose.

long continuance of it (which was for three years) made David suspect it did not proceed from any common cause, but that it was inflicted by the immediate hand of God. He accordingly consulted the Divine oracle, to know the occasion of it, and received for answer, that it arose from Saul's cruelty to the Gibeonites, in having killed great numbers contrary to a treaty which had been sacrilegiously made between him and them. In consequence of this, David sent to the Gibeonites, to know what satisfaction they desired; who returned for answer, that, they expected he would deliver into their hands seven of Saul's posterity. David immediately complied with their demand, by sending two sons of Rizpah, Saul's concubine, and five of Michal, his eldest daughter, choosing to preserve Mephibosheth, from the great respect he had for his father (a). These seven being delivered to the Gibeonites, they put them to death by hanging them on gibbets (b); and soon after the Almighty sent down rain (the want of which had occasioned the famine) to nourish the earth. The ground was no longer parched; the country again flourished, and its accustomed productions appeared in abundance.

The calamity of the famine was no sooner removed, than David's attention was engaged in opposing the Philistines, who, though they had been greatly humbled in the beginning of his reign, having yet some gigantic men among them, again waged war against him. He accordingly marched out at the head of a considerable army, and engaging them, obtained a compleat victory. In this rencounter, however, he narrowly escaped with his life: for one of the Philistines (a man of so large a size, that his lance weighed three hundred shekels) seeing David alone, and quite spent, turned short, and suddenly struck him to the ground: but Abishai, the brother of Joab, coming at the precise moment to his relief, not only preserved the king, but killed the Philistine. The whole army were so sensible of the king's danger, and the interposition of Providence for his safety, that the officers bound him, by an oath, never from that time, personally to engage in battle, lest his natural courage should involve him in the like, or worse misfortunes, by means of which the nation would sustain an irreparable loss, and the people be deprived of those distinguished blessings they had continually experienced under his government (c).

Notwithstanding this defeat, the Philistines were still determined to disturb the peace of Israel. They rallied their forces, and three other engagements took place between them and the army of David, in all which the Philistines were defeated, and, among great numbers of others, four of their gigantic men were slain by David's officers. The last conquest sickened the Philistines, and they relinquished all farther thoughts of interrupting the Israelites.

David being now at leisure from the toils of war, employed his time in composing hymns and psalms, in different measures (such as trimeters and pentameters) to the glory of God. These he ordered to

be sung by the Levites on their sabbaths, and other festivals, accompanied with several musical instruments he had provided for the purpose.

The chief of these instruments were, a ten stringed harp, which was touched with a quill; a psaltery of twelve strings, played upon with the fingers; and several large cymbals of brass.

The king had at this time about him great numbers of men of the most approved courage, thirty-seven of whom he called his *Worthies*, they having performed exploits of the most dangerous and surprising nature. Of these we shall only take notice of the actions of five, by which a tolerable idea may be formed of the achievements of the rest.

The first of these was Itham, the son of Achem, who, in one encounter, broke into the ranks of the enemy, and, with his own hands, laid 800 dead at his feet.

The next was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who distinguished himself for his great valour and strength, in an engagement at which David was present. The Philistines were so numerous, that the Israelites gave way and fled; but Eleazar maintained his ground, and encountering the enemy, made such a dreadful slaughter among them, that his sword in a manner stuck to his right hand with their blood. This example of bravery animated the whole army, who immediately returned, and falling vigorously on the Philistines, they were totally defeated, and the greater part slain.

The third was Sebas, the son of Hus. This chief also, in an engagement with the Philistines, maintained his ground with such courage, after the Israelites had given way, that he put them to flight, and, from his valour, obtained a compleat conquest. These three heroes, besides the feats already mentioned, performed one of a very singular nature in conjunction. The army of the Philistines lay in the valley of Rephaim, between David's camp and Bethlehem, where they had likewise a garrison. David intimated a desire of having some water from the well of Bethlehem, which being heard by these three chiefs, they found their way through the enemy's camp, and having drawn some water out of the well, returned uninterrupted (the Philistines staring at them with distinguished amazement as they passed) and presented it to the king. When David understood at what price it had been purchased, even at the most imminent hazard of their lives, he would not touch it, but giving God thanks for their safety, poured it on the ground as an offering to the Lord.

The fourth of these champions was Abishai, the brother of Joab, who, in one day, slew 300 of the Philistines with his own hands.

The fifth and last we shall mention was Benaiah, a man of a sacerdotal family. He was challenged by two brothers (Moabites) famous for their military exploits, whom he fought and slew. He likewise engaged with an Egyptian, a man of prodigious strength and size. His adversary was well provided with arms, and himself almost defenceless; but closing

(a) David had given Saul his oath "that he would not cut off his seed after him, nor destroy his name out of his father's house." Had Saul's family committed crimes worthy of death, David's oath would have been no reason against punishing them according to their deserts; and such punishment, if deserved, had been no breach of his oath. If David did not cut off his seed after him, so as to destroy his name out of his father's house, he did not violate his oath to Saul. Now David did not cut off one single person of Saul's family, whose death had a tendency to destroy his name out of his father's house. The seed is always reckoned by the males, and not the females of a family; and the name in a father's house could only be preserved by the male's descendants. But David gave up only two bastards, the sons of Rizpah, Saul's concubine, who were not the legal seed of Saul; and five of the sons of his eldest daughter by Adriel (who could only keep up Adriel's name, and not Saul's;) and hereby observed, without the least violation, his oath to Saul. Not one of the persons he surrendered was capable of succeeding Saul, especially whilst any of the male branches were alive. Now, at this very time, Mephibosheth, Jonathan's eldest son, dwelt in David's family at Jerusalem; and though lame in his feet, yet he was found enough to be the father of a son named Micha, who was at this time old enough to have children, and, indeed, had afterwards four sons, from whom descended a

numerous posterity, amounting in the whole (sons and grandsons included) to not less than one hundred and fifty. This was undoubtedly a farther proof that David did not violate his oath to Saul in his treaty with the Gibeonites; but, on the contrary, that he took every measure his thoughts could project of strictly preserving it.

(b) The sacred text informs us, that, as soon as Rizpah knew of this, she had a tent, made of sackcloth, pitched near the place, in which she resided, and kept watch night and day, to prevent the birds and beasts from doing any hurt to the dead bodies. That when David was informed of her pious care, he was moved thereby to take up the bones of Saul, and Jonathan his son, (which had been buried under a tree at Jabesh-Gilead) and, together with these seven sufferers of the same family, gave them an honourable interment in the sepulchre of Kish, the father of Saul, at Zelah, in the county of Benjamin.

(c) The prohibition of David's going again to battle is thus beautifully expressed in the scriptures: "Thou shalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Israel;" 2 Sam. xxi. 17. Good kings are, in scripture, justly called the light of the people, (1 Kings xi. 36.) because the beauty and glory, the conduct and direction, the comfort and safety, and welfare of a people, depend on, and are derived from, good kings.

with

famine on
account of
Saul's cruelty
to the
Gibeonites.

When the
Gibeonites
had received
satisfaction,
the famine
ceases.

David ad-
vances a-
gainst the
Philistines
and routs
them.

His life is
saved in the
battle by A-
bishai.

The Phi-
listines rally
again, but
are defeated
in three en-
gagements.

David ap-
plies him-
self to the
composition
of psalms.

David's
mighty men
with their
gallant ex-
ploits.

1. Itham.

2. Eleazar.

3. Sebas.

4. Abishai.

5. Benaiah.

with him, he wrested his spear from his hands, and killed him with his own weapon. But he performed another achievement still more extraordinary than the former. A lion had fallen into a pit from whence he could not extricate himself; and there being at the same time a deep snow, the mouth of the pit (being narrow) was almost closed, which occasioned the lion to let up a most hideous roar. Benaiah, directed by the noise, went to the place, and immediately descending into the pit, struck the lion with his club, and killed him.

Such were the exploits performed by these five champions; and the other thirty-two were no less distinguished for their military prowess.

David, whatever was the occasion of it, suddenly took it into his head that he would know the number of his people, forgetting the command of Moses, who had said, that, on such occasions, there should be an oblation of half a shekel by the head offered to the Lord. He accordingly gave orders to his chief officers to go through the whole kingdom, and bring him an account of all the people. Joab endeavoured to remonstrate against it, in a manner more modest than was customary with him: but the king's orders were positive; upon which Joab, with other officers to assist him, began on the east side of the river Jordan, went round by the other parts of Canaan, and returned to Jerusalem at the end of nine months and twenty days. By the estimate he brought there appeared to be 800,000 men fit to bear arms, and 500,000 in the tribe of Judah only; exclusive of the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, whom he had not numbered.

David had no sooner received the account than his heart misgave him. He knew he had offended the Almighty in what he had done, and intreated pardon by the most fervent prayers and supplication. Soon after the prophet Gad was sent to him with an offer of three things for his choice; namely, a seven years famine; a persecution from his enemies for three months; or a pestilence for three days. The choice of such great evils exceedingly perplexed and confounded David. "If (says he) I choose the famine, it will appear as if I had more care for myself than my people, as it is very unlikely I should be distressed for the want of bread. If I choose a course of unsuccessful battles with the enemy, it will appear the same, having strong holds and castles to which I can fly for safety. But for the last, it is a calamity common as well to kings as subjects, and which strikes terror into all without distinction. I had rather fall into the hands of God, than those of our enemies." David having made choice of the pestilence, God was pleased to send it immediately among the people, and it raged with such irresistible violence, that in a very short time it took off no less than 70,000 souls. It began in the extreme part of the kingdom, and made hasty advances towards Jerusalem, which, when the king and the inhabitants heard, they clothed themselves in sackcloth, and, with all humility, cried unto God for mercy.

A little before the offering up of the evening sacrifice, there appeared an angel (a) over Jerusalem, brandishing a flaming sword, as if going to destroy it; upon which David exclaimed, "Lord, punish the shepherd, but preserve the sheep: pour down thy wrath on me and my family, but let me beseech of thee to spare the innocent people; for 'tis I alonewho have offended thee." The Almighty was pleased to listen to his prayers, by immediately putting a stop to the pestilence. He also ordered David, by the mouth of the prophet Gad, to go, without delay, to the threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, there to erect an altar, and offer up sacrifices. David obeyed the Divine commands; and when he came to the place found Araunah threshing his corn, who no sooner saw David than he ran to meet him, and after paying reverence, asked him

why he came there, and what commands he had for his servant. "I came (says David) to purchase your threshing-floor, in order to raise an altar on it, and to offer sacrifices to God." Araunah replied, "Not only my threshing-floor, but all that I have is at my lord's service gratis; and I humbly beseech God that he will be pleased to accept your sacrifice." David thanked him for his generous offers; but told him, he could not accept of them; for that it must be a purchase, and not a gift, as it would not be right to offer a sacrifice at the expence of another. He therefore gave him fifty shekels of silver for the threshing-floor and some oxen, and immediately offered up sacrifices to God, who, in consequence thereof, was pleased to reinstate him in his favour. This was the place where Abraham brought his son Isaac to sacrifice; but just as he was about to commit the deed, there suddenly appeared a ram, which he took, and sacrificed instead of his son.

David was so happy in the thoughts of his prayers being received by the Almighty, and his sacrifices accepted, that, as a memento, he called the whole place *The Altar of the People*, and resolved to build a temple in it to the honour of God. This was agreeable to what was afterwards predicted by the Almighty, who sent his prophet to tell David, that a temple should be built in that place by his son, who should succeed him in the government of Israel. In consequence of this prediction he thought his time could not be better employed, than in making some necessary preparations for so great a work. He therefore appointed people to take an account of all the strangers in his dominions, then number of whom, upon an estimate given, amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand. Of these he appointed eighty thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest to be labourers, except three thousand five hundred, who were to act as superintendants over the rest. He likewise got together great quantities of iron, brass, and cedar wood; the latter of which, by his particular request, was sent him from Tyre and Sidon. When his friends asked him the cause of his gathering together all these materials, he told them, they were to lie by till his son should have occasion for them in building the temple, when it would both save time, and be the means of expediting the work; for as yet he was too young and inexperienced to enter upon so important an undertaking.

CHAP. XI.

David gives Solomon orders for the building of a temple. Adonijah claims the succession. His schemes are frustrated. David causes Solomon to be anointed king. Addresses the people and his son Solomon, who is declared king a second time.

SOME time after this David summoned together the princes of the respective tribes, accompanied by his son Solomon; to the latter of whom he gave a strict charge, that, as soon as he came to the throne, he would immediately enter upon the building of a temple to the honour and worship of God. "I would have done it (says he) myself, but being frequently in war, and consequently polluted with blood, I was expressly forbidden by the Divine command, and the work reserved for you, my son, whom God has predicted shall succeed me in the kingdom. Let me, therefore, beseech you, since the Almighty, even before you was born, designed you to be king, to endeavour to behave yourself in all things worthy of his Providence, by strictly observing piety, justice, and fortitude. Keep his commandments and laws, as taught us by Moses, and suffer not others to transgress them. As to the temple, which God has appointed you to build in your reign, I beg you will attend to it with the greatest diligence, and be not in the least

(a) The judgment against David for his transgressions was sufficiently visible, otherwise he could not have seen the form that the destroying angel assumed; but here we find, that as a most pious man and a good sovereign, he repents of those sins he had committed in the most voluntary manner; and while

he looks upon himself as the procuring cause of all the evils that had happened, he begs that God would wreak his vengeance upon him, and not upon his people, who were innocent.

David
orders to
finish ma-
terials for
building the
temple.

Reports the
princes of
the tribes to
be in the
undertaking

Adonijah
aspires to
the throne.

Gives an
entertain-
ment.

Bathsheba
advises David
to confer the
kingdom on
his son.

“dispirited at the importance of the undertaking;
“for it shall be my care to have all the materials in
“readiness against you succeed to the government.
“I have already laid up ten thousand talents of gold,
“and an hundred thousand of silver; but of brass
“and iron a quantity not to be summed; and of
“wood and stone an immense store: besides which I
“have engaged many thousands of carpenters and
“masons, whom you can readily supply with all ne-
“cessaries. Attend, therefore, diligently to your
“business, the finishing of which will be so accept-
“able to God, that he will be your perpetual pro-
“tector: you will live happy, and die in peace.”
Having said this, he exhorted the princes of the
tribes to assist his son in the undertaking, and to be
particularly attentive to their religious duties, in do-
ing which they would be rewarded with the fruits
of peace, and a happy administration. He desired,
that when the temple was finished, they would place
the ark therein, and all the sacred vessels belonging to
it; for the reception of which, he said, a temple
ought to have been built long ago, if their forefathers
had not neglected the commands of God when they
first got possession of that country. These last ex-
hortations David gave not only to his son, but also
to the princes.

Though David was at this time only seventy years
of age, yet he became very infirm, and was afflicted
with a disease, resembling the dead palsy, which so
chilled his blood, that he could not be kept warm,
more especially in his bed. In consequence of this
a consultation was held among the physicians, who
advised, that, to supply him with natural heat, a vir-
gin should lie in the same bed with him. Accord-
ingly one Abishag, a young and beautiful woman of
Shunam, belonging to the tribe of Issachar, was
brought to him, and made his concubinary wife; but
David had never any carnal knowledge of her, be-
ing, from his infirmities, incapable of possessing con-
jugal enjoyments.

David, being now grown almost inactive from
natural infirmities, Adonijah, who (next after Absa-
lom) was his eldest son, taking advantage of his im-
perfections, entertained thoughts of assuming the
sovereignty, on a presumption that his father either
could not, or would not, obstruct him. He was,
indeed, a prince of exquisite beauty, greatly admired
by the people, and particularly indulged (a) by his
father. He was much of the same disposition as his
brother, and followed the same measures, having set
up a pompous equipage, retained a prodigious num-
ber of attendants, and lived in the most sumptuous
manner.

Adonijah had gained over to his party Joab, the
general of the forces, and Abiathar, the high-priest,
by whose advice he invited all his brothers, (except
Solomon,) and all the great men of Judah, (except
Nathan, the prophet, Benaiah, captain of the guards,
and the officers of the army, who, with Zadock, the
priest, were not for him,) to a sumptuous entertain-
ment, the design of which was, as soon as the com-
pany began to be merry, to proclaim him king.

Nathan, the prophet, who knew God’s designa-
tion, David’s choice, and the peoples’ interest, hav-
ing received intelligence of the meeting appointed by
Adonijah, gave information of it to Bathsheba,
strongly advising her to go to the king, and press
him, in the most urgent manner, immediately to de-
clare Solomon his successor; things being come to
such an extremity, as to threaten the most imminent
danger.

Bathsheba, taking Nathan’s advice, immediately
repaired to the king, and having acquainted him
with Adonijah’s conspiracy, begged him to name her
son Solomon his successor, agreeable to the promise
he had formerly made, and ratified with an oath.
While she was with the king, Nathan entered the

Nathan
confirms the
truth of
Bathsheba’s
story.

David gives
orders for
anointing
and pro-
claiming
Solomon.

Adonijah,
alarmed,
flies to the
altar.

Obtains for-
giveness.

David dis-
tributes the
priests, and
Levites, into
classes, and
assigns them
their several
offices.

Takes the
like method
with the
army.

Appoints
revenue of-
ficers.

Addresses
the leading
men con-
cerning the
temple.

apartment, and confirmed all she had said relative to
the conspiracy. In consequence of this David im-
mediately declared Solomon his successor, and com-
manded Zadock, the priest, Nathan, the prophet, and
Benaiah, the captain of his guards, with the other
officers and ministers of state, to mount Solomon on
the mule (b) he was accustomed to ride himself; and
having in this manner conducted him to Gihon, Za-
dock and Nathan should anoint him with holy oil;
after which, by sound of trumpet, they should pro-
claim him king. All this was accordingly done;
after which Solomon was conducted back to Jerusa-
lem, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the
people.

When Adonijah and his company heard of these
proceedings (which was at the time they were just on
the point of proclaiming him king) they were all
thrown into the utmost confusion. Fearful of the
consequences that might ensue, they immediately dis-
persed, and each sought for himself. Adonijah,
their leader, fled to the altar for sanctuary, where he
continued for some time, till, having obtained of
Solomon a promise of life, on condition that he
would never make any future attempt against his go-
vernment, he was admitted into the king’s presence,
where he made his obedience to Solomon, in token of
thankfulness for his preservation, and in acknow-
ledgment of his superiority.

David, thinking the inauguration of Solomon had
been too hasty and private, determined to have it re-
peated in a more public manner, in the city of Je-
rusalem. On this occasion he summoned all the
princes of the tribes, together with the priests and
Levites, among whom, on examination, there ap-
peared to be 38,000, from thirty to fifty years of age.
Out of these he appointed 23,000 to attend the build-
ing of the temple; 6,000 as judges over the people;
4,000 as porters to the House of God; and as many
choristers to attend Divine service, and play on the
instruments he had made for the purpose. These he
divided into families; and, on separating the priests
from the rest of the tribes, found them to consist of
twenty-four; sixteen descended from Eleazar, and
eight from Ithamar. He appointed that each should
attend the temple certain days, that is, from Sab-
bath to Sabbath. The lots of the whole were cast in
the presence of David, Zadock and Abiathar, the
priests, and the heads of the tribes. That lot that
came out first took the pre-eminence, and the rest in
their turns as they happened to be drawn. He also
divided the tribe of Levi into twenty-four parts, or
classes, who, by lot, were to attend the priests in the
performance of religious duties. But the greatest
honour he conferred on the posterity of Moses, to
whom he committed the trust of the holy treasures,
and the donations that might arise from royal bene-
factions.

After this he divided his whole army into twenty-
four parts, with their captains, centurions, and tri-
bunes. Each division consisted of 24,000 men, who,
in their turns, were to guard king Solomon thirty
days together, attended by their centurions and tri-
bunes; and over each division was placed an officer,
a man of probity and integrity, as a judge, to admi-
nister justice. He likewise appointed overseers of the
king’s treasury, vineyards, lands, flocks, herds, &c.

Having made these regulations, David called to-
gether an assembly of the magistrates, princes of the
tribes, the officers of the army, and those who had
the care of the revenue; when, placing himself on an
eminence, he addressed them as follows:

“Brothers, and countrymen,

“The reason of my having called you together is
to inform you of my ardent desire that a temple
should be erected to the honour of God; for the do-
ing of which I have laid up great quantities both of

(a) It is remarked of David, that one of his great faults, and what led him into many premunires, was, his extraordinary indulgence of his children, of whom he was so fond, that he seems to have overlooked their errors, and not reprov'd them, though he was bound to do it by a plain law, (Levit. xix. 17.) and could not but know that the high-priest, Eli, was severely punish'd for such neglect.

(b) In these days it was a capital offence to ride upon the

No. 10.

king’s ass or mule, to sit upon the throne, or to handle his sceptre, without his orders; whereas, on the contrary, to have the honour to ride on the king’s beast, by his appointment, was the highest dignity that could be bestowed on a subject. It was always considered in this light by the Persians, as appears from the story of Mordecai, in the sixth chapter of the Book of Est-her.

F F gold

gold and silver. God, by his prophet Nathan, has forbid me doing it myself, on account of my having embued my hands in the blood of your enemies; but he has appointed my son and successor to execute it in my stead. Now, since you know our forefather Jacob had twelve sons, and Judah was appointed king over them; and that I, having six brothers, was preferred to them, and received the kingdom at the hands of God, to their satisfaction; I therefore entreat my sons not to be concerned in any rebellion against Solomon, who now hath received the government, but to believe God chose him to be king, and, on that account, with pleasure, pay obedience to his authority. If God had been pleased that a stranger should have enjoyed the chief command, it would have been the duty of every one cheerfully to have owned their allegiance to him; but now a brother has arisen to so high a pinnacle of honour, how great ought to be your joy at so happy an appointment! My prayer is, that the promises God has vouchsafed to make may have the desired effect; and that the peaceful administration under the reign of Solomon, my son, (said David, addressing himself to Solomon,) will be assuredly confirmed to you, if you live an holy life, do justice, and preserve the laws of your country; but if you do not, you will live miserable, and die unlamented."

David's particular addresses to Solomon.

Delivers him the model of the temple, and the order and form of the necessary apparatus

Enjoins the principal of the tribe of Levi to lend their aid upon the occasion.

The purport of David's address is universally approved.

When David had finished his speech, he gave his son, in the presence of all the people, a plan of the intended temple; the foundation and superstructure of it; the height and breadth; the number of private cells, with their dimensions; and how many vessels should be provided of gold and silver, with the precise weight of each; after which he exhorted him to undertake the building with the utmost cheerfulness. He then desired the princes of the tribe of Levi to give their assistance in the undertaking, not only in regard to his son's youth and inexperience, but in reverence to the Divine commission. He told them the work could not be attended with any great difficulty, he having already provided many talents of gold, but still more of silver; great store of wood, emeralds, and all other kinds of precious stones; with a prodigious number of masons, carpenters, and other workmen. "I have, likewise, (says he,) reserved 3000 talents of the purest gold, out of my own store, for adorning the holy place, and the chariot of God, that is, the ark, which is to be ornamented with a cherub at each end, whose expanded wings will cover the whole."

As soon as David had done speaking, not only the princes and priests, but likewise the whole multitude, shewed their zeal for promoting the work, every one contributing something in proportion to their circumstances. They likewise promised to contribute 10,000 talents of gold, as many of silver, and the like number of shekels. In short, so great was the zeal of the people for having this work executed, that if any person had in his possession a precious stone, he brought it to David to be put into the treasury, the care of which was entrusted to one Jalus, a descendant of Moses.

David was so pleased at this great readiness of the people to facilitate the work, that he offered up his prayers to God on the occasion, calling him the Father and Creator of the universe; the Master of all

things both divine and human; the preserver of the Hebrew nation, and the fountain of all that happy and peaceable government they had so long enjoyed. He then wished all happiness to the people in future, and commanded them to offer up their praises to God. They immediately obeyed his commands, fell on the ground, and worshipped; after which they unanimously returned their thanks to David for the great benefits they had received under his administration.

Solomon's anointing, and the people's allegiance.

The next day (after offering up sacrifices in abundance) Solomon was again anointed, and acknowledged, by all the people, their lawful king. He was afterwards conducted to the palace, and placed on his father's throne, from which time the people paid him their true allegiance. Zadock, by the general voice of the people, was declared high-priest, in the room of Abiathar, who had publicly espoused the interest of Adonijah.

CHAP. XII.

David's last charge to his son Solomon. His death and burial.

A SHORT time after this, David perceiving his dissolution was near at hand, called for his son Solomon, and gave him this, his last exhortation: "I am now (says he) going a journey common to all, but to a place from whence no traveller returns. Wherefore, while I am yet living, let me remind you of those things I have before said to you; namely, that you exercise your authority with justice over your subjects, humbly obey God, who has been pleased to bestow the government on you, and carefully observe those laws and commandments which he has transmitted to you from our great legislator Moses. Be careful that you are not induced to violate these injunctions, either from the flatteries of your courtiers, your own corrupt desires, or any other cause whatever. If you do, be assured your great and Divine Protector will immediately forsake you; whereas, on the contrary, if you behave yourself towards him as you ought, and as I most sincerely wish, you will confirm the kingdom to your posterity; no other house but ours will sway the sceptre of the Hebrews, but it will be continued to you and yours for ever. Forget not the crimes of Joab, who, through jealousy, put to death two just and faithful generals, namely, Abner, the son of Ner, and Amasa, the son of Ithra: punish him for their deaths, as you shall think fit; for being more powerful than myself, he has hitherto escaped the threats of justice. I beseech you to do all the good offices you can for the sons of Barzillai, the Gileadite, not under the light of an obligation, but as an acknowledgement for the great benefits I received from their father during my banishment, which I reckon as a debt incumbent on our whole family to discharge. As for Shimei, the Benjamite, who reviled me in the days of my persecution, and whom I afterwards pardoned, you may act with him as you think proper; but I would not have him escape unpunished". (a)

A short time after David had delivered this exhortation to his son, he gave up the ghost, in the 71st year.

(a) The sense of the two charges given by David to his son Solomon relative to Joab and Shimei, are thus expressed by the learned Bishop Patrick. Speaking of the first, he says, "Thou rememberest what Joab did unto me; with what insolence he treated me in the time of the war against Absalom; how, contrary to my orders, he slew him, and afterwards talked to me in a menacing and imperious manner. Thou rememberest what he did to Amasa, whom I intended to have put in his place, and made the general of all my forces; and what to Abner, who adhered to the house of Saul. The injury done to these two brave men redounds upon me, since they were both under my protection, and both murdered, barely murdered, because I had an esteem for them; and till justice be done to their murderer, (which I, in my life-time, have had not power to do) their innocent blood will not depart from my house. Do thou, therefore, take care to atton it; and

"whenever he commits any transgression against thee, let the blood of these two valuable men be charged to his account; and let him, as he has long deserved, be put to death." Speaking of Shimei, he says, "Thou hast Shimei with thee, and some share, perhaps, he may have in thy favour; but trust him not; he is no friend to kings, or kingly power. Remember what he did to me in my distress; how bitterly, how virulently he cursed me to my face; and I make no doubt, but that he would do the same to thee in the like circumstances. I forgave him in my exile, because I looked upon him as an instrument in God's hands, to humble me for my great offence. I forgave him, in my return home, because he came to me when my heart was open, and unwilling to damp the joy of my restoration with the effusion of any blood. I promised him his life; and let not that promise be violated in my days: but what I did is no rule or obligation

71st year of his age, and 40th of his reign; seven of which he governed in Hebron, and thirty-three in Jerusalem (a).

He was a man of most distinguished courage, and possessed all the qualities necessary for the forming of a great king. He was temperate, meek, bountiful, and humane, and never stained the greatness of his authority in any instance, except in the case of Uriah's wife. He left a greater treasure behind him than had been done by any of his predecessors; and the purposes to which he assigned the greater part of it rendered his name immortal (b).

He was buried at Jerusalem with great pomp and magnificence; and his son Solomon deposited in his monument an inestimable treasure. Some idea may be

formed of the great riches Solomon deposited in his father's tomb from the following circumstances.

When Antiochus, surnamed the Pious, the son of Demetrius, laid siege to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus, the high-priest, offered him a certain sum of money if he would raise the siege, and draw off his army. This proposition was accepted by Antiochus; upon which Hyrcanus, not having any other method of fulfilling the treaty, broke open David's tomb, from whence he took 3000 talents of gold, with part of which he paid the sum agreed on, and Antiochus immediately raised the siege.

Many years after this king Herod opened another part of David's tomb, from whence he took treasures of great value; of which we shall speak more at large in the Sixteenth Book of this work.

"obligation to thee. Let him not die, however, for his offence against me; but rather watch his conduct, and, if he should chance to give thee a fresh occasion, be sure to lay hold of it, because it is not in his nature to be a good subject."

(a) David was buried, with great pomp, in that part of the city of Jerusalem which himself had taken from the Jebusites, and called, after his own name, The City of David. His sepulchre was always held in the greatest veneration by the Jews. It was in being in St. Peter's time; for so he tells the people, Acts ii. 29. Dio (in the life of Adrian) informs us that part of it was fallen down in the emperor Adrian's reign. Modern travellers describe some magnificent monuments hewed in a rock not far from Jerusalem, which are doubtless very antient; but they do not agree that they are the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. It is, however, somewhat strange, that the place of David's sepulchre (which both the Chaldeans and Romans, when they took Jerusalem, thought proper to spare) should now be so entirely lost, that, for many years past, not the least traces of it have been to be found. But though Providence has so ordered it, that the place of David's sepulchre should not at present be known, yet there does not want an eternal monument of his most excellent genius. The Book of Psalms, which, for the most part, was composed by him, doth publish the glory of its author more than the most pompous eulogies; and the son of Sirach has consecrated an epitaph to his memory, which will remain when brass and marble shall be no more. "As the fat" (says he) is taken away from the peace-offering, so was David chosen from the people of Israel. He played with lions as with kids, and with bears as with lambs. He slew a giant when he was young, and took away reproach from the peo-

ple; for he called upon the Most High Lord, and he gave strength to his right hand to slay this mighty warrior, and to set up the horn of his people. So the people honoured him with ten thousands, and praised him in the blessings of the Lord; for he destroyed the enemies on every side, and brought to nought the Philistines his adversaries. In all his works he praised the Holy One Most High, and blessed the Lord with words of glory. He set singers also before the altar, that, by their voices, they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their songs. He beautified their feasts, and set their solemn times in perfect order. The Lord took away his sins, and exalted his horn for ever. He gave him a covenant of kings, and a throne of glory in Israel."—Ecclesiasticus, chap. xlvii. 2, &c.

(b) A very learned and celebrated writer, in describing the character of David, says, that his life was loaded with such a multiplicity of the most singular transactions, that, to give it in a compass usual to other distinguished characters, would not be to do him that justice his great merit deserves. He then proceeds to relate the principal incidents that occurred from his first becoming popular to the period that produced his dissolution; and concludes with the following observations: "Such (says he) are the outlines of a Jewish prince, whom Christians justly extol as a man after God's own heart; whom God himself called to be king over Israel; who faithfully answered the purpose for which God raised him; in whose family he established the throne; with whom he made an everlasting covenant; and who was the great progenitor of the Messiah himself, who now reigns over all, and shall reign till all his enemies are put under his feet."

End of the SEVENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK VIII.

[Including a Period of about One Hundred and Seventeen Years.]

CHAP. I.

Solomon succeeds his father on the throne of Israel. Adonijah conceals a scheme for dispossessing him. He is assisted by Abiathar, Joab, and Shimei. Solomon detects the scheme, and avenges himself on the authors.

THE virtues and prowess of king David, with the singular benefits his subjects derived from him, considered both as a statesman and warrior, during an auspicious reign, have been fully treated of in the foregoing book.

1 Kings ii.
Solomon's accession to the throne amidst the acclamations of the people.

On his demise his son Solomon, who had been by him declared king of Israel, assumed the reins of government amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. He received, upon the occasion, the congratulatory addresses of the heads of all the tribes, with their warmest wishes that he might rule long and happily.

Solomon, however, was no sooner seated on the throne, than a circumstance occurred, which, tho' disagreeable, laid him under a necessity of putting into speedy execution the commands of his dying father. Adonijah, his elder brother, who, during the life of David, made several bold attempts to gain possession of the regal authority, now applied to Bathsheba, the king's mother, and saluted her with those blandishments which seldom fail of effect. When he perceived that she was rendered complacent by his assiduities, he intimated, "That though the crown was his right both by seniority, as well as the will of the people, yet, as it was transferred to Solomon, her son, according to the Divine pleasure, he was contented to act in subordination to him, and

perfectly satisfied with his present station; that he had only to request of her that she would use her interest with her son to obtain the royal consent to his taking Abishag to wife." Bathsheba immediately promised to comply with his request, and encouraged him to hope for a joyful event, persuaded, that her son would hardly refuse the joint petitions of two of his nearest relatives, in a matter of such importance as the present. She accordingly repaired to the king upon the subject of Adonijah's request. Solomon received his mother with every token of duty and affection, conducted her into the palace, and placed her on a throne at his right hand. When she was seated, she entered upon the business, and informed her son that she had a suit to prefer, which, if he should refuse, would affect her in the most sensible manner. Solomon, in the most compliant terms, desired her to lay her commands upon him, as it was his duty to grant whatever she should ask. Without farther ceremony she then interceded with him for his royal permission that his brother Adonijah might take Abishag to wife.

The king, highly incensed at the subject of her request, dismissed his mother abruptly, observing, "that Adonijah had aspiring views; that he might have been more explicit, and requested of him the resignation of the kingdom to him upon the claim of seniority, and especially as he had such powerful friends as Joab, the general, and Abiathar, the high-priest, to back his pretensions." To frustrate at once his presumptuous designs, he sent for Benaiah, the captain of the guards, and commanded him to put Adonijah to death (a). Summoning Abiathar, the high-priest, before him, he told him, "that although

(a) It was formerly very customary among princes to employ their officers, or greatest confidants, in such like executions. Among the Romans the soldiers were always the persons who carried to prison, to torture, or to execution, such as were found guilty of any offence; and this Tertullian makes an argument to dissuade Christians from engaging in the wars, lest thereby they should be obliged to imprison, punish, or execute malefactors. In Dan. ii. 24. we read, that "Nebuchadnezzar sent Arioch, who was chief commander of his troops,

"to destroy the wise men of Babylon," because they could not interpret his dream; and therefore we need less wonder that we find Solomon employing Benaiah, the captain of his guard, on the like office: but whether he did not first drag him from the altar, before he slew him, for fear of polluting the holy place with blood, or whether Solomon did not rather think fit to have him killed even at the altar, and let all men see that no place, though ever so sacred, should secure any man from the hand of justice, commentators have not agreed.



T. West delin.

Warren sculp.

SOLOMON'S *Wise* JUDGEMENT.

his treacherous behaviour merited death, he would spare his life in consideration of the services he had rendered his royal father, and particularly the assistance he afforded in bringing back the ark; but that as for his punishment, he should be for ever banished his pretence for his perfidy in repeated instances, and deprived of the dignity of the high-priesthood, as he had rendered himself unworthy of that sacred function."

This circumstance gave occasion for transferring the sacerdotal dignity from the family of Ithamar (as had been foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar) to that of Phineas, in the person of Zadock. Those who were of the family of Phineas, but lived in private stations during the time the high-priesthood continued in the house of Ithamar, were, computing from Eli, the first that received it; Baccias, the son of Joseph; Jonathan of Baccias; Marceoth of Jonathan; Arapha of Marceoth; Achitob of Arapha; and Zadock, the son of Achitob, who was first made high-priest in the reign of David.

Joab, the general, alarmed at the punishment of death inflicted on Adonijah, and conscious that, from his own treachery, he merited the same, fled for sanctuary to the altar, apprehending, from the king's known veneration for religion, that he should thereby be protected. But when the king was informed that Joab had taken sanctuary, he commanded Benaiah to raise him from the altar, and bring him to the tribunal of justice, to answer the charge alledged against him. Joab would not leave the altar, averring, that if he must die, he would die there. When Benaiah reported his resolution to the king, Solomon commanded his head to be cut off there, as a just punishment for the execrable murders of Abner and Amasa, the two captains of the host, in violation of the laws of justice, humanity, and honour. Orders were likewise given by the king to Benaiah to see his body interred, and a memorial to posterity of his flagitious crimes, and an acquittal of himself and his father from the imputation of rigour on the death of Joab. Benaiah, having executed his commands, succeeded Joab as commander in chief, as did Zadock, Abiathar as high-priest.

With respect to Shimei, Solomon gave express orders, that he should build him an house in Jerusalem, be confined to that spot, nor pass the brook Hebron upon pain of death. He was also enjoined, in confirmation of the king's will and pleasure, to make a solemn oath to obey the orders. Shimei acknowledging the candour and clemency of the king, readily made an oath of compliance, and, leaving his own country, took up his abode in Jerusalem. About three years afterwards two of his servants ran away from him, and hearing that they were at Gath, he went over the river in quest of them. On his return the king received intelligence of it; and such was his displeasure at his abuse of his clemency, and contempt of his commands, as well as violation of his own solemn oath, that he expressed himself to the delinquent in terms to the following effect: "Didst thou not solemnly swear to me, that thou wouldst never depart this city to the day of thy death? Now, like an impious, perjured wretch, thou hast violated thine oath, and for this most heinous of crimes thou shalt die. Remember, that Divine vengeance, sooner or later, will find out the offender, and that forbearance will aggravate the punishment. Justice is due to the indignities thou didst offer my royal father. Think of these things, and vindicate thyself if thou canst." Upon this Benaiah put Shimei to death at the king's command.

CHAP. II.

Solomon espouses the daughter of the king of Egypt. Repairs the walls of Jerusalem. His extraordinary wisdom, opulence, and power. Epistolary correspondence between him and the king of Tyre. Builds the temple. Lapses into idolatry through his amours. Adad stirs up a sedition. Prediction of the revolt of ten tribes.

SOLOMON having firmly established himself on his throne, avenged himself of his enemies, and conciliated himself to his friends, took to wife the
No. 10.

daughter of the king of Egypt. His next concern was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem upon a more extensive and defensible plan than the former; after which he applied himself to the administration of public justice. Nor was his youth any impediment to him in the execution of his duty as king, respecting either the awarding of justice, the enforcing of the laws, or the fulfillment, with religious reverence, the commands laid upon him by his venerable father in his dying moments. Nay, his conduct was such in general, as might have become the gravity and judgment of an old and experienced monarch.

In this interval of profound peace both at home and abroad, he resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was erected by Moses, in acknowledgment of the many mercies he had received. He accordingly repaired thither, and offered a thousand victims for a burnt offering. This distinguished instance of pious zeal was so pleasing in the sight of the Almighty, that he appeared to him in a dream the following night, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts he was ready to bestow, as a reward for his dutiful and grateful regard. Solomon asked that which was most excellent in itself, what the bountiful donor could bestow with the greatest approbation, and what was most profitable for man to receive. He did not desire either gold or silver, nor any of those gratifications, to which mankind in general, and young persons in particular, are too fondly attached. On the contrary, his petition was, "Give me, O Lord, a sound mind and a good understanding, whereby I may judge the people according to truth and righteousness." This petition was so acceptable to the Almighty, that he not only promised him wisdom and understanding in such a degree as no other mortal ever possessed, but glory, riches, and victory over his enemies; and further, that the government should remain in his family for many years, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and trod in the steps of his pious father. When Solomon heard these words he awoke, leapt from his bed, worshipped and gave thanks; after which he returned to Jerusalem, offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, and feasted all the people.

In those days a difficult case was brought before him to determine; and I think it necessary to explain the matter, in order that the reader may form a judgment of Solomon's abilities and rectitude, and that future kings may follow his example, in points which affect the interests of their subjects.

Two harlots applied to him for justice. The plaintiff first related her tale in words to this purport. "This woman, O king, and I dwell together in one house. We both bore a son at the same hour. On the third day the woman against whom I prefer my complaint overlaid her son and killed him; then taking mine to herself as I was asleep, laid her dead son in my arms. Being desirous, in the morning, of giving the infant the breast, I found it was not my own; and persuaded that it was this woman's dead child, I demanded my own; but not being able to obtain him, I had recourse to my lord the king for justice. For, as we were alone, and there is no evidence to convict her, she obstinately perseveres in a denial of the fact."

When this woman had finished her tale, the king demanded of the other what she had to say in her defence. Upon her denial of the charge brought against her, and affirming that her child was living, and that of her opponent dead, and none present being able to decide the point in controversy, the king devised the following method of discovering the merits of the cause. He ordered both the dead and living child to be brought in; then commanded one of his guards to fetch a sword, and cut both the children in halves, that each of the women might have half the living and half the dead child. This was deemed a trifling proceeding at first; but it caused the real mother of the living child to exclaim against it, and consent that the child should be delivered to the other woman as her own, declaring she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other's. The other woman submitted to the judgment, and was ready to see the child divided; nay, seemed to take a pleasure in seeing the mother tormented.

mented. Now the king wisely inferring that their respective behaviour, upon the occasion, was, from the impulse of their passions, adjudged the child to her who cried out to save it, as the real mother, and condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was endeavouring to destroy that of her friend (a). This determination was applauded by the multitude as an evident token of the king's extraordinary sagacity, and they ever after looked on him as a prince endowed with a Divine understanding.

Solomon's determination universally approved.

1 Kings iv. Principal officers.

Solomon's great officers were the following: Uri, the son of Hur, presided over the tribe of Ephraim, including Bethlehem. Aminadab, who married the king's daughter, had the region of Dora and the sea coast under him. The great plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achil. He also governed all the country as far as the river Jordan. Gabaris, the son of Geber, ruled over Gilead and Gaulanitis, as far as mount Libanus, and had under him sixty large and well fortified cities. Ahinadab, who married another of Solomon's daughters, directed the affairs of Galilee up to Sidon. Baanah had the sea coast about Asher. The mountains Itabar and Carmel, and all the Lower Galilee to the farther side of Jordan, was under the command of Jehoshaphat; as was the whole country of the Benjamites under that of Shimei. And Tabar governed the country beyond Jordan. These governors were all under the superintendence of one lieutenant-general.

The people cultivate the arts of peace.

The Hebrew nation, and particularly the tribe of Judah, were now in a flourishing condition; for as they enjoyed the invaluable blessings of peace and plenty, unmolested by the distractions and tumults of war, they applied themselves to agriculture and other arts, and by that means advanced both their fame and fortunes.

The magnificence and splendour of Solomon.

The king had likewise other rulers, who were over the land of Syria, and other barbarous parts between Egypt and Euphrates, and these collected the receipts from the tributaries. These people contributed towards the daily supply of the king's table thirty measures of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred fat lambs, besides deer, birds, fish, and other sporting productions. He had so vast a number of chariots, that there were forty thousand stalls provided for the horses that belonged to them, besides twelve thousand horsemen that were his guards; the half of whom were quartered at Jerusalem near his person, and the other half distributed throughout the villages adjacent to the city. The same officer who superintended the supply of the king's table was commissary-general for the household.

Solomon's wisdom.

His immense literary productions.

The wisdom and knowledge of Solomon were so great, that he exceeded the ancients in philosophical attainments, and was infinitely superior to the Egyptians, who were reputed to be the most accomplished people of their age. He also excelled the most celebrated of his countrymen and contemporaries: those were Athan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dodan, the sons of Hemahon. He composed fifteen hundred books of poems, and three thousand of parables and similitudes. He wrote an history of plants, from the cedar to the hyssop; as also of beasts, and living creatures in general; for he was a consummate natural philosopher, and therefore perfectly ac-

(a) The distinguished penetration and wisdom of Solomon in adjusting this intricate affair, is not to be paralleled in any history, either sacred or profane. He saw at once, that the only sign whereby to discover the true mother, would be her affection and compassionate tenderness for the child; and therefore, in order to distinguish between the two, his business was to make trial of them. And if we suppose, that, when he commanded the child to be divided, he spoke with a sedate countenance and seeming earnestness (as the true mother's petition to the king makes it apparent he did) then we may suppose farther, that not only the two women, but all the people present, were struck with horror, at the thoughts of the design being carried into execution; which, when it ended in so just a decision, quite contrary to what they expected, raised joy in every breast, and gave a more advantageous commendation to the judge. It is the opinion of some, that Solomon made a discovery of the truth antecedent to this experiment; that, by observing the countenance, the manner of speech, and all the motions of the

quainted with their respective properties. He adapted the universal knowledge with which God had favoured him to the good of mankind, according to their particular exigencies. He composed incantations for the cure of diseases, and left behind him a prescribed method for the expelling of demons, and this method is of great force even at this day. I saw one Eleazar, in the presence of Vespasian, his son, his officers, and a multitude of his soldiers, dispossessing people of demoniacal spirits. This was his method: he put a ring, that had a root of one of those sorts prescribed by Solomon, to the nostrils of the person possessed, which, by the smell, caused the expulsion of the demon, when Eleazar, reciting the name and incantations of Solomon, adjured it never to trouble him more. Eleazar, in order to demonstrate that he had such a power, placed a cup of water a little distance from a man who was possessed, and adjured the demon, on his leaving the man, to overturn it, and thereby make it known to the spectators that he had quitted him. This proved the extraordinary abilities of Solomon, to confirm which I have inserted this narrative.

Eleazar calls out a Demon.

When Hiram, king of Tyre, who had lived in friendship with the late king of Israel, heard of Solomon's accession to the throne on the demise of his father, he sent ambassadors to congratulate him on the occasion. Solomon, on their return, sent an epistle to Hiram couched in the following terms:

1 Kings. Hiram's ambassador to Solomon.

" Solomon to Hiram greeting,

" Be it known unto thee, O king, that David, my father, would have built a temple to God; but being, during the whole course of his reign, engaged in wars, and subduing his numerous enemies, he could not prosecute his design, and therefore left it to me to accomplish in a time of peace and tranquillity, according to the Divine prediction. That time I shall now dedicate to that solemn and important purpose. Therefore I make it my earnest request that thou wilt send some of thy subjects with mine to mount Libanus, to assist in cutting down timber, in which the Sidonians are more skilful than our people. Their wages shall be paid at such a rate as thou shalt determine."

Solomon's epistle to Hiram.

Solomon's epistle was highly approved by Hiram, who returned him this answer:

" Hiram to king Solomon greeting,

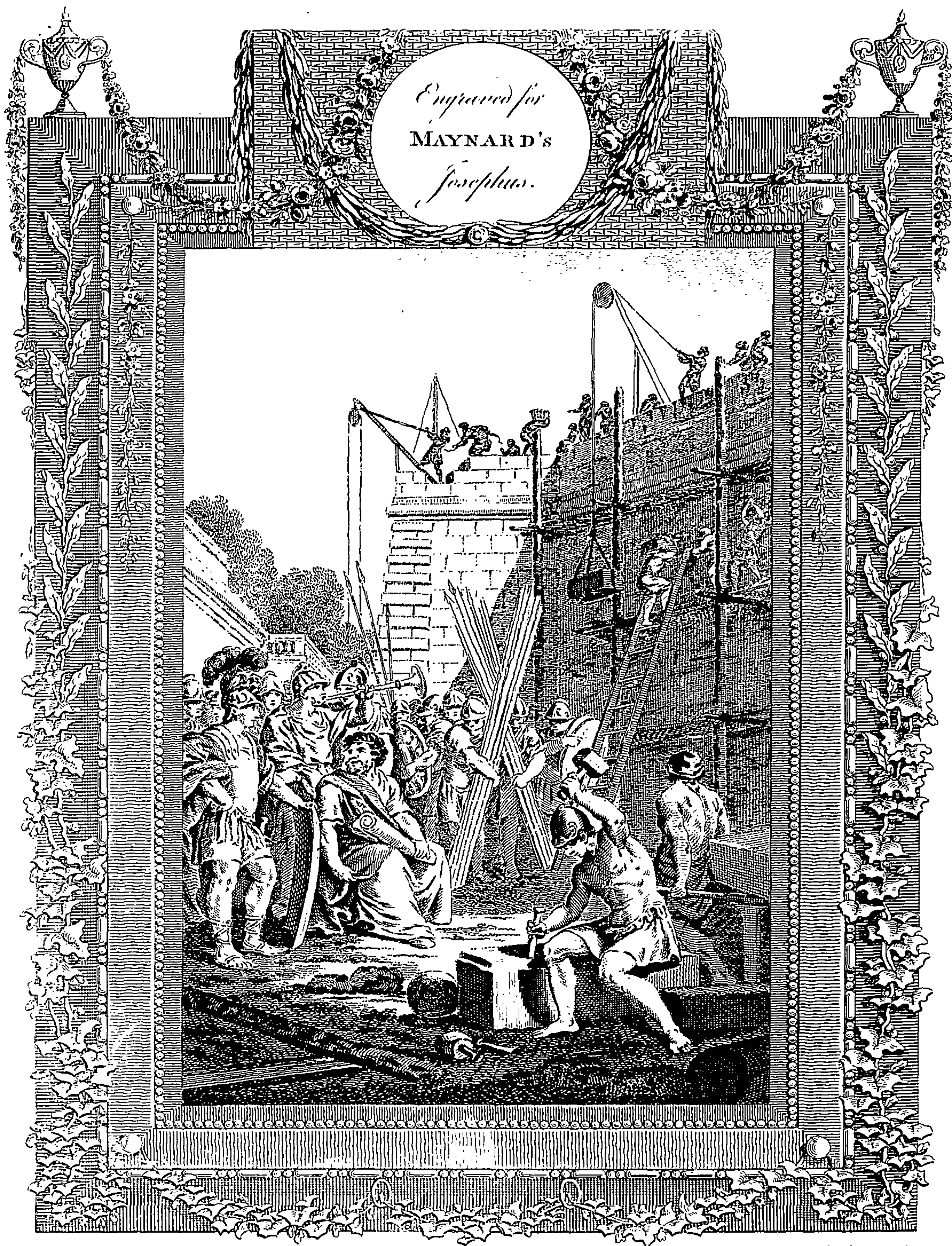
" Nothing could have been more grateful to me than to hear that the crown of your excellent father has devolved, through Divine Providence, to so wise and virtuous a successor. Your desire shall be punctually and cheerfully complied with. I will issue my command for the cutting down and exportation of such quantities of the fairest cedar and cypress trees as thou mayest require. My subjects shall bring them to the sea side, and ship them away to what port thou pleasest, in order that thy subjects may transport them to Jerusalem. In exchange thou wilt supply us with corn, of which commodity we islanders stand much in need."

Copies of these epistles remain to this day, being preserved not only in our own, but the Tyrian re-

Josephus reports that the Tyrians received the epistles of Solomon.

women, he discerned the secrets of their heart, and penetrated to the bottom of the business; and that his commanding the children to be divided afterwards, was only to notify to the company what he before had discovered. However this be, it may not be improper, upon this occasion, to mention an instance or two of as singular addresses, though much inferior to this, in discovering such secrets as seemed to be past finding out. Suetonius, in his life of Claudian, tells us, that emperor discovered a woman to be the mother of a young man, whom she would not own for her son, by commanding her to be married to him; the horror of committing incest having obliged her to declare the truth. In like manner Diodorus Siculus relates, that Ariopharnes, king of the Thracians, being appointed to arbitrate between three men, who all pretended to be sons of the king of the Cimmerians, and claimed the succession, found out the true son and heir, by ordering them to shoot each man his arrow into the king's body, which one of them refusing to do, was deemed the lawful claimant.

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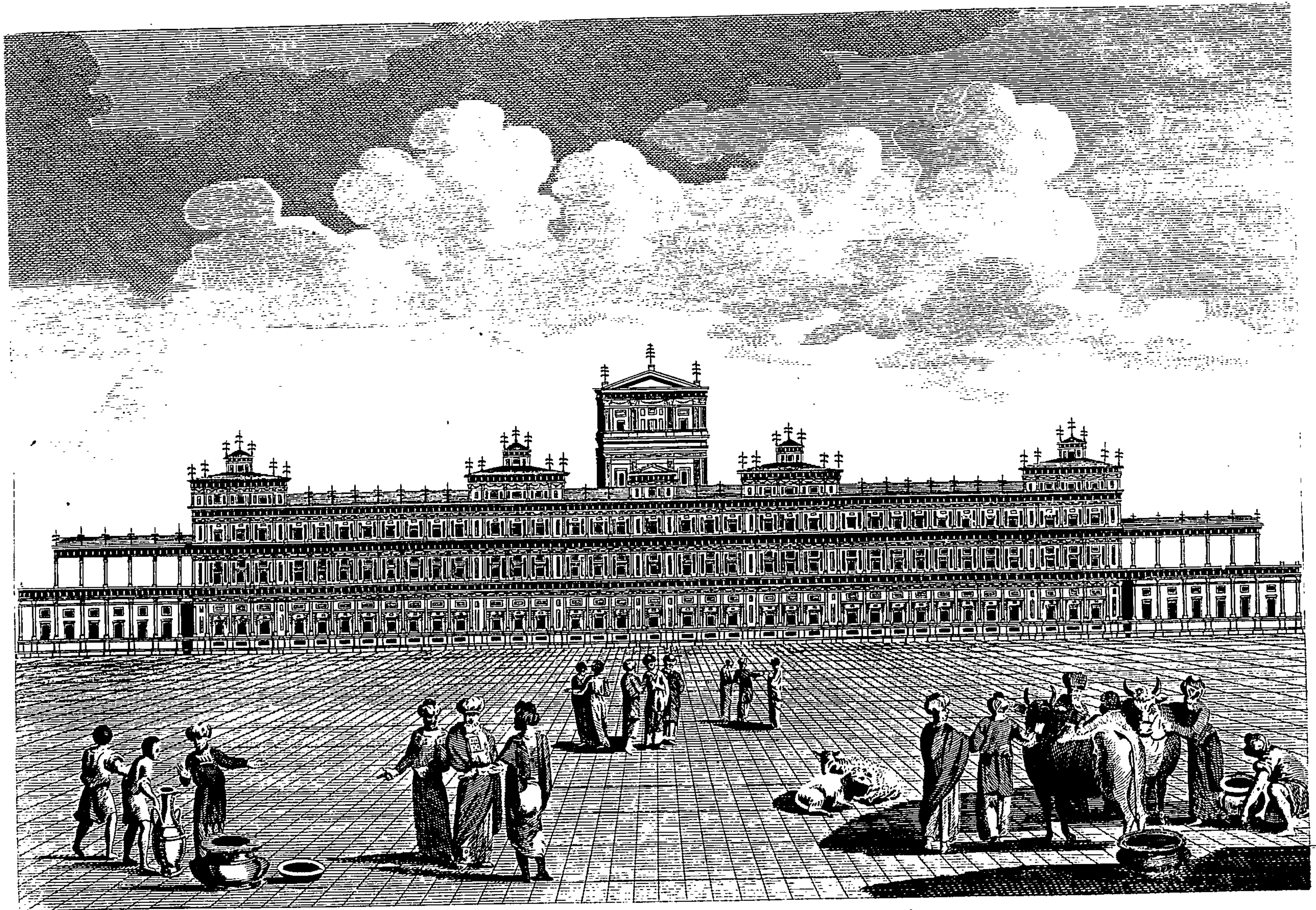


Metz delin.

Grimon sculp.

King SOLOMON building the TEMPLE of Jerusalem.

Published as the 1st Series by J. A. Maynard & Co. Boston.



An exact representation of SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

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Solomon requites the liberality of Hiram.

Solomon was highly pleased with the ingenuous and frank behaviour of the king of Tyre, in token of which he ordered him a yearly present of two thousand measures of wheat, and likewise two thousand vessels of oil, and as many of wine, containing each seventy-two quarts. This was an earnest of friendship between these two kings, which was daily more and more confirmed.

His wisdom in furnishing materials for the structure of the temple.

The king laid a tribute on the people in general, to provide thirty thousand workmen, including artificers and labourers, whose employ he rendered easy, by an impartial and candid distribution of time. He appointed ten thousand to cut timber upon Mount Libanus for the space of one month, who were then to be relieved by the next ten thousand, and so on throughout, by which means each ten thousand were regularly and itatedly employed, and had an equal proportion of labour and rest. Adoniram was appointed superintendant of the whole work. There were also seventy thousand strangers left by David, who were to carry stones and other materials, and eighty thousand stone-cutters or masons: of these thirty-two thousand were overseers. They were ordered to cut out large stones for the foundation of the temple, and have them wrought upon the mountain ready to be conveyed thence to Jerusalem. Hiram's people were also employed in this preparatory work.

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Description of the temple.

By order of the king the foundation of the temple was laid very deep, and the materials were such as would resist the force of time and other incidents. These were so united and wedged into the rock, as to become a basis for the superstructure to be erected over it. The walls were all of white stone, from the ground to the roof. The height and length were each sixty cubits, and the breadth twenty. There was also another building, of the same dimensions, raised above it; so that the entire altitude of the temple was an hundred and twenty cubits: its front was to the east. The porch, next to the entrance, was twenty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and an hundred and twenty in height. There were also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, in the form of galleries, opening one into another: each of these rooms was five cubits in length and breadth, and in height twenty. Above these were two other floors of the same form and proportion, reaching altogether to the lower part of the fabric; for these galleries were raised no higher than the top of the first story. The roof, that covered in the whole, was of cedar; and every partition had its peculiar roof, independent of any other; but they were all fastened together by long and large beams, so that they appeared but as one piece. Under these beams were several displays of carving and gilding. Indeed, the whole fabric was so ornamented, that its transplendence dazzled the eye of the beholder. The whole structure of the temple was of polished stone, put together with such art, that no joint was to be seen, or the least sign of an instrument of architecture; but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had

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Solomon caused the temple to be divided into two parts; that is, the inner part, or *Holy of Holies*, of twenty cubits square, which was inaccessible; and the other of forty cubits, which was assigned to the use of the priests. In the partition-wall, betwixt the inner and outer part of the temple, were large cedar doors, superbly gilded and elegantly carved. There were also veils of different colours, beautifully interwoven with variegated flowers, to be drawn before those doors.

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The very floor of the temple was overlaid with gold. In a word, there was no part, internal or external, but what was covered with gold; nor was there any thing wanting that could contribute to its splendour and magnificence.

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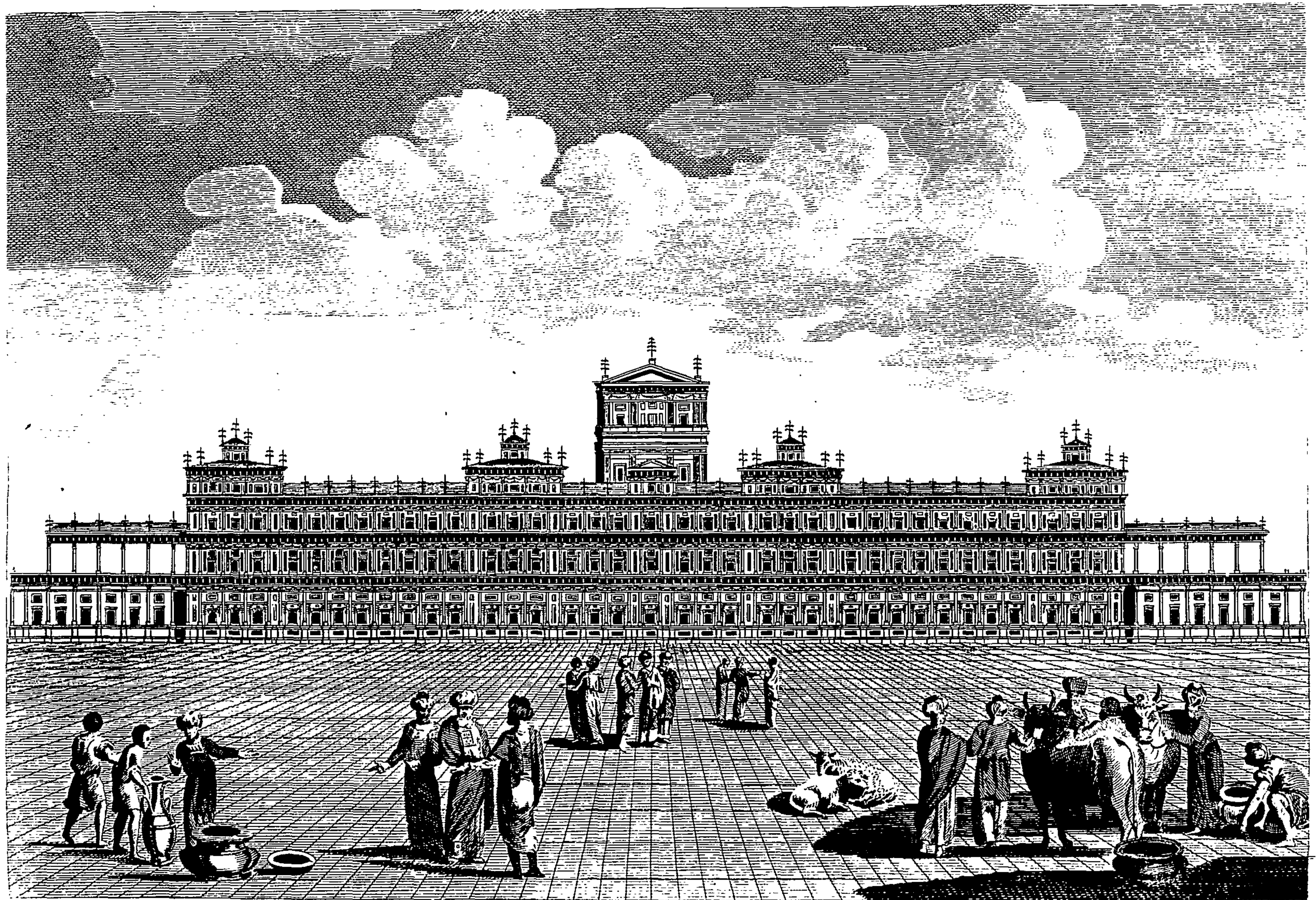
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The brazen bases and lavers.

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The brazen
lavars.

To these bases he made ten lavars of the same metal, each containing forty baths, the height four cubits, and the diameter the same. These ten lavars were set upon as many bases, that were called *mechenoth*. They were all placed in the temple; five of them on the left hand, on the north side; and the other five at the south side, on the right, looking towards the east. In the same place also was the brazen sea. They were all filled with water. The sea, for washing the hands and feet of the priests, upon entering the sanctuary, and ascending the altar; and the lavars for cleansing the entrails of the beasts, and other parts of the burnt-offering,

The brazen
altar.

He erected also a brazen altar, of twelve cubits in length and breadth, and ten in depth, for the service of the Holycausts, providing the same with all the necessary vessels, made of the purest brass.

Divers ta-
bles.

The king likewise dedicated a great number of tables, and one of pure gold for the shew-bread, larger than the rest. There were many others not much inferior to that for the shew-bread, sufficient to hold twenty thousand golden vessels, and forty thousand silver ones,

The golden
altar.

He also provided twelve thousand candlesticks, according to the appointment of Moses. One of them was peculiarly dedicated to the service of the temple, to be kept burning in the day time, according to the law. The table for the shew-bread was placed on the north side, over against the candlestick, which stood on the south: but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in the fore part of the temple, which was forty cubits long, and were before the veil of the *Holy of Holies*, where the ark of the covenant was to be kept.

The rest of
the vessels
belonging to
the temple.

There were also made pouring cups, in number eighty thousand, and ten thousand golden vessels, with twice as many of silver. There were eighty thousand golden dishes, and twice as many of silver, for the purpose of offering kneaded fine flour at the altar. Golden measures, such as the mosaical hin and assaron, twenty thousand, and as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were in number twenty thousand. The other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the smaller one within the temple, were fifty thousand.

Priests ha-
bits.

Vestments
for the Le-
vites.

Musical in-
struments.

The sacerdotal garments, which belonged to the high priests, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But there was but one crown, upon which Moses inscribed the venerable name of one Supreme, and that hath remained to this day. There were also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for priests in ordinary; and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the institution of Moses: also two hundred thousand garments for the Levites, who composed the choir. These were furnished with four hundred thousand musical instruments, as harps, psalteries, and the like, made of a mixed metal, between gold and silver, to accompany the voices.

These expensive and magnificent preparations were made towards the advancement of this mighty work, undertaken for the honour of the Divine Being; nor was there any thing wanting that could express the pious zeal of the Founder, or tend to animate that of the people in general. When the preparatory part was executed, the church-articles were deposited in the sacred treasury, and set apart for religious uses.

Round about the temple was a partition, called in the Hebrew, *Gison*: it was raised to the height of three cubits, in order to exclude the multitude from the place into which the priests only were to be admitted. Beyond this partition was another building, with large galleries about it, and four stately gates, that opened each towards one of the four quarters. The doors were plated and inlaid with gold. Into this place people entered in common, provided they were duly observant of the laws.

Fences and
partitions in
and about
the temple

The erecting of this outward building was an undertaking stupendous beyond description. There were such depths to be filled up as must strike the in-

clining gazer with horror. Ten hundred cubits to be brought up to a level with the top of the mountain, to make the work regular, and the ground even. This was encompassed with a double row of cloisters, supported by pillars of native stone. The doors were of silver work, and the roof and wainscots of cedars highly polished.

When king Solomon had finished this stupendous fabric in the short interval of seven years, which, considering its magnitude and numberless ornaments, as well as almost infinite appurtenances, seems to require the extent of ages to accomplish, he wrote to the elders, and heads of the tribes, to summon the people up to Jerusalem, to see the temple, and to assist in removing thither the ark of the covenant. The resolution was duly notified; and, in the seventh month, which the Hebrews call Thuri, and the Macedonians, Hyperberetæus, they were, with much difficulty, assembled. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which, by the Hebrews, is accounted the most solemn of their festivals; so the priests carried the ark, and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, together with the vessels appertaining to the altar, and lodged them in the temple. The king himself, and the whole congregation, with the Levites, proceeded then with their sacrifices and oblations, sprinkling the ground as they passed with blood, and burning an immense quantity of incense, till the very air itself seemed to have imbibed the most fragrant odours, and, as it were, transfused them throughout the multitude, who inferred, from so pleasing a circumstance, that it was an indication of the Divine Presence, vouchsafing to honour the temple thus newly built and dedicated unto himself; for the whole congregation expressed tokens of joy and exultation, during the course of the time in which they were transporting the ark into the temple.

When they were come to the most sacred place, where it was to be deposited, the multitude withdrew, and the priests, who brought it, placed it under the two cherubims, which, environing it with their wings, as framed by the artificer, covered it as under a tent or copul. It contained nothing else but the two tables of stone with the ten commandments graven upon them, as delivered to Moses upon mount Sinai. The candlestick, table, and golden altar, were placed in the same order now in the sanctuary, as they were at first in the tabernacle, when they offered their daily sacrifices. The brazen altar, by order of Solomon, was placed directly against the door, that when it was opened, a full view might be exhibited of the magnificence of the sacred solemnities. The rest of the vessels were collected and deposited in the temple.

When the ark was properly disposed, and the priests had withdrawn, a thick cloud hovered over the place, not resembling that which portends rain and storms, but of a more temperate kind, and such as had, upon former occasions, indicated the Divine Presence and approbation; so that the present was looked upon as a token of the same, and that the grand object of their worship would deign to dwell amongst them in the temple they had dedicated to his service.

While the people were intent upon the awful solemnity before them, the king arose and addressed the Almighty, in a stile and manner suitable to the importance of the occasion. His prayer was to this effect: "Father of all, thou that inhabitest eternity, and hast raised out of nothing the stupendous fabric of this universe, the heavens, the air, the earth, and the sea; thou that fillest the whole, and every thing that is in it, and art thyself unbounded and incomprehensible; look down in mercy upon thy servants, who have presumed to erect a temple to the honour of thy sacred Majesty. Vouchsafe then, Lord, to hear our prayers, and accept our oblations. Thou that seest and hearest all things, look down from thy exalted throne, and deign to give ear to the supplications of thy people in this place. Thou that never failest to assist them who call upon thee, grant us thy aid, and afford us thy gracious favour."

After this solemn address to the Supreme Being, Solomon directed his attention to the multitude, and

1 Kings vi.

A general summons of the people to Jerusalem.

The ark, tabernacle, and vessels transported in solemn procession to Jerusalem.

The ark deposited in the Holy of Holies.

A cloud hovering over the temple as a token of Divine favour.

The king's excellent prayer to the Almighty.

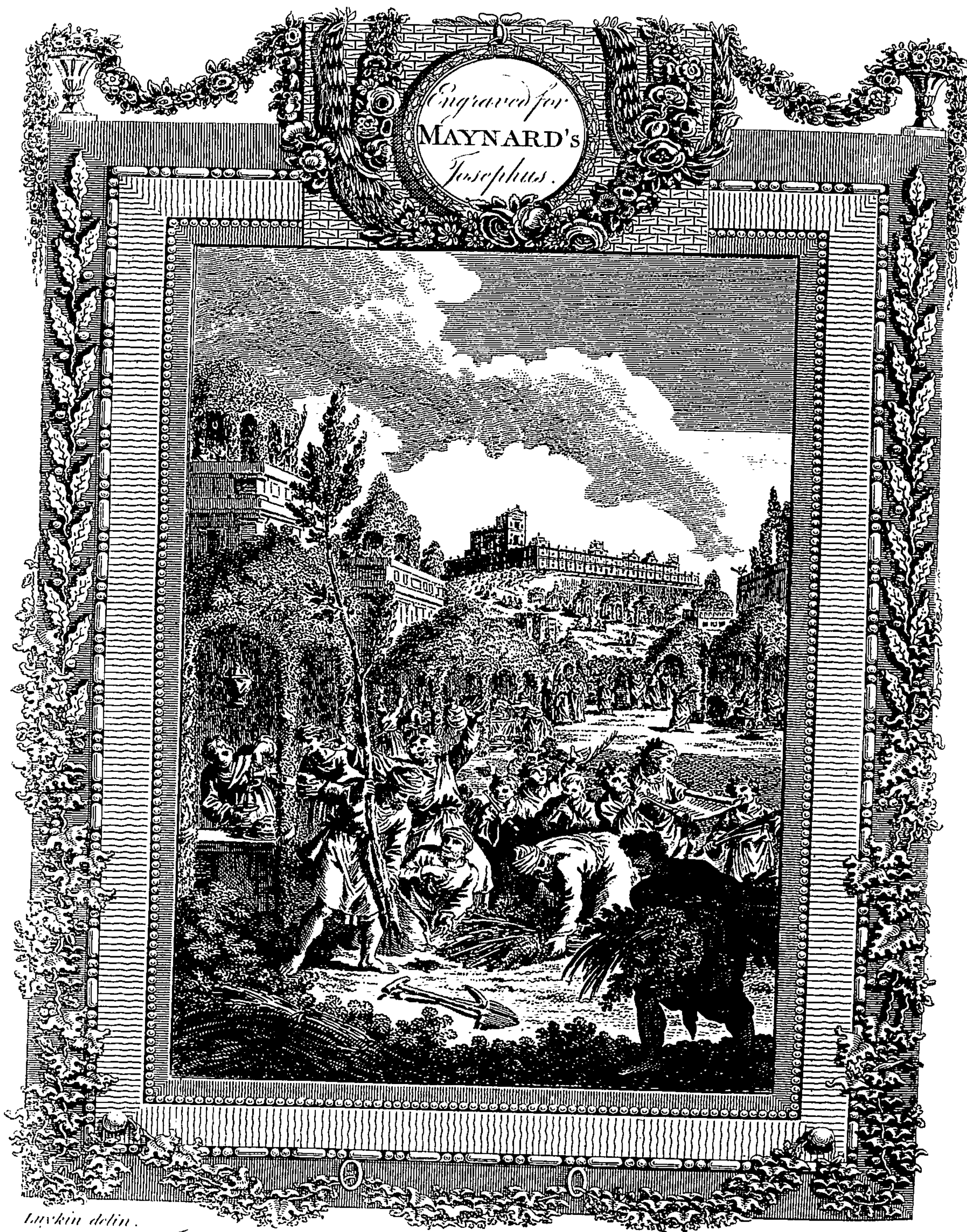


Lutkin delin.

Criantion sculp.

King SOLOMON'S FIRST SACRIFICE (after finishing the Holy Temple consumed on the Altar by Fire from Heaven, in token of the Divine approbation of that great Event.)

Published as the 1st directs by J. Cooke N^o 7 Paternoster Row.



Lutkin delin.

Grignon sculp.

The FEAST of the TABERNACLES.

Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke No. 7 Paternoster Row.

in a pathetic speech, represented to them the many instances in which the Divine Power and Providence had been exerted in their behalf. He laid before them the important things that had been revealed to his father David (some of which were past, and others were to come) concerning himself, his succession to the throne, his building of the temple, the establishment of the family, and the prosperity of the nation. The use he made of these remarks was, to admonish them to bless God for mercies received, in consequence of his gracious promises, and to rely on the same infallible word for the fulfilment of what had been predicted concerning greater blessings.

After this brief, but significant, discourse to the multitude, the king again turned toward the temple, and, with his right hand uplifted, thus again, in humble address, applied himself to the Almighty. "Lord, what are all the returns of which man is capable, compared even with the least of thy mercies? O! how can we requite the smallest of thy bounties? All that we can do is to render thee praise, acknowledgment and thanksgiving. This is, indeed, an honour conferred upon mankind, in distinction from all other creatures; so that it becomes my bounden duty to adore and praise thy holy name for the singular favours bestowed on our house, and thine infinite goodness towards the whole people of Israel. Be pleased, therefore, to accept our most grateful acknowledgments in the only way we are capable of expressing them: First, for thy singular goodness to my deceased father, in raising him from a state of obscurity to the highest pitch of glory; and next for making good to thy servant before thee, all thy gracious promises in his favour. Continue thy bounty to us, as to thy chosen people. Preserve, prosper, and perpetuate the government in our house, according to thy gracious promises to my father, living and dying. Let thy holy spirit descend upon this temple; and though heaven and earth cannot contain thy glorious Majesty, much less a fabric wrought by the hands of mortals, deign to afford it thy Divine presence and protection. Preserve it from the power of enemies as thine own, and set apart for thy peculiar service. If this people, by their offences, should at any time provoke thee, in just displeasure, to visit them with famine, pestilence, or any other judgment, be pleased, O Lord, upon their humble supplications to thee in thine own house, to accept of their repentance, and deliver them from their afflictions. This I most humbly implore, not only for the Hebrews, but for all people in general, who shall offer up their prayers to thee in this holy place. Hereby it will appear to the whole world, that this is thy house, and that we are thy people; and further, that such is our good-will to mankind, as to desire that they may all participate of the blessings of thy providence."

After this humble address to the Father of Mercies, Solomon cast himself on the ground, and worshipped in the most lowly posture, then arose and offered sacrifices upon the altar, having the satisfaction of being assured, by an evident token, that his oblations were acceptable to the Almighty: for a flash of fire from above rushed with violence upon the altar, and instantly consumed the offerings. The whole multitude looked upon this prodigy as a demonstration of the Divine Presence, and therefore fell prostrate in humble adoration of God's goodness, in thus owning both the worship and the temple. Upon this the king proceeded to offer praises and thanksgivings, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's special favour towards them. He enjoined them to pray for the continuance of his mercies, and especially his Divine grace, that they might live in holiness and righteousness, and the strictest observance of those precepts which God had given them by Moses. This he recommended as the only means of securing the happiness of the Hebrew nation, and, indeed, rendering them blessed above all nations upon the face of the earth: observing furthermore, that the best way to secure their felicity, was to persevere in the paths by which it was obtained.

When the king had thus spoken he dismissed the

No. 11.

assembly, having first compleated his oblations for himself and his people: they consisted of twelve thousand calves, and one hundred and twenty thousand lambs. This was the first blood that was spilt in the temple, and the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted thereon. There was also celebrated, at the same time, with great solemnity, the feast of tabernacles, which lasted fourteen days, at the king's expence.

After these solemnities were duly performed, and nothing omitted that related to the Divine worship, the people returned to their respective habitations, warmly acknowledging the wisdom, care, and bounty of the king, and adding their prayers to God for the continuance of his life, and the prosperity of his reign. They also joined in hymns and psalms of thanksgiving to the Fountain of all their mercies, and expressed, in every instance, tokens of joy and gratitude.

The ark being brought into, and deposited in, the temple, and the beauty and magnificence of that glorious structure exposed to view, the congregation dispersed. The king, in a dream, was assured that his sacrifices had been accepted, and his prayers heard by the Almighty; that he would preserve the temple, and make it the place of his abode; that is, so long as he himself, his people, and posterity, should continue to walk before him in pureness of heart, according to the example of David, his father. Upon that condition he was promised to be advanced to the summit of earthly glory, and that a prince should never be wanting of that line, of the tribe of Judah, to sway the sceptre of the throne of Israel. But that, on the contrary, if ever they should depart from the Divine ordinances, and fall into idolatry, they should be extirpated from the face of the earth, and Israel be no more a people; but, after having sustained all the ravages and calamities of war at home, be turned into the wide world as vagabonds and exiles. He was further assured, that, in case of such apostacy, the temple, lately erected by the Divine permission, should be ransacked by the hands of barbarians, and the city of Jerusalem itself laid in ashes by an inveterate and inexorable enemy. Nay, such should be the devastation as to excite the wonder of mankind, that a people, so lately the envy of nations, for their power, opulence, and renown, should so suddenly be reduced to the most abject state, by the very hand which had exalted them. Then should they, too late, under the sharpest stings of conscience, exclaim "We have forsaken our God, abandoned the laws and religion handed down by our forefathers, and thus are we punished for our sins and transgressions." This was the purport of what was communicated to Solomon in the vision, as we have transmitted in the sacred records.

After finishing the temple, as before observed, in the course of seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, in the perfecting of which he was thirteen years; for he was not so zealous for the accomplishment of this undertaking, as he had been for that of the temple. The building of the temple, a work of vast extent and importance, was greatly furthered by the Divine blessing and assistance, or it could not have been compleated in so short a space of time. But the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand prepared, and also as it was an habitation for kings only, and not for the One Supreme God, was longer in finishing. It was, however, a very magnificent structure, and did honour both to the prince and people. But to form an adequate idea, and gratify the curiosity of the reader, it will be necessary to enter upon a description.

This palace was an extensive and curious building, supported by many pillars, after the manner of a common hall, for the purpose of hearing causes and determining suits. It was an hundred cubits long, fifty broad, and thirty high: nor could it be less capacious, to contain the vast multitudes that thronged thither from all quarters to obtain justice. It was supported by sixteen square columns of cedar. Its roof was of the Corinthian order; and it had folding doors curiously wrought, and so as to render it at once firm and ornamental. In this hall was another edifice of thirty cubits square, raised upon massy

H h

pillars.

The feast of tabernacles.

1 King viii.

Assurance given by God to Solomon, that his prayers were heard.

The blessings of obedience.

Curses of disobedience.

2 Kings ix.

Solomon builds himself a palace.

Description of Solomon's palace.

Solomon's address to the multitude.

Solomon's ejaculation on the infinity of the Divine goodness.

Prays for the prosperity of the temple and the people.

Singular token of the Divine approbation and acceptance of the dedication and the sacrifice.

Solomon exhorts the multitude to the observance of the laws of Moses.

pillars. In one of the apartments was a throne of state, whereon the king himself sat personally in judgement. Next to this was the queen's house, and other buildings adapted for the purpose of retirement and recreation. These were fitted up with cedar, and raised upon stones of ten cubits square, which were partly plain, and partly overlaid with the most precious marble, after the manner of magnificent palaces or temples. The rooms were hung with three depths of the richest hangings, and ornamented with images in sculpture, representing trees, plants, branches, and leaves, all so curiously wrought as to appear to the eye as if they were in motion. The remainder of the space, up to the ceiling, was embellished with delicate party coloured figures, upon a ground of white. Besides these there was a great variety of other chambers, long and spacious galleries, superb rooms of state, and others for feasting and entertainment, adorned and furnished with services of plate of massy gold. Indeed the variety and extent of the royal palace may be said to surpass description, as they exceeded every thing of the kind in the known world, and exhibited a magnificence almost beyond conception.

Solomon's throne.
1 Kings x.

To complete the dignity of his character, Solomon erected a large ivory throne, with curious and carved engraved work upon it, after the fashion of a tribunal. There were six steps upon the ascent, and at each end of every step was the figure of a lion. There were also two lions more above; that is, one on either hand of the seat of state. As the king rested on his throne, there were arms put forth in order to receive him; and the figure of a bullock placed in a proper posture under him for his support. The whole piece was covered with gold.

Solomon acknowledges the liberality of Hiram.

When Solomon had completed these magnificent structures in the course of twenty years, through the assistance of Hiram, king of Tyre, who had contributed a great deal of gold, and more of silver, besides a vast store of cedar and cypress wood, he sent him annually, as an acknowledgement, great quantities of corn, wine, and oil, commodities of which, as an islander, he stood much in need. He also offered him twenty cities in the land of Galilee, adjoining to his own country; but Hiram, with a respectful excuse, declined acceptance. From this refusal, that part of the country was called Chabalm, which, in the Phœnician language, signifies, *It does not please me*.

Friendship between Hiram and Solomon, who solves all difficult and intricate points.

So great a veneration had Hiram for the sagacity of Solomon, that whenever any difficult case or mysterious question was propounded to him, he applied to him for a solution; nor was that wise prince deficient in explaining the most ambiguous matters, or intricate problems. Menander, the historian, who translated the Tyrian annals from the Phœnician into the Greek language, makes mention of these two princes as follows: "On the demise of Abibalus, Hiram, his son, succeeded him in the kingdom of Tyre. He lived three and fifty years, and reigned four and thirty. He raised a bank in a large space called the Great Field, and dedicated the golden pillar in Jupiter's temple. He cut down abundance of timber upon the Mount Libanus for the roof of temples, and demolishing ancient buildings, he erected new ones to Hercules and Astarte. He built a statue for Hercules in the month of Peritius. He made an expedition against the Eyceans for neglect of the payment of tribute, and having overcome them, returned home. In his reign there was one Abdemonus, a young man, who undertook to give Solomon, the king of Jerusalem, a solution of all mysterious questions that were put to him."

Testimony of Menander.

Testimony of Dios, the historian.

Dios also writes to this effect: "Abibalus, being dead, was succeeded by his son Hiram, who raised the east quarter of the city, enlarged the borders, and brought the temple of Jupiter, that before stood apart, within its compass, as well as enriched and adorned it with most valuable presents. He ordered cedar wood to be cut down on Mount Libanus for the building of the temple." He further writes, "That Solomon, the king of Jerusalem, sent problems and riddles to Hiram, upon the forfeiture of a considerable sum if he failed to expound them. That such problems and riddles were not only solved by means of Abdemonus, a

"Tyrian, but that other cases were propounded by him to Solomon, who was to pay a great forfeit upon failure of explanation." Thus far goes the testimony of Dios, respecting the intercourse between those princes.

The fortifications of Jerusalem being deemed insufficient for the defence of that spacious and opulent city, Solomon applied himself to the erecting of such towers, and the completion of such repairs, as he found requisite for the security of the place. He also rebuilt and fortified several cities of considerable note, as Asor, Magedon, and Gazara, in the land of the Philistines; the latter of which king Pharaoh had taken by assault; and having levelled and slain all the inhabitants, gave it as a present to his daughter upon her marriage with Solomon. This city the king rebuilt, as it was naturally very strong, and equally useful to government in peace and in war. He also built not far distant, Betachora and Baeth, besides other places for the purposes of health and pastime, from the temperature of climate, delicacy of fruits, and conveniencies of air and water. When he had built this city, and encompassed it with strong walls, he called it Thadamora, which name it bears among the Syrians to this day. The Greeks call it Palmyra.

If any should enquire wherefore all the kings of Egypt, from Minæas, the founder of Memphis, many years before our forefather Abraham, until the days of Solomon, being an interval of thirteen hundred years, should be called by the name of Pharaoh, it is deemed expedient to give them this information: Pharaoh, in the Egyptian language, signifies king. I apprehend, that they went by other names from their childhood, but, on coming to the exercise of the regal dignity, they exchanged the distinction of the family into that which denoted their authority. Thus it was that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they assumed the reins of government, were all called by the name of Ptolemy, from the first of their kings. Thus it is with the Roman emperors also, who, upon their elevations to that dignity, are stiled Cæsars, in consequence of their assumption to the sovereign power. Perhaps this was the cause that occasioned Herodotus, of Halicarnassus, in his account of the successors of Minæas, the first king of Memphis, to call them in general by the name of Pharaoh, though they amounted in number to three hundred and thirty. When a woman succeeded to the government she was called by her proper name Nicaulis, the appellation of Pharaoh being peculiar to the other sex. Nor can I discover from our own history, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, there was ever any other king called by that name. I am also well assured, that this Nicaulis was the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, that came afterwards to Solomon; but of this more hereafter. I have rather dwelt upon these particulars to prove the agreement of our history and that of the Egyptians.

In process of time Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites betwixt Mount Libanus and the city Amathe, who, for some time, disputed their allegiance to the kings of Israel, till Solomon at last made them tributaries, upon condition of furnishing him yearly with such a certain number of slaves, as was agreed upon to be employed in tilling the land, and other sorts of servility; for none of the Hebrews were subject to servile employments; nor would it have been proper for conquerors to descend to do the business of their captives. With respect to the Israelites, their genius lay more towards arms and military exploits. The Canaanites, in the mean time, were kept to their labour; and six hundred officers were appointed to superintend them in their respective employments.

The king fitted out many ships in Ezon-Geber, an Egyptian bay upon the Red Sea. It is now called Bernico, not far from the city of Elan. This place formerly belonged to the Hebrews, and became useful for shipping from the donations of Hiram, king of Tyre, who also sent him a number of skilful navigators and expert pilots. These served the king's officers for guides to the land of Ophir, which belongs to India, where they went for four hundred talents of gold, and brought them to the king.

The fame of Solomon's wisdom having reached the

Called in
Scripture
Sheba.
The queen
of Egypt
and Ethio-
pia pays a
visit to So-
lomon.

She is trans-
ported with
his wisdom
and magni-
ficence.

Her address
to the king.

Riches
are usually
presented by
the queen
and Solo-
mon.

The queen
returns to
her country.

The fleet re-
turns from
Ophir with
valuable
cargoes.

the ears of Nicaulis, queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, excited in that princely, who possessed a great share of understanding, much desire to see our celebrated monarch. She wished to be satisfied by her own experience, and not trust to report alone, respecting his magnificence and wonderful qualifications. With this view she set forward towards Jerusalem with a train and equipage suited to her royal dignity, taking with her a number of camels, laden with gold, variety of rich perfumes, and of precious stones. The king, upon her arrival, received her with all possible honour, courtesy, and respect, solved all the difficult questions she proposed, inasmuch that she was struck with wonder at his various excellencies. She could not but admire the magnificence of his palace, the discipline and oeconomy of his household, and the peculiar grace and propriety with which he conducted his affairs in general. But nothing gave her so much satisfaction as that masterly fabric called the Grove of Lebanon, which displayed such singular beauties. She was likewise infinitely pleased with the daily sacrifices, and the application, care, and veneration with which the priests and Levites performed their parts in the worship. The whole she beheld impressed her mind so sensibly, that, in the height of her amazement, she addressed the king in words to this effect:

“Great prince, report is so doubtful and uncertain, that, without an experimental and demonstrative confirmation of the truth of what we hear, we are forced to suspend our judgment, especially when the fame of things relates either to extreme good or evil. But with respect to your incomparable faculties, that is to the advantages of the mind in a superlative degree of knowledge and understanding, and the glory of your outward state, the rumour has been so far from partial, that it falls short even of common justice. For tho’ report conveyed as much to your honour as words could express, I have yet the happiness at this present time to see much more than I heard. Blessed are the Israelites; blessed are the friends and people of Solomon, that stand even before him and hear his wisdom; and blessed be God for his goodness to this land and nation, in placing them under the government of so excellent a prince.”

Nor did this great princess testify her admiration of the wisdom and magnificence of Solomon by words alone as mere professions; but, as a farther instance of the high respect she entertained for the king, she presented him with twenty talents of gold, together with a great quantity of aromatic spices, rich perfumes, and precious stones to a considerable value. They speak also of a root of balsam that she brought with her, which, according to tradition, was the first plant of the kind that ever came into our country, where it has been extensively propagated ever since.

Solomon, on his part, was not wanting in making a suitable acknowledgement of the favours conferred upon him; for he not only presented the queen with whatever she asked, but added several articles which he thought attracted her fancy. After this reciprocal interchange of presents, the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia returned, highly gratified, to her own country.

About the same time the king’s fleet returned from Ophir (otherwise called the land of gold) bringing precious stones and pine wood in abundance. The latter was made use of for pillars and supporters to the temple and palace, and partly for the construction of musical instruments, such as psalteries, harps, and cymbals, which the Levites use in their hymns during the course of divine worship. The wood that was brought upon this occasion, was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before. Let it not, therefore, be imagined, that this pine wood was like that which is so named by the merchants in order to enhance its value in the esteem of the purchaser. It has somewhat of the grain of the fig-tree, but is more white and glossy. It is deemed proper to make this remark, that the reader may form a just estimate of so valuable a commodity.

Solomon received by this fleet six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold, exclusive of the merchants’ adventure, and what the governors and princes of

Arabia sent him for presents. Of this gold he caused to be cast two hundred targets, weighing each six hundred shekels of gold, and these were hung up in the great hall of the Grove of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold and of precious stones for the purpose of entertainments, and had them embellished with exquisite art. Indeed his utensils in general were made of this rich metal. No money passed in the carrying on of this traffic; for the king had many ships in the sea of Tarsus which carried out all kinds of merchandize to the remotest parts; so that his subjects exchanged their commodities for gold, silver, ivory, negroes, apes, &c. They finished their voyage usually in the course of three years.

The fame of Solomon’s wisdom, power, and riches, having by this time extended to the remotest parts, several of the most potent princes were desirous of being witnesses of the same, and embraced every opportunity of testifying their veneration for his character by their submission and munificence. They sent him gold and silver plate, purple robes, spices and perfumes of all sorts; horses, chariots, and mules for burthen, such as they thought for strength and beauty would be most acceptable to the king. In short, the richest presents were sent him from every quarter; and it was the prevailing ambition of the princes of that time to behold the magnificence, and attend to the instruction, of the renowned king of Israel.

By the presents last-mentioned, Solomon had an addition of four hundred chariots to what he had before; that is, he now had a thousand chariots, and twenty thousand horses, which, in beauty and speed, excelled all others. Their riders were also a further ornament to them, being men in the flower of their age, compleatly disciplined, and elegantly arrayed, with the advantage of an intermixture of golden threads with their locks, which, irradiated by the sun, exhibited a most splendid view to the spectators. This was the guard which, with their accoutrements, attended the king, mounted in his chariot, and clothed in white on particular occasions, and especially in his morning excursions to a seat he had at Ethan, which, from its situation, gardens, and fountains, became his favourite spot.

The king’s sagacity and providential care appeared in the minutest instances. He did not neglect the superintendence of the high-ways that led to his palace at Jerusalem; but ordered them to be paved, as well for the ease and convenience of passengers, as the support of his own regal dignity. He also disposed his chariots in regular order, so that a certain number should be kept in a town upon free quarter, and these places were called his chariot towns. Silver was as plentiful in Jerusalem in these days as stones; and cedars, which had never been seen in Judea before, were now as common as sycamore trees. He gave commission to his Egyptian merchants to procure him a chariot, with a pair of horses at the price of six hundred silver drachmæ each; and these were sent to the kings of Syria and beyond Euphrates.

But though Solomon was become the most glorious of kings, the most favoured of heaven, and exceeded, in wisdom and riches, all his predecessors, and indeed all monarchs upon the face of the earth, he did not preserve in this happy state to the time of his death. The latter actions of his life greatly sullied the glories of the former. It is a melancholy truth, that he departed from the laws of Moses, and the religion of his forefathers; and that, prompted by inordinate desires, and not satisfied with women of his own country, he cohabited promiscuously with those of various nations, such as Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammonites, Idumæans, &c. in violation of the law expressly forbidding any Hebrew intercourse of that kind with strangers; it being natural to conclude, that strange women would allure men to the worship of strange gods. This was the true cause of the precaution against such marriages; for the transgression of one law is but a step towards the breaking of another; and the taking of a prohibited wife would produce, of course, the embracing of a prohibited religion.

It soon appeared that Solomon’s inordinate desires were beyond the controul of sobriety and reason. He had no less than seven hundred wives, who were princesses,

Solomon’s
immense
riches.

Solomon
maintains
an extensive
traffic in re-
mote climates.

Noble pre-
sents from
divers poten-
tates.

His addi-
tional splen-
dour and
magnifi-
cence.

He descends
to take cog-
nizance of
the minutest
matters.

Abundance
of silver in
the days of
Solomon.

1 Kings xi.

Solomon
falls from
his former
obedience to
the Divine
command.

princesses, and three hundred concubines; and the passion he had for the personal charms of some, and the captivating demeanour of others, transported him into compliances with them in the impiety of their practices and opinions, as the most effectual proof he could give them of his affection. As he grew more advanced in years, he experienced a decay both of his mental and corporeal powers; and as he became more remiss in the exercise of the true worship, he was the more easily prevailed on to join with these strange women in a false one (a): though he had been guilty of a flagrant transgression of the law before, in the very figures of the bulls under his brazen sea, and in the lions afterwards, that were set as a guard upon his throne, which were directly in breach of a positive commandment. He had, at the same time, a most glorious precedent in his pious father, whose steps were recommended to his example in a vision from on high, upon pain of the Divine displeasure, and the infliction of the direst calamities on himself and people.

This sad apostacy highly offended the Almighty, who was pleased to send a prophet to him with a message to this effect: "That his wickedness could not be hid from God's all-seeing eye, and that he should not long go unpunished." With respect to the promise made to his father, the prophet told him his government should not be taken from him while he was living; but that, after his death, his son should suffer for the iniquities of his father; not that there should be an universal defection, but that ten tribes only should revolt, and the other two continue in their allegiance to the son of Solomon, for the sake of his grand-father David, and for the sake of the temple of Jerusalem, which God had chosen for his peculiar habitation on earth.

This severe chastisement, which foretold the removal of Solomon from the summit of human glory to the contrary extreme, wounded him to the very soul; and, to add to its poignancy, he could not but acknowledge the justice of the sentence.

Soon after this prediction by means of the prophet, God raised up a bitter enemy against him. His name was Adad, an Idumæan by birth, and of the blood royal. His animosity to Solomon arose from the following circumstance. When the Hebrews over-ran the country of Idumæa, under the command of Joab, who at that time was David's general, this Joab, having subdued the people, put to the sword all the males he could find in the province, that were able to bear arms; and this massacre continued for the space of six months. Adad, who was then in his youthful state, happening to make his escape, fled to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who not only received him with great humanity, but generously gave him houses, lands, and revenues for his support; nay, such was his affection for him, that, on his arriving to years of maturity, he gave him his own wife's sister in marriage, who bore him a son, that was trained up with the children of Pharaoh.

In process of time news was brought to Egypt of the death of David and Joab; and Adad, upon these tidings, asked permission of Pharaoh to return to his own country. The king, not being pleased with this request, asked him what was the cause of his so earnestly desiring to leave the best friend he had in the world? Adad repeated his solicitations for some time, but could not prevail.

But when Solomon's affairs began to decline, on account of his fore-mentioned transgressions, and the Divine indignation for the same, Adad, with Pharaoh's permission, returned to Idumæa, with a design of stirring up the people to a rebellion against Solomon. On his arrival at the place he found the garri-son so strong, and the country in such a posture of defence, that nothing could be done effectually by surprize. He therefore adopted another plan, and went from thence into Syria, where he joined interests with one Rezon, a fugitive from his master

Adadezer, the king of Zobah, and a famous leader of a body of banditti, who pillaged up and down at pleasure. Adad struck a league with this man, and, with his assistance, subdued that part of Syria, where he was declared king, and made such inroads upon the territories of Solomon, as perplexed him greatly in the declining part of his reign.

But, besides these indignities from a stranger and a fugitive, Solomon found a more dangerous enemy in his own nation. This was Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, a man of turbulent and ambitious spirit, who had an expectation of rising from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. Jeroboam being left by his father, when very young, to the care of his mother, and Solomon observing that, as he grew up, he became of a bold and enterprising disposition, made him overseer of his works, being at that time rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. He executed that office with such care and attention, that Solomon gave him, as a reward, the military command over the tribe of Joseph.

As Jeroboam was one day going out of Jerusalem, he was met on the way by the prophet Ahijah, who having saluted and taken him aside, laid hold of his garment, that was new, and rent it into twelve pieces, bidding him take ten of them to himself, as it was the Divine pleasure and will it should be so. The prophet added, that the government should be wrested from Solomon; but that, for the sake of the Divine promise, the two contiguous tribes should be given to his son; but the other ten to Jeroboam, as a punishment for giving himself up to strange women, and through their influence, to strange gods. He concluded with admonishing him to take warning from Solomon's miserable case, and observe the statutes and commandments according to the example of pious king David, as the only security of the continuance of the Divine favour and protection.

Jeroboam was much elated at the words of the prophet, and being naturally of an haughty and aspiring temper, whatever conduced to gratify his ambition, rendered him turbulent and restless. The prediction of the prophet was strongly impressed on his mind; and therefore the first step he took, after he came to the army, was to tamper with the people he commanded, and instil in their minds the spirit of disaffection to their sovereign.

The malicious designs of Jeroboam were soon made known to Solomon, who concerted a plan to surprize and dispatch him; but the plot being discovered, he made his escape, and fled to Shishack, king of Egypt, and there resided till the death of Solomon furnished him with an opportunity of prosecuting his intentions.

C H A P. III.

On the demise of Solomon, Rehoboam ascends the throne. Becomes obnoxious to the people. Ten tribes revolt; and Jeroboam, made king, introduces idolatry. He is reproved by a prophet. Jeroboam and Rehoboam equally wicked and idolatrous.

SOLOMON, after a reign of eighty years over Israel, departed this life in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and was interred with great funeral pomp at Jerusalem. He was superior to all his predecessors in wisdom and opulence, and might have been deemed so in happiness, had not an inordinate attachment to women, in the decline of life, precipitated him into actions that sullied the glories he had acquired. But of these, with their consequent punishments, we shall treat in the sequel.

On the death of Solomon, the government of course devolved to his son Rehoboam, who was born of an Ammonite, called Naama. He repaired immediately to Shechem to declare his succession, and obtain the suffrages of the people. Jeroboam, who

(a) It is astonishing that a person of Solomon's wisdom should have been persuaded by his wives to forsake a religion in which he had been so well instructed, and which he was so fully convinced to have been delivered to Moses by that Omnipotent Being who had brought the Israelites from a land of bondage, placed him on the throne of David, and inspired him with that

wisdom which rendered him famous throughout the earth. It affords, however, a striking lesson to all mankind to beware of the infatuation of vice, since even a Solomon was not secure from its delusions, and, when once unhappily immersed in it, seems never to have disengaged himself from it.



C. Cooke delin.

Grignion sculp.

The IDOLATRY and APOSTACY of JEROBOAM, King of Israel, which was followed by the death of his favourite Son, and the dreadful Calamities of his Subjects. — Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke N^o 7 Paternoster Row, Jan. 2. 1780.

was then in Egypt, being urged by some of the rulers, hastened thither also on the same errand.

On his arrival he applied, together with many of the heads of the tribes, to Rehoboam, and advised him to adopt a mild form of government, (observing that, in some instances, his father was oppressive;) and, instead of rendering himself an object of terror to his subjects, his safety and happiness required him to regulate his conduct in such a manner, as to obtain an acquiescence with the measures he pursued from an affection to his person, rather than a dread of his power.

This they humbly recommended to his consideration; and Rehoboam desired them to return in three days, when he would give them an answer. The delay raised some jealousy in the minds of the people as to the result; for they considered that so reasonable a request could not be denied, especially by a young prince, if disposed to promote the interest and happiness of his subjects. However, as suspension by no means implied a denial, they waited the event with hopes of success.

In consequence of this general application, Rehoboam called together the friends and counsellors of his late father, and requested of them their advice respecting the answer he should give to their request. Being well affected to the public cause, and acquainted with the disposition of the people, they recommended to him, by all means, to treat them with courtesy and condescension; assuring him that he would gain much more upon them by a popular freedom, than by assuring the formalities of majesty and state; nothing being so conducive to gain and preserve the loyalty of a people, as the condescension and affability of their prince.

More sage counsel could not have been given on a general or particular occasion: indeed it was peculiarly applicative to Rehoboam's present situation, having a kingdom in immediate view. But so infatuated was this young prince with the thoughts of his elevation, that he not only rejected it, but applied to persons of his own age and disposition, determined to abide by their opinion. They debated on the point, and, through want of experience, and heat of passion, advised him to return the people an answer to this effect; "That since they complained of his predecessor, they should feel more weight from his little finger than they had done from the loins of his father: that if they thought themselves oppressed before, they must expect more oppression now: and that if his father had chastised them with whips, he was determined to chastise them with scorpions."

The weak king was highly pleased with this pertinacious reply, suggested by counsellors as weak as himself, thinking it consonant with his false ideas of majesty: so that upon the third day, when the people assembled in the utmost anxiety of hope and fear, he appeared, and delivered his answer to them precisely in the words which the young men had recommended. It seems as if it had been so ordered by Divine Providence, that the prophecy of Ahijah might be fulfilled; for these words, uttered with all the pomp of state, so enraged the multitude, that they exclaimed, as with one voice, "What have we to do with the house of David? Let him take to himself the temple that his father built." And this seemed to forebode a general revolt.

When Rehoboam understood this, he sent Adoram, one of his officers in the treasury, to pacify them, by laying the blame upon some rash and vehement young men: but the people, deaf to all his exculpatory arguments, instantly stoned him to death. The king, thinking this violence pointed at himself rather than his officer, thought it high time to consult his own safety; so that he hastened to his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin abided by him, and proclaimed him king; but the rest of the Israelites made choice of Jeroboam, declaring they would never again acknowledge the sovereignty of a descendant of David. Thus was this great kingdom divided into two parts, and ever after went under different denominations, namely, the kingdom of Judah, and the kingdom of Israel; though the latter included the whole before.

Rehoboam, fired with indignation at this revolt,

No. 11.

summoned a full convention of the two tribes that stood firm to their allegiance, and drew out 180,000 soldiers, proposing to himself, with this body of men, to march against the other ten tribes, and, by force, reduce them to obedience.

While he was preparing for this enterprize, he received a visit from a prophet, who, by the Divine direction, advised him to desist from prosecuting a civil war; because it was the will of God that the division of the kingdom should come to pass, that the prediction of Ahijah might be fulfilled.

We shall now advert to some of the actions of Jeroboam, king of the Israelites; and thence proceed to the history of Rehoboam, and the two tribes, in due order.

Jeroboam enlarged and beautified Shechem, built him a palace, and made it a royal city. He likewise repaired Penuel, a fortified place on the other side the river Jordan, where he likewise built a palace, to which he frequently resorted, in hopes of gaining over the affections of the two tribes that were attached to Rehoboam.

The time was now near for celebrating the feast of tabernacles; upon which Jeroboam reflected, that if his people should repair to Jerusalem to celebrate that festival, the ceremonies of religion might so far operate on their minds, as to induce them to acknowledge allegiance to his antagonist, whereby both his life and government would be in imminent danger. For prevention, he bethought himself of this expedient. He caused two golden calves and two temples to be formed; the one at Bethel, and the other at Dan, which is a town situated at the head of the Lesser Jordan. These images were consecrated in both places; after which he summoned the ten tribes under his command, and thus addressed them:

"It is unnecessary, my friends and countrymen, to mention the omnipresence of the Deity: in whatever place we are, he hears and accepts the prayers we offer him. I therefore conceive, that, for the exercise of your religion, it will be totally needless to undertake a tedious journey to Jerusalem. You will be at no loss for the want of priests or Levites. The builder of the temple was but a mortal like ourselves. The golden calves, which are placed in the temples at Bethel and Dan, have been consecrated as well as the temple at Jerusalem. Therefore let such as are inclined to execute the sacerdotal function, qualify themselves by sacrificing a calf and a ram; by which ceremony alone, Aaron, the first of that order, was initiated into the priesthood."

By these plausible means the people were seduced into apostacy from the true worship of their God, and the established laws of their country; and Jeroboam was of course the author of all the calamities that afterwards befel them, as we shall shew in due time and order.

The festival of the seventh month, or the feast of tabernacles, was now approaching; and Jeroboam formed a resolution of worshipping the same way at Bethel, that the two tribes did at Jerusalem. To give countenance to this innovation in religion, he erected an altar before the golden calf, assumed to himself the character and office of high-priest, and, having gone through the different ceremonies, according to the form of the temple worship, proceeded at length to that of the sacrifices. But, as he was preparing to put fire to the victim, in the sight of all the people, there came a prophet from Jerusalem, named Jadon, at that very crisis, and interrupted him. Having made his way through the multitude, he advanced to the altar, and thus exclaimed; "O altar! altar! there shall raise one out of the house of Judah, Josiah by name, who upon thee shall destroy the false prophets, seducers, and impostors of these times, and upon thee shall burn their bones. That there may be no doubt of this prediction being fulfilled, its authority shall now be confirmed by a sign. Behold the altar shall be rent, and the fat of the sacrifices that are upon it shall be poured forth upon the ground."

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prophets,
&c.

1 Kings xix.



J. Cooke delin.

Grignon sculp.

The IDOLATRY and APOSTACY of JEROBOAM, King of Israel, which was followed by the death of his favourite Son, and the dreadful Calamities of his Subjects: ——— Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke N^o 17 Paternoster Row, Jan. 14 1786.

was then in Egypt, being urged by some of the rulers, hastened thither also on the same errand.

On his arrival he applied, together with many of the heads of the tribes, to Rehoboam, and advised him to adopt a mild form of government, (observing that, in some instances, his rather was oppressive;) and, instead of rendering himself an object of terror to his subjects, his safety and happiness required him to regulate his conduct in such a manner, as to obtain an acquiescence with the measures he pursued from an affection to his person, rather than a dread of his power.

This they humbly recommended to his consideration; and Rehoboam desired them to return in three days, when he would give them an answer. The delay raised some jealousy in the minds of the people as to the result; for they considered that so reasonable a request could not be denied, especially by a young prince, if disposed to promote the interest and happiness of his subjects. However, as suspension by no means implied a denial, they waited the event with hopes of success.

In consequence of this general application, Rehoboam called together the friends and counsellors of his late father, and requested of them their advice respecting the answer he should give to their request. Being well affected to the public cause, and acquainted with the disposition of the people, they recommended to him, by all means, to treat them with courtesy and condescension; assuring him that he would gain much more upon them by a popular freedom, than by assuring the formalities of majesty and state; nothing being so conducive to gain and preserve the loyalty of a people, as the condescension and affability of their prince.

More sage counsel could not have been given on a general or particular occasion: indeed it was peculiarly applicative to Rehoboam's present situation, having a kingdom in immediate view. But so infatuated was this young prince with the thoughts of his elevation, that he not only rejected it, but applied to persons of his own age and disposition, determined to abide by their opinion. They debated on the point, and, through want of experience, and heat of passion, advised him to return the people an answer to this effect; "That since they complained of his predecessor, they should feel more weight from his little finger than they had done from the loins of his father: that if they thought themselves oppressed before, they must expect more oppression now: and that if his father had chastised them with whips, he was determined to chastise them with scorpions."

The weak king was highly pleased with this pertinacious reply, suggested by counsellors as weak as himself, thinking it consonant with his false ideas of majesty: so that upon the third day, when the people assembled in the utmost anxiety of hope and fear, he appeared, and delivered his answer to them precisely in the words which the young men had recommended. It seems as if it had been so ordered by Divine Providence, that the prophecy of Ahijah might be fulfilled; for these words, uttered with all the pomp of state, so enraged the multitude, that they exclaimed, as with one voice, "What have we to do with the house of David? Let him take to himself the temple that his father built." And this seemed to forebode a general revolt.

When Rehoboam understood this, he sent Adoram, one of his officers in the treasury, to pacify them, by laying the blame upon some rash and vehement young men: but the people, deaf to all his exculpatory arguments, instantly stoned him to death. The king, thinking this violence pointed at himself rather than his officer, thought it high time to consult his own safety; so that he hastened to his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin abided by him, and proclaimed him king; but the rest of the Israelites made choice of Jeroboam, declaring they would never again acknowledge the sovereignty of a descendant of David. Thus was this great kingdom divided into two parts, and ever after went under different denominations, namely, the kingdom of Judah, and the kingdom of Israel; though the latter included the whole before.

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Rehoboam marches against the rebels.

Rehoboam is admonished by a prophet.

Acts of Jeroboam.

Jeroboam sets up idols at Bethel and Dan.

His address.

The multitude are seduced to idolatry.

Prediction of judgments against idolaters, false prophets, &c. 1 Kings xiii.

Jeroboam and the rulers apply to the new king, and counsel him as to his regal conduct.

Rehoboam applies to his counsellors for advice upon the occasion.

Their sage and salutary counsel.

Rehoboam is misguided by the counsel of young men.

The people turn off their allegiance.

Some Adoram is stoned to death.

Rehoboam takes to flight.

The tribes who were to follow Jeroboam.

The tribes who remained.

Confirma-
tion of Ja-
don's divine
authority

Restoration
of Jerobo-
am's with-
ered hand

The false
prophet per-
suades Jadon
to return to
Bethel con-
trary to the
Divine com-
mand.

Jadon is
slain by a
lion.

Magnifi-
cently in-
terred in the
instance of
the false
prophet.

Jeroboam is
artfully
persuaded to
disbelieve
Jadon's pre-
dictions.

Jeroboam
becomes to-
tally aban-
doned.

at the very instant, his hand became so benumbed, that he could not draw it back again. At the same time the altar fell to pieces, as was presaged; and the fat of the sacrifices was spilt upon the ground. Jeroboam, convinced, at length, that the prophet was vested with a Divine commission, perceived his own impiety, and earnestly requested him to supplicate the Almighty for the restoration of his withered hand. The prophet readily complied with this request; and Jeroboam, having received the use of his limb, gratefully acknowledged the benefit of the cure, and earnestly pressed his benefactor to stay and take some refreshment with him. But the prophet declined the invitation, in consequence of a Divine injunction, not to taste bread or wine in that city, nor to return the same way he came. His abstinence and reserve induced the king to be more attentive to what he predicted, than he otherwise would have been; and his anxiety increased as he continued to reflect upon the event.

There was at this time, in Bethel, a certain false prophet, who, by the flattering events which he pretended would come to pass, had highly ingratiated himself with Jeroboam. He was far advanced in years; and being informed, by his sons, of the famous prophet who was come from Jerusalem, and the miracles he had wrought in the sight of the people, notwithstanding he was oppressed with many and great infirmities, he arose from his bed, and being mounted on his ass, went immediately in quest of the stranger. This rapid motion was the result of the false prophet's apprehension of being supplanted in the king's favour. He came up with Jadon as he was resting himself under the shade of a spreading oak. The formality of salutation having passed between them, the false prophet complained of the unkindness of the stranger in not having called at his habitation, and partaking of the fare which it afforded, strongly urging him, at the same time, to return and take some refreshment. The stranger refused his request, assigning the same reason for it as he had done to the king. The old man replied, that the prohibition did not extend to him, for that he himself was a prophet, and sent expressly by the Divine command to eat with him. Jadon was at length prevailed on by the false prophet to return; and while they were seated at table, and engaged in familiar converse, a vision suddenly appeared, and not only gave him to understand that he should be punished for his disobedience, but informed him in what manner the punishment should be inflicted, which was, that he should be torn in pieces upon the way by a lion, and that his body should not be laid in the tomb of his ancestors.

Nor was it long before this awful sentence was put in execution; for as Jadon was on his return to Jerusalem, he was suddenly attacked by a lion, and instantly dispatched. But the beast neither tore his body, nor did the least injury to the ass on which he rode. An account of this disaster being brought to the false prophet by some travellers who passed that way, he appointed his sons to fetch the body into the city, which being done, he caused it to be magnificently interred in his own sepulchre, strictly charging his sons, whenever he died, to lay his body as near that of this prophet as possible. He declared at the same time, that he was confident that what he had foretold concerning the altar of Bethel, the priests, and the false prophets, would most certainly come to pass.

The funeral obsequies were no sooner performed, and this charge given to his sons, than the false prophet, with his usual impiety and perfidy, went to Jeroboam, and, finding him much agitated in his mind, asked him why he should be thus affected by the words of a frantic madman? The king then adverted to the miraculous signs of the altar, and the withering and restoration of his own hand, as the awful cause of his perturbation; adding, that had he not been a prophet from on high, he could not have given such proofs of a Divine commission.

The false prophet used every effort to invalidate that conviction by which the king was so apparently impressed, and attempted to persuade him that his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone in supporting the victims, and that upon its resting a short time, it returned to its former state: That

the altar was newly erected, and crushed by the weight of the sacrifices laid upon it. He then artfully introduced the manner in which the prophet, who had foretold the things that so much alarmed him, was taken off, and had recourse to every means of working the king into a disbelief of the predictions.

Nor were his efforts in vain; for Jeroboam, blinded by his arts, and seduced by his insinuations, became totally alienated from God and his true worship, and abandoned to impiety and profligacy in the highest degree. He seemed to have bidden defiance to every thing sacred either in heaven or earth, and to have added presumption to idolatry. But we pass on from the acts of Jeroboam to those of Rehoboam.

This king, who was of the two tribes which maintained their allegiance to him, as the son and successor of David, was as little deserving of his station as his rival. He built and fortified several considerable cities, as Bethlehem, Etan, Tekoa, Bethzar, Shoco, Adullam, Ipa, Maresha, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachish, Asekah, Zorah, Ajalon, and Hebron, all in the tribe of Judah, besides several places no less considerable in that of Benjamin. These he provided with garrisons, governors, corn, wine and oil, with all necessaries in abundance, for their maintenance and defence. During his residence at Jerusalem, the priests and Levites that were in all Israel, and such of the people in general as were attached to the true religion, left their respective places of abode, that they might enjoy the privilege of worshipping God in the manner of their forefathers. They were disgusted with the tyrannical and idolatrous practices of Jeroboam, in forcing them to the adoration of images, to the dishonour of the one only and true God, and in violation of his positive command. So general, indeed, was the revolt, that, in the course of three years, the power and interest of Rehoboam were greatly augmented. The first wife this prince espoused was his kinswoman, by whom he had three children. He afterwards married Maacah, the daughter of Thamar, who was the daughter of Absalom, by whom he had Abijah. He had many other children by other wives, but he loved Maacah above them all. He had, upon the whole, eighteen wives and thirty concubines, by whom he had twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters: but he appointed Abijah his successor in the kingdom, and entrusted him with his treasures, and the command of his fortified cities.

It appeared in the instance of Rehoboam, as in many others, that grandeur and prosperity has led men into impiety and irreligion. For, elated with his pre-eminence, his son threw off the mask, and discovered his inclination towards idolatry; and, as his example was followed by his subjects, they soon forsook the worship of the true God, and carried their idolatrous practices to a most extravagant height. Indeed it is evident, from observation, that the lower class of mankind become depraved through the pernicious example of their superiors; for the immorality of a prince has a baneful influence on the conduct of the subjects: nay, some falsely imagine it laudable to imitate even the vices of those who are called the great. Thus it was at this time, when the people became idolatrous in their worship, and immoral in their practice, in conformity with the pleasure and example of their king.

CHAP. IV.

Shishak besieges Jerusalem, and plunders the temple. Death of Rehoboam. He is succeeded by his son Abijah. Prediction of a prophet to Jeroboam of the destruction of himself and family.

AS a punishment for this defection, the Almighty was pleased, in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, to avenge himself on him and his people, by the means of Shishak, king of Egypt; not Sesostris, as related, through error, by Herodotus. This prince invaded his dominions with a most formidable force, amounting to one thousand two hundred chariots, sixty thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot; the army being chiefly composed of Africans and Ethiopians. With this powerful armament he fell upon

Acts of Re-
hoboam,
1 Kings xii.

Many of the
priests, Le-
vites, and
laity, go to
Jerusalem
for the sake
of the true
religion.

The wives
and off-
spring of Je-
roboam.

The ban-
eful influ-
ence of ex-
ample in an
impious and
dissolute
prince.

Expedition
of Shishak
against Je-
roboam.

upon the Hebrews, made himself master of their strongest cities without opposition, and having left garrisons in them, proceeded to Jerusalem, where Rehoboam and his people were blocked up in the town.

In this dilemma the Hebrews besought the Almighty, by prayer and supplication, for victory over, and deliverance from, their enemies: but so flagrant had been their impiety, that they could not obtain the interposition of Divine Providence. When Sameas, the prophet, told them, that God would forsake them as they had forsaken his worship, they were in great consternation; and seeing no prospect of deliverance, they most humbly acknowledged their apostacy from his laws, and the just judgement which had ensued. Being thus disposed to confess their sins, and implore the Divine forgiveness, when brought to the very brink of despair, the prophet told the king, that the Almighty was pleased so far to accept of their humiliation and repentance, that they should not be utterly cut off; but that, however, they should become subject to the Egyptians, that they might learn, by experience, their duty to God, in preference to all human authority.

Alarmed at this report of the prophet, Rehoboam delivered up Jerusalem to Shishak, upon certain conditions: but the Egyptians, without regard to faith or honour, violated the treaty, pillaged the temple, and carried away plate and treasure belonging to the temple, as well as the king, to an immense value. He took with him Solomon's golden shields and bucklers, together with the golden quivers that David had taken from the king of Sophera, and dedicated to the purpose of adorning the temple. When he had thus done, he returned to his own country.

Herodotus, of Halicarnassus, makes mention of this expedition, mistaking only the king's name, where he speaks of his march through several other countries, and of his reducing Syria of Palestine without opposition. Now it is manifest that the historian intended to record the subjection of our nation by the Egyptians; for he mentions, "That he left behind him pillars in the land of those who submitted to him without opposition, and engraved upon them images, emblematical of the pusillanimity of the men, in giving up the country without one effort to defend it." It is evident that Rehoboam, our king, surrendered without opposition. He likewise says, "That the Ethiopians took the custom of circumcising from the Egyptians." It is also universally agreed that the Philistines, and the people of Syria of Palestine, had it from thence; nor are there any other people of that country circumcised but the Hebrews.

Upon the return of Shishak to his own country, after this depredation, Rehoboam was reduced so low, as to be under the necessity of repairing the loss of the golden shields and bucklers with the same number of brazen ones, for the use and ornament of his guards. After this transaction there is nothing of importance to be related concerning Rehoboam; his fear being a constant check upon him, with respect to the animosity that subsisted between him and his formidable rival, Jeroboam. He lived fifty-seven years, and died in the eighteenth year of his reign. He was a prince weak and arrogant, and sacrificed himself, his government, and expectation, to his vanity and obstinacy, in refusing the wise counsel of sage and upright men. He was buried in the city of David at Jerusalem, amongst the kings of Israel. He was succeeded by his son Abijah, in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes.

Having brought the reign of Rehoboam to a conclusion, we shall revert to the history of Jeroboam. This prince persisted in his idolatry and immorality. He daily multiplied altars in the high places, and appointed priests to officiate unworthy of the sacred functions. The Almighty, in righteous judgement, soon avenged the indignation offered his sacred name, upon himself and his family. It soon happened that Obimes, his son, fell sick; upon which he ordered his wife to dress herself as a private person, and go to the prophet Ahijah, at Shiloh, (who had formerly predicted that he himself should obtain the royal dignity), and enquire of him the fate of the child. The prophet was now dim-sighted with age; therefore Jeroboam thought it might be easy to impose upon him,

and that he would imagine the queen to be no more than a common person. In conformity to the order of her royal husband, his wife, having disguised herself, set out on her journey to Shiloh, to make enquiry of the prophet concerning the life of their darling son. Before she arrived at the place, Ahijah was addressed by a voice from heaven, informing him that the woman was coming to apply to him, and upon what occasion, together with the answer he should return to the questions she should propose. Upon her approaching his habitation he thus addressed her. "Come in, and pretend not to disguise yourself; for I have derived information of your character and business, together with the speech I am to deliver to you, from one who is not to be deceived. Return, therefore, to your husband, and deliver him this message, with which I am charged from on high. As I deprived the house of David of the regal authority, (saith the Lord), and, from a mean station in life, exalted thee to the dignity of a throne, and as thou hast, with the greatest ingratitude, deserted my worship, and impiously set up gods of thine own invention, made by the hands of men, and preferred them to the Creator of the universe, I will therefore extirpate thee and thy house from the earth, and give the carcases of thy people to be consumed by dogs and the birds of the air. Another king shall be in thy stead, who shall not suffer one man of this family to remain alive. Nor shall the people themselves avoid punishment; for they shall be driven out of the land they inhabit, and be scattered beyond the Euphrates, for imitating thy wickedness, and worshipping thy gods, in contempt of me and my commandments."

The prophet, having given the queen this message, bid her hasten home, and inform her husband of it as soon as possible; but not till he had assured her that the child should expire the very instant she entered the city.

With this doleful message, and these melancholy tidings, the queen left Ahijah; and no sooner did she arrive home than she found his prediction verified; for the child, a very short time before, had given up the ghost. After her first grief had a little subsided, she delivered the message to the king as she received it from the prophet, and related every particular that had passed between them.

CHAP V.

Jeroboam is vanquished by Abijah, son and successor to Rehoboam on the throne of Judah. Death of Abijah. He is succeeded by Asa, a pious and virtuous prince. Death of Jeroboam, and extirpation of his whole race.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late awful and intimidating event, Jeroboam did not appear dismayed, but levied a formidable army, and undertook an expedition against Abijah, son of Rehoboam, who now succeeded to the throne of Judah. Abijah, though young, was a prince of a martial spirit, and so far from being alarmed at this preparation, that, determined to put an end to the dispute which had so long subsisted between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, he immediately raised an army out of the two tribes, and marched against Jeroboam, whose forces were double the number of those of the king of Judah, though they amounted to four hundred thousand men.

When the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, Abijah advanced to an eminence, and holding up his hand to bespeak silence, spoke to this effect in the hearing of them all.

"You cannot have forgotten that God has promised that David and his posterity shall rule this kingdom. I am therefore surprized to find my father forsaken, and his subject, Jeroboam, put in his stead; as well as to see that you have taken up arms against a government which God has established, and that you cannot be satisfied without driving the legal possessor from what small portion is still remaining under his jurisdiction: for Jeroboam has already usurped authority over the greatest

The prophet predicts the calamities that should befall Jeroboam and his family.

Jeroboam's expedition against Abijah.

Abijah prepares to meet him.

Abijah's general address to the armies of Judah and Israel.

The Hebrews implore the Divine aid.

They confess their transgressions.

The prophet reports the Divine will to Rehoboam.

Shishak becomes master of Jerusalem, and carries off the temple.

Testimony of Herodotus concerning this expedition.

Death and character of Rehoboam.

The profile of Jeroboam.

Obimes his wife to the prophet, concerning the recovery of the son, who had fallen sick.

"greatest part of the kingdom. The Almighty, however, will not suffer him long to possess what he has so iniquitously obtained, but will severely punish him for his crimes, and cause those rapacious and oppressive measures to cease, which, instead of endeavouring to terminate, he employs his constant attention to aggravate. What cause can be assigned for this falling off? You never received any injurious treatment from my father. Once, indeed, incited by evil counsel, (of which Jeroboam was the principal cause), he unhappily made use of an improper expression, upon which every one of you departed in a rage, not only relinquishing allegiance to your sovereign; but your duty to your God. You ought to have proceeded with deliberation, and have judged more favourably of that weakness which is incidental to all mankind. You should also have reflected on my father's youth, and that he did not affect to be endowed with the powers of oratory. You should also have considered him as the son of Solomon, from whom you had received such signal obligations. I should have supposed that all these considerations might have induced you to excuse an hasty expression; and on the father's account, it would have been no more than an act of justice to have made some small allowance for the son. But it is evident you never considered these things, nor is it probable, if I may form my judgement from the forces now before us. In what is your ultimate resource fixed? It cannot surely be in your golden figures of calves, your altars and high places. You confide in your evil deeds, and not in your religious practices. You act in opposition to every law, Divine and human: against both you militate in taking up arms against us, who have always worshipped the true God; not an idol carved from stone or wood, and imposed upon a weak and credulous multitude, by the impiety of their prince; but God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who is the primary and ultimate cause of all things. Repent, therefore, of the wickedness you have committed, and follow better courses hereafter; or, if you are determined to contend, let it be for the protection of those laws from which you derive your present greatness and felicity."

Jeroboam circumvents the army of Abijah.

Abijah encourages and animates the people.

Obtains a complete victory over Jeroboam.

Death of Abijah.

Death of Jeroboam. Retrospect of his reign.

This expostulation from the mouth of Abijah, had not the least effect upon the mind of Jeroboam, who, during the time he was speaking, ordered a detachment to march round, and intercept his retreat. The troops of Abijah were greatly alarmed at this unexpected manœuvre; but their leader encouraged them to preserve their fortitude, exhorting them to depend upon the protection of the Almighty, who would render abortive the most consummate treachery levelled against the righteous cause they were engaged to support. These words from the king revived the courage of his troops, and they addressed themselves in humble supplication to the Almighty for success; till at length the charge being sounded by the priest, they fell on with a mighty clamour, attacked the enemy with such vigour, that they were soon defeated, with a slaughter, that is not paralleled in the history of any war either of the Greeks or barbarians. Five hundred thousand men fell upon the spot, and their strongest places were taken and rifled. After this defeat Jeroboam was never able to make head against his adversary. Abijah, however, did not long survive this memorable event, but, after a short reign of hardly three years, paid the debt of nature, and was buried at Jerusalem in the sepulchre of his ancestors. He left behind him twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters, which he had by fourteen women. Afa, his son, whose mother's name was Maacha, succeeded him on the throne; and, under his government, the Israelites enjoyed the blessings of peace for a term of ten years.

In the second year of Afa's reign, and the twenty-second of his own, died Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes. His reign was famous (or rather infamous) for the revolt of those ten tribes, the public institution of idolatry, and the victory obtained over him by Abijah, king of the two tribes of Judah.

Jeroboam was succeeded by his son Nadab, who followed the impious example of his father. His reign was but short; for, at the close of about two

years, leading forth an army against Gabathon, a city of the Philistines, thinking it might be taken by assault, he was cut off by the treachery of a professed friend, called Baasha, who seized upon the government, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam, according to the prophecy denounced by Ahijah, "That the dogs should eat of Jeroboam's stock that died in the city, and that the fowls of the air should eat him that died in the fields." This was the result of their impious apostacy, and most flagitious conduct.

Nadab's son and successor is slain by Baasha, who exterminates the whole house of Jeroboam.

CHAP. VI.

Afa a virtuous and upright prince. Defeats Zareus, king of Ethiopia. Invites the king of Damascus to assist him against Baasha, who is taken off by death, as was his son and successor, Zimri.

ASA, king of Jerusalem, was a prince of a most excellent disposition, and laudably employed the interval of peace, for the first ten years of his reign, in removing the abominable vices which had been introduced among the people. He was, in fact, a man of pure religion and morals, and lived in strict conformity to the laws of God, as handed down by his forefathers. He rectified the errors of government, and purged his dominions from the abominations of idolatry, and the corruption of dissolute manners.

King's reformation of religion and morals.

During this interval of peace, he also fortified several places on the frontiers of his kingdom. He likewise trained up the greater part of his subjects to the art of war; insomuch that, in a short time, he had an army of three hundred thousand men of the tribe of Judah, armed with shields and spikes; and two hundred and fifty thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, with shields and arrows.

Makes military preparations.

Towards the latter end of the tenth year of his reign, Zareus, king of Ethiopia, invaded Judea with an army of nine hundred thousand foot, one hundred thousand horse, and three hundred chariots. When he was advanced as far as Maresa, a city in the dependency of Judah, Afa marched with his army against him, and encamped in a certain valley called Saphatha, at a small distance from the enemy. When he saw their very formidable power, he invoked the Divine aid, declaring that he had taken up arms only through the confidence he reposed in the protection of the Almighty, and that his assistance would more than compensate for the inferiority of numbers, and every other apparent disadvantage. Upon this humble application, he was encouraged with tokens and assurances of victory.

Zareus makes an expedition against him.

Nor was it long before they were made good; for, elated thereby, Afa charged the enemy with such invincible fortitude, that they immediately gave way, and a total rout ensued, attended with prodigious slaughter. He pursued them to the plain of Gerar, and there quitting the pursuit, took and rifled the city itself, and likewise the camp of the enemy, carrying off with him an immense booty in gold and cattle.

The Ethiopians are defeated.

Having, through the interposition of Divine Providence, gained this signal victory, the king returned in triumph with his army to Jerusalem. When they had got within a small distance of the city, he was met by Azariah, the prophet, who having commanded him to halt, addressed him in words to this effect:

"It hath pleased the Almighty, on account of your piety and virtue, to give you this signal victory; and if you proceed in the like discharge of your duty in future, you may be assured that success will attend all your undertakings. But if ever you deviate from the religion and laws of your forefathers, you will suffer the most dreadful calamities; and the time will come in which there shall not be a true prophet among ye, nor a priest worthy the dignity of his functions. Your cities shall be razed, and your people dispersed like vagrants throughout the earth. Exercise, therefore, yourselves in acts of piety and virtue, and unanimously offer your acknowledgement and thanksgiving to God for the blessings you at present enjoy."

Azariah confirms Afa in his religion.

Exhorts his army in general.

King and
people form
a pious and
virtuous re-
ligion.

Acts and
character of
Baasha.

A prophet
denounces
the Divine
judgements
against him.

He still re-
mains incor-
rigible.

Meditates
hostilities
against Afa.

Afa forms
an alliance
with the
king of Da-
mascus.

Counteracts
the usurper's
designs.

Afa dies,
and is suc-
ceeded by
his son Elah,
who is as-
sassinated by
Zimri.

The words of the prophet were extremely grateful to the king in particular, and the people in general; and it became their study and practice, both in public and private life, to maintain inviolate the religion and laws of their country; to promote which laudable purpose, the king appointed commissioners throughout his dominions, to superintend both civil and ecclesiastical concerns. Such was the present situation of Afa, king of the two tribes. We now return to Baasha, king of the Israelites, who, having taken off Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, usurped the government of the ten tribes.

This usurper reigned four years, during which he resided at his palace in Tarsish. He exceeded Jeroboam and his son in impiety and immorality, was oppressive to his people, and contumacious towards his God, inasmuch that a prophet was commissioned to tell him, that "The Almighty would extirpate him and his house from the face of the earth, as he had done that of Jeroboam before him, for his ingratitude and disobedience to that power which had exalted him to the throne, and not paying regard to righteousness and justice; two qualities most acceptable to God, and profitable to the people." The prophet added, that, "As he had followed the example of Jeroboam in every instance of iniquity, he should be rendered as exemplary in his punishment." Baasha remained inflexible, notwithstanding the judgement denounced against him by the prophet, at the Divine command; continuing daily to add to the measure of his iniquities, regardless of every tie, civil or sacred, and, as it were, setting the Almighty at defiance. Some of his people, having renounced idolatrous tenets, and gone over to Jerusalem, for the sake of engaging in the true worship, he marched with an army to Ramah, a town belonging to the tribe of Judah, situated about forty furlongs from Jerusalem. This place he fortified, in order to make it the seat of war, and an advantageous situation for making inroads into the territories of Afa, as well as preventing the people from passing to and fro without permission, and thereby cutting off all communication between his tribes and those of Judah.

Afa, apprehensive of his designs, and the danger to which his country would be exposed, from the adjacent situation of so inveterate a foe, dispatched ambassadors to the king of Damascus, with presents, soliciting his alliance upon a principle of friendship that had subsisted between the two houses. The application of Afa had the desired effect; for the king of Damascus instantly broke off with Baasha, suddenly attacked his fortified places, as Achion, Dan, and Abelmaen, burning some, and rifling others. Baasha, by these means, was compelled to abandon his designs of fortifying his frontier towns towards Judah, in order to defend other parts of his territories thus vigorously attacked. Afa availed himself of this opportunity, by demolishing the works raised at Ramah, with the materials of which he erected strong garrisons in the towns called Gaba and Maspha. This was the last of Baasha's military exploits; for he was cut off in his own career by death, and buried in the city of Arsan. He was succeeded, on the throne of Israel, by his son Elah, who was as profligate a character as his father. His reign, however, was short; for, in the second year, while he was carousing in the house of one of his principal officers of state, he was assassinated by Zimri, one of his grandees; a troop of horse breaking in upon him, in the absence of his guards, who were then upon a military exploit.

CHAP. VII.

Omri is chosen king. Zimri sets fire to the palace, and perishes in the flames. Ahab, a most abandoned prince, succeeds to the throne. Prediction of calamities by the prophet. Jehu ascends the throne of Israel, and Hazael that of Syria. History of Naboth, who is stoned at the instigation of Jezebel, Ahab's queen.

ZIMRI, by treacherous means, having advanced himself to the throne, exterminated the whole race of Baasha, as had been the fate of Jeroboam, for his daring impieties, according to prophetic pre-

No. II.

dition. The news of Elah's death, and the assassin's usurping the crown, reaching Gabathon, while the army was before the town, they declared for Omri, their general, who immediately raised the siege of that place, marched to Tirzah, and took it by storm. This so alarmed Zimri, that seeing all lost, and despairing of any quarter from the enemy, he retired into a private apartment of the palace, to which he set fire, and the whole building was consumed, himself perishing in the flames, after a reign of only seven days.

Every thing was now in a most embarrassed state, and the people divided into two factions. The one supported the interest of Omri, and the other that of Thaman; but the former carried it; for the latter being slain, Omri enjoyed the government without interruption. This event happened in the thirtieth year of the reign of Afa. Omri reigned twelve years; six at Tirzah, and six at Marcon, which the Greeks call Samaria. He introduced more abominable practices, if possible, than any of his predecessors. Indeed, it was their general custom to alienate the minds of the people from the love and service of the true God, and lead them to the commission of every enormity. Therefore the Almighty, in his vengeance, rendered them successively instrumental to the destruction of one another, till, in the end, the whole race became extinct. Omri died at Samaria, and was succeeded in the government by his son Ahab.

It is worthy of observation, that, during the reign of Afa over Judah, Israel was subject to seven or eight different princes; as Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Thaman, Omri, and Ahab; yet such was their hardness in idolatry, that, in all these changes, not one of them ever thought of returning to the house of David, or paying attention to the worship of the true God at Jerusalem. In the course of these occurrences, we are given to understand how the Divine Providence interposes in human affairs, in showering down blessings on the righteous, and in the extirpation of the wicked.

Afa, king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, lived happily in the Divine favour to a great age, in consideration of his piety and virtue, and departed this life in peace, after a reign of forty-one years. His son Jehoshaphat, whom he had by Abida, succeeded him on the throne of Judah. This prince inherited his father's virtues, and walked according to the example of his illustrious ancestor David, that most eminent king of Israel.

Ahab, king of Israel, took up his residence at Samaria, where he reigned two and twenty years; and was one of the most wicked princes, and abominable idolaters, that ever sat on a throne. He followed the example of the most impious of his predecessors in their most abandoned practices, and more particularly those of Jeroboam. He not only continued the worship of the calves which Jeroboam had set up, but having married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre and Sidon, was by her seduced to the idolatry of worshipping her country gods. To indulge her rash and impetuous disposition, he erected a temple in Samaria, to Baal, the idol of the Tyrians, planted groves for the exercise of superstitious ceremonies, and appointed priests for that impious service. Indeed, Ahab was surrounded with idolaters and profligates, being of a similar disposition, averse to whatever was good, and prone to every kind of evil.

In order to render the abandoned Israelites, in general, and their impious king, in particular, sensible of the enormities they daily committed, there came to Ahab a prophet, who was a Tishbite, and born in the city of Gilead. The purport of his message was to tell the king that, from the time of his departure there should not fall a single drop of rain, nor should there be the least sign of dew in all that province, till the time of his return. This prediction he confirmed with the strongest assurances.

After the prophet had executed the Divine commission, he proceeded to the southward, till he came to a brook, where he stopped for the present, in order to refresh himself with water; the ravens, day by day, duly supplying him with food. Through the continuance of the drought the water of the brook began to fail, upon which the prophet moved, by Divine direction, to Sareptha, a town between Tyre

K k

Omri de-
clared king
by the army

Zimri pre-
cipitates his
own fate.

Omri fol-
lows the
pernicious
example of
his prede-
cessors.

The dispen-
sation of
Providence
affords ex-
cellent mo-
ral lessons.

Death of
Afa, who is
succeeded by
Jehoshaphat

Impiety of
Ahab.
1 Kings xvi.

He is sedu-
ced by Je-
zebel, his
wife, to the
most flagrant
idolatry.

Elias, the
prophet
(called in
the Old Tes-
tament
Elijah), fore-
tells a
drought.
1 Kings xvii

Is supplied
with food by
the ravens.

and Sidon; for he had been foretold by a voice from on high, that he should there find a widow woman to receive and furnish him with every necessary refreshment.

In obedience therefore to the Divine command, the prophet set out, and having nearly reached the end of his journey, he observed a woman gathering sticks not far from the spot, whom he concluded to be the widow to whom he had been directed. This induced him to call to her, requesting that she would fetch him a little water to quench his thirst. He also, as she was going for the water, desired she would bring with her a morsel of bread. The woman solemnly protested, that an handful of meal, and a little oil, were all she had to keep herself and son from starving, and that she was gathering sticks to bake it into a cake. But the prophet encouraged her to do as he requested, as soon as the cake was prepared, assuring her, at the same time, that neither her meal or oil should fail during the time of the famine. The woman did as the prophet directed, and found his words proved strictly true; for though she and her son, together with her guest, constantly had recourse to the barrel of meal and cruse of oil for food, they were no sooner diminished, than an immediate supply took place; nor did it fail until the drought ceased.

Menander mentions this drought in his history of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians. "In his time (says he) there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that continued from the month of Hyperberetæus till the same month next year. Prayers were, indeed, put up for the averting of the judgment, which were followed with mighty claps of thunder." This prince built Botrys, in Phœnicia, and Auzates, in Africa; and to this drought under Ahab, Menander evidently refers in his Commentaries; for it was in the reign of Ahab that Ethbaal was king of Tyre and Sidon. But to return.

When the prophet had sojourned with the widow some time, her son fell desperately sick; and the mother, in the violence of her grief, and in a rhapsody of exclamation, seemed to impute the cause to him; as if he came to reproach her with her sins, and bring this malady as a judgment upon her. The child being given over for dead, the prophet bid her be of good cheer, and deliver up her son to him, with an assurance that he would restore him to her alive. He then took him into his own chamber, where he earnestly supplicated the Almighty to restore the child to life. His prayer being granted, the child revived, and was delivered by him to the mother, who received him with unfeigned gratitude, and acknowledged her belief of the Divine mission of the prophetic guest (a).

Some time after this the prophet was commanded to return to the land of Israel, present himself before Ahab, and inform him that, in a short time, rain would descend on the earth. The famine at this time raged with so much violence throughout the whole country of Samaria, that the people were near being starved to death. The king was so distressed for want of provender for his cattle, that he sent for Obadiah, who was superintendant of his flocks, charging him to go in quest of the prophet, and by all means bring him to him. Having searched for him every where in vain, he commanded Obadiah to accompany him; and when they had proceeded awhile together, the king took one way, and the overseer another. Obadiah was a man of pure religion; and at the time when the cruel queen Jezebel had given orders for persecuting all the prophets, he concealed and protected an hundred of them in a cave, and there provided them with necessary sustenance.

The king and Obadiah were no sooner parted, than the latter met Elias upon the way, and saluted him with the greatest respect. The prophet desired him to go to the king, and inform him that he was ready to wait on him. Obadiah, apprehensive that Elias might depart before his return, replied, "In what have I sinned, that thou wouldst deliver thy ser-

vant into the hand of Ahab to slay me? As the Lord thy God liveth, there is no nation or kingdom whither the king hath not sent to seek thee; and when they said, He is not here, he took an oath of the inhabitants that they found thee not: and now thou sayest, Go, tell thy king, behold, Elias is here. As soon as I am gone from thee, thou mayest be carried whither I know not; so when I tell Ahab, and he cannot find thee, he will slay me. I thy servant feared the Lord from my youth. Was it not told my lord what I did, when Jezebel slew the prophets, that I hid an hundred of them in a cave, and provided them with sustenance?" Elias bid him fear nothing, but go to the king, solemnly assuring him that he would present himself to Ahab that very day.

Thus assured, Obadiah went in search of the king, whom having found he afterwards introduced Elias. At the first interview the king began to upbraid him with being the cause of the calamity under which the nation had so long laboured. The prophet boldly returned the charge, and, after having taxed him with the worship of false gods, and suppressing the true religion, desired him to summon the multitude to meet upon Mount Carmel, together with his priests and prophets, and those of his wife. The king summoned them, and they accordingly met. Elias then addressed them in words to the following purport: "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion? If you believe the God we worship to be the only living and true God, obey him, and keep his commandments; if otherwise, pursue your own courses." To put the matter to the test, he proposed an experiment. "Since (said he) there certainly can be no more than one Infinite, Supreme, and Almighty Being, let us at this time make the experiment who this Being is. You, who are the worshippers of Baal, have all the advantages on your side; the favour and protection of the court, four hundred and fifty priests of one sect, and four hundred of another; whereas I stand here, a single prophet, to defend the cause of that power from whom I derive my commission. Let the priests of Baal choose their ox, and lay it on the altar; but let there be no fire thereon: I will then choose my ox; let them pray to their gods, and I will call on the name of Jehovah; and then let the God who, by consuming the sacrifice with a sudden flash of fire, shall make it appear that he hath heard the invocations, be declared by this whole assembly the One, the True, and the Supreme Being."

This mode of determination being approved by the multitude, Elias bade Ahab's prophets take an ox, and invoke their gods by their names, giving them the precedence, in point of offering sacrifice. When they had invoked their gods a considerable time without effect, Elias ridiculed their superstition, and bade them exalt their voices, as perhaps they might be at a greater distance than they imagined. They then went on with hideous outcries and boisterous exclamations, scarifying themselves with lances after the manner of their country, but all without the least effect.

When Elias proceeded to sacrifice, he desired the multitude to draw nearer, and make diligent search in order to discover if any fire was secretly conveyed to the spot on which he was about to give proof of the Divine authority of his mission. Upon the approach of the multitude, Elias took twelve stones, to answer the number of the twelve tribes, and erected an altar out of them, making a deep trench around it. The wood being fitted, and the sacrifice laid upon the pile, five vessels of spring water were cast upon the altar, so that it ran off and filled the trenches. After every thing was duly prepared, Elias approached the altar, and implored the true God "to manifest his power by some circumstance that might convince a misguided people of their error." Upon this supplication fire descended, as if from above, upon the altar, and, in the sight

He expresses fear and apprehension.

The king reproaches Elias, who retorts the charge.

At his requisition calls the people together.

Elias puts the true religion and idolatry to the test of an experiment.

The prayer of the false prophets have no effect.

The prophet is entertained by a poor widow, for whose sustenance her provision is miraculously supplied.

Testimony of Menander concerning the drought.

Elias restores the widow's son to life.

1 Kings xviii. Elias is commanded to go to Ahab.

Obadiah, friend of the prophets, meets Elias, and is hidden by him to tell Ahab that he was come.

(a) The woman certainly had sufficient reason to believe that Elias was a prophet, or a person sent from God, when she saw the miraculous increase of the meal and oil. However, on his not curing her son when he lay sick, but rather suffering him to

lay, her faith began to droop; whereas, upon seeing him revive, her faith revived with him, and, through the joy of having him again restored to her, she accounted this latter miracle much greater than the former.



AHAB King of Israel SLAIN in his Chariot by an ARROW
at the Battle of Ramoth-gilead.

of the multitude, consumed not only the burnt-offering, but likewise the wood and stones, and even dried up the water in the trenches.

This extraordinary display of the Divine power so astonished the people, that they fell prostrate, and acknowledged that the God of Elias was the only living and true God, declaring, at the same time, that they looked upon all others as the productions of human inventions. When the people had a little recovered from their surprize, Elias commanded all the prophets and priests of Baal to be put to death; and his command was immediately executed. He then desired the king to compose his mind, as he might be assured the earth would be refreshed with rain in a very short time.

Justice having thus taken place of the false prophets, Elias ascended the mount, where, having prayed for some time, he sent his servant to see if he could discover any signs of rain. He went up again and again, but with no success. At length, after the seventh time, he brought his master word that he saw a small cloud rising out of the sea, about the size of a man's hand. In consequence of this intelligence, he dispatched his servant to Ahab to advise him to hasten to his chariot, and make the best of his way to the city, lest he should be taken in a very great shower. Ahab followed the advice of the prophet, who, having girded his vest about him, ran before the chariot till he came to the city of Jezreel; during which time the clouds gathered very thick, and discharged abundance of water.

When Jezebel was informed, by Ahab, of all the wonders that had passed, and that her prophets had been put to death at the special command of Elias, she immediately vowed revenge, and dispatched messengers to inform him, that his life should certainly pay for theirs. On these menaces the prophet immediately withdrew to Beersheba, a town in the southern part of Judea, and bordering upon Idumæa. In this place he left his servant, and pursued his journey into the wilderness, when he laid himself down as a man weary of the world, and desirous to leave it. "Lord (said he) I act not better than those who have gone before me, and life is no longer desirable." After this he fell asleep; but it was not long before he awoke, and, upon rising, found food and drink set before him; upon which he fed heartily, and, by the strength of that repast, went forward to Mount Sinai, the place where God first delivered the law to Moses. He then betook himself to a large cave, intending, probably, to spend the remainder of his days in that obscure situation.

After he had passed some little time in this habitation, he heard a voice interrogating him wherefore he left the city to wander thus in the desert? Though he heard the voice distinctly, he knew not whence it came. His reply, however, was, that the queen threatened his life for having been instrumental to the deaths of the false prophets, and enforcing the belief and worship of the one only and true God. The same voice commanded him to leave his place of retirement the next day, and attend to the Divine instructions as to his future conduct. He accordingly left his retreat, when he heard the noise of an earthquake, and saw in the air an appearance of blazing fire. The fire was followed by a short pause of silence; after which he heard a voice exhorting him not to be intimidated at his then situation, for his enemies should not prevail against him. He was commanded to return home by way of Damascus, and there anoint Hazael king of Syria, and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, king over Israel; and also to appoint Elisha his successor in the prophetic office; the voice intimating that these men would be proper instruments in the hand of Divine vengeance, to punish the idolators of the land, and extirpate those who encouraged and practised it.

Elias, duly impressed with what he had seen and heard, returned according to the instructions given

him; and finding Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing with others, threw his mantle (a) over him as he passed. Elisha immediately upon this began to prophecy, quitted the plough, and declared himself ready to follow Elias, only desiring to take leave of his father and mother before his departure. This being granted him, he returned, and thenceforward became the disciple and companion of Elias during life.

Ahab, notwithstanding so many repeated tokens of the divine displeasure, still remained inflexible, and, to aggravate his many former instances of injustice, was guilty of an action of the most unjustifiable nature. It happened that one Naboth, a citizen of Jezreel, had a vineyard adjoining to the royal gardens, which the king was desirous of obtaining, in order to enlarge his own premises. To accomplish his desire, he offered Naboth an equivalent, either in land or money; but the possessor, as it was his paternal inheritance, refused to part with it on any terms whatever. This so much disgusted Ahab, that he could neither sleep, nor take any convivial or social pleasures.

When Jezebel, after many enquiries, became acquainted with the real cause of her husband's complaint, and that, notwithstanding he had treated Naboth with a degree of courtesy and condescension derogatory to his dignity, he could not obtain his consent to the proposal he had made him, she, at first, upbraided him with pusillanimity, or not knowing how to exert the authority of a king. She afterwards desired him to banish all melancholy, as she had thought of an expedient by which he might be put in possession of the much-desired vineyard. The device was this: She caused letters to be written in the king's name, and sealed with his signet, to be directed to the principal men in Jezreel, commanding them to proclaim a fast, call an assembly, and assign Naboth a place amongst the leaders. They were then to suborn three witnesses to give evidence against him for blaspheming God and the king, upon whose testimony he should stand convicted, and receive sentence to be stoned to death by the people. Notwithstanding the baseness of the plot, such was the influence of the king over the leading men in Jezreel, that every thing was executed according to the directions of the infamous Jezebel; and the innocent Naboth fell a sacrifice to the covetous disposition of the king, and the infernal machinations of a tyrannical and perfidious woman.

As soon as Jezebel received intelligence that the horrid murder was perpetrated, she repaired to the king, informed him of the circumstance, and desired him to go to Jezreel, and, without any ceremony, take possession of the vineyard. Ahab, pleased with the effect of the plan devised by his queen, immediately followed her directions, and prepared for a visit to his new possessions. But he was suddenly met by the prophet Elias, who, at the Divine command, first upbraided him with having slain the innocent, and then usurping a right to his possessions. When Ahab saw the prophet approaching, he made open confession of the whole transaction, and a tender of any satisfaction he might require. But Elias spurned at the offer, and denounced judgment on him to this effect: "That where the blood of Naboth had been licked by dogs, they should likewise lick the blood of Ahab and Jezebel; and that the crime of taking away the life of an innocent man by perjury, should be punished by the extirpation of his whole race."

Ahab was so affected at the denunciation of this judgment, that he became deeply penitent, clothed himself in sackcloth, went barefoot, and gave every proof of the most unfeigned sorrow and humiliation. Hereupon the prophet was commissioned to acquaint him that, in consideration of his contrition, the judgment denounced should be postponed during his life; but that it should certainly take place in that of his son, the truth of which prediction will hereafter appear.

to be his servant, to attend upon him, and succeed him in his office. However this be, it is probable that when he threw his mantle over him, he said something whereby he acquainted him with his design; though the particular words, in so brief an history, are not expressed,

C H A P.

Elias calls Elisha to the prophetic office.

1 Kings xxi. Naboth is slain at the instance of Jezebel.

Ahab is met, and reprehended, by the prophet Elias.

Ahab averts the judgment denounced by the prophet.

(a) The mantle was the proper habit of a prophet, and therefore Elias throwing his upon Elisha, was the ceremony here used for his inauguration to the prophetic office; though, as it was customary for servants to carry their master's garments after them, others understand it only as a token that Elisha was

CHAP. VIII.

Called in
scripture
Ben-hadad.

Adad, king of Syria and Damascus, makes two unsuccessful expeditions against Ahab. After being totally routed, he makes submission to Ahab; and a league of friendship is formed between the two kings.

1 Kings xx.
A powerful
confederacy
formed
against
Ahab.

DURING these transactions between Ahab and the prophet, Adad, the king of Syria and Damascus, levied a most formidable army from the different parts of his dominions, and being joined by thirty-two confederate princes beyond the Euphrates, he marched with this mighty force against the king of Israel, who, deeming it impolitic to hazard the event of a battle on the plain with a power so superior, retreated to fortified places, in order to act upon the defensive. He took up his stand in Samaria, as the most eligible situation, being surrounded with strong walls, good ramparts, and having a numerous and well disciplined army in the garrison to maintain it. The king of Syria marched with his army, and sat down before Samaria, sending, at the same time, an herald to Ahab, to desire that he might dispatch ambassadors with instructions to propose terms.

The king of
Syria lays
siege to
Samaria.

Makes pro-
posals to
Ahab.

Ahab's sub-
missive reply

This being complied with, the ambassadors were accordingly dispatched, with directions to inform Ahab, that the whole of his treasure, together with his wives and children, were at the mercy of the king of Syria; and that, if he would acknowledge the same, and permit him to take what part of his possessions he pleased, he would instantly raise the siege, and withdraw his troops. Upon this Ahab commissioned the ambassadors to return and assure the king their master, that himself and all that he had were at his disposal.

Adad insists
on more
rigid terms.

When the ambassadors delivered the purport of their commission to the Syrian, he dispatched them again to the king of Israel, to desire that, as he had acknowledged his right to all his possessions, such officers and servants as he should send the next morning, might have free liberty to search his own apartments, together with those of his retinue, and take with them whatever they might select, leaving the remainder in the possession of Ahab.

Ahab ad-
dresses his
council upon
the occasion

The king of Israel, struck with a demand at once so imperious and unreasonable, thought it expedient to call a council, to debate on a point in which both his honour and interest were so essentially concerned. They were accordingly summoned, and, when assembled, he thus addressed them: "My friends and countrymen, I have had two proposals sent me from Adad; the former to acknowledge that myself, my wife and children, were all at his mercy; upon my compliance with which terms he was to raise the siege. For the public peace and safety, and the common good of my people, I waved all consideration of my own interest, and acceded to these terms. Not satisfied with this compliance, he desires to send his officers and servants to search and rifle my property, and that of my attendants and people, at pleasure, select what they may deem most eligible, and leave us the remainder. My own concerns I readily gave up; but cannot think of resigning those of my subjects to so peremptory and insolent a demand. A denial, I am persuaded, will bring on a war; and therefore I submit the matter to your deliberation, determined to abide by your resolves."

Adad's
terms are re-
jected.

The council reprobated the haughty and insolent demand of the barbarian in the severest terms, and unanimously declared for the vigorous prosecution of a war. Accordingly the ambassadors were instructed to report to their master, that "The king of Israel was still disposed to comply with the first demand, for the common peace and safety; but that he could not submit to terms so unreasonable as he had proposed."

He sends
a third em-
bassy.

Adad, fired with indignation at this reply, sent a third embassy, with a message more peremptory and menacing than the former. "Tell their king (said he) that, though he vaunts himself on the strength and security of his walls, my army will raise a bank higher than those walls, and that by only each man taking an handful of earth." By this he gave Ahab to understand the incredible number of his

troops in order to deter him from opposition. Ahab replied in laconic terms, that "Men of honour were to dispute with their swords, not with their tongues."

When the ambassadors returned, they found their master at a convivial board with his confederate princes; and having reported Ahab's reply, he gave immediate orders for the carrying on the siege with all possible vigour. Ahab, and his people, were greatly intimidated at the formidable preparations made by the enemy, in circumventing the city, and raising a strong bulwark, till a prophet came to him, and encouraged him with an assurance that he should prevail against this tremendous power. When he expressed a desire of being informed by what means the victory was to be obtained, he received for answer, "By the sons of the leaders of the people, but under thy conduct as their commander." Ahab, roused by this pleasing information, called them together to the number of two hundred and thirty-two; and receiving intelligence that the king of Syria had retired to rest after a debauch, the gates were suddenly thrown open, and the young officers made an intrepid sally. Information was no sooner given by the centinels to Adad, than he issued orders, that "Whether they came to fight or to treat, they should bring them bound to him." Ahab, at the same time, had a reserve of men within the walls, in readiness to sally forth, as occasion might require: but the young officers fell upon the out guard, slew many of them, and pursued the rest to the camp. When Ahab found that they had succeeded thus far he commanded the remainder of his army to sally forth, and charged the Syrians with the utmost fury. This resolute effort decided the fate of the day; for the enemy being not only intoxicated, but unarmed, fell an easy prey to the assailants, were put to the rout, left their armour behind them; and the king himself with difficulty escaped by the agility of his horse. Ahab followed the pursuit; and when he had rifled the enemy's camp, which contained an immense booty of gold, silver, and other valuable commodities, he took Adad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city. But, as the prophet advised him to keep his army in readiness to take the field, as the king of Syria would make another expedition against him the next spring, he employed himself in making the necessary preparations for a renewal of the contest.

The Syrians
are over-
come.

Ahab ac-
quires im-
mense booty

He makes
preparations
for the en-
suing cam-
paign.

A prophet
is sent to
Ahab to as-
sure him of
victory.

Adad con-
sults and
takes the
advice of
his friends

Makes a
second expe-
dition against
Ahab.

The Israel-
ites, by the
prophets,
are assured
of victory.

The armies
come to
action.

Adad summoned his friends, with the remainder of his broken army, to deliberate on their future conduct. When he informed them of his resolution to make another expedition against the Israelites, they unanimously dissuaded him from engaging with them on the mountains; because their God was potent in such places, and thence it came to pass that they had so lately been beaten; adding, that if they fought on the plain, the Israelites would be conquered. They also counselled him to dismiss the confederate princes from any further personal service and attendance, but to retain their army, and appoint experienced officers to command it, instead of the princes, while they might be employed in levying recruits in their respective territories, to supply the places of such as might fall in battle. Adad approved of the counsel given him, and regulated his measures accordingly.

In the beginning of the spring the king of Syria marched with his army against the Hebrews, and pitched his camp in a large plain, according to the advice of his friends, not far from the city of Aphica. In the mean time Ahab advanced with his troops, and pitched his camp over against him; though his army fell many thousands short of the number of the Syrians. While the armies faced each other, the prophet came to the Hebrews with the Divine assurance that they should be victorious, and that their enemies should find his assistance as potent on the plain as on the mountains, which it seems was contrary to their opinion.

The armies remained encamped in their respective stations for six successive days; but on the seventh they advanced on both sides in a line, and commenced a battle. The action was gallantly sustained by each army at first; till the Israelites pressed the Syrians with such ardour that, unable to stand the shock any longer, they were put to the rout, and closely pursued by the enemy. Betwixt those who were slain upon

The Syrians are vanquished a second time.

The king of Syria hides himself.

Applies for mercy to Ahab, who spares his life, and treats him with the greatest respect and honour.

Adad acknowledges the clemency of the king of Israel.

The two kings enter into league, and Adad is honourably dismissed.

Ahab's refusal to punish Adad is prophetic of his destruction.

upon flight, and those who perished by such misadventures as are immediately brought on by confusion, the havock was very great; for, indeed, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another. Those that got into Apheca, their only place of refuge, were but few in number; and it is supposed that about seven and twenty thousand were crushed to death by the walls suddenly falling to the ground, and that an hundred thousand were slain in battle.

Terrified at this dreadful judgement, Adad, with some of his officers and friends, retired, for security, into a cellar under ground; where some of them took occasion to represent the clemency and humanity of the Hebrews, and thence to advise the king to cast himself at Ahab's feet for mercy, in confidence that, upon such application and submission, it would not be refused.

Adad approved of their advice; and thereupon several of his train were dressed in the habits of supplicants and captives, cloathed in sackcloth, with ropes about their necks, according to the custom of the country in such cases (a), and sent to Ahab, requesting the life of their king upon any terms he might be pleased to propose. The king of Israel received them courteously, and assured them, that, "He rejoiced in the safety of their king as much as if he was his own brother." Nay, he promised to shew him the same tokens of honour and respect.

The messengers, having received assurances, upon oath, that no violence should be offered to his person, hastened to their master in his retirement, and brought him to Ahab, who was at that time in his chariot. As soon as the vanquished king did him homage, Ahab saluted him with the utmost courtesy, presenting him his right hand, and pledging his faith and honour for his perfect security and freedom. Adad acknowledged his humanity and condescension, of which he declared he should retain a grateful remembrance to his latest breath. He also promised to restore to the Hebrews those cities and lands which the former kings had taken from them, and that Ahab should have every desirable privilege in the capital city of Damascus. Such mild treatment could not but be acceptable to Ahab; the result of which was, that a league of friendship immediately took place between the contending monarchs, founded on a reciprocal interchange of oaths for the performance of covenants; after which Adad was dismissed with magnificent presents to his own country.

After these transactions between the kings of Israel and Syria, a certain prophet, whose name was Michaiah, came to one of Ahab's subjects, and bid him smite him on the forehead, telling him that it was the Divine will it should be so: but, on his refusal, the prophet told him he should suffer for his disobedience; for he should be destroyed by a lion. When the accident foretold had befallen the man, the prophet applied to another with the same injunction, who immediately smote him, and drew blood. Upon this he bound up his head, and went to the king with this story: "That he had been one of his soldiers, and had the custody of one of the prisoners delivered to his charge by an officer, and that the prisoner having escaped, he was in danger of his own life, by means of that officer, who had threatened him with death if the prisoner was not found, when called for, in his custody." When Ahab told him he would suffer justly, he unbound his head, and gave him to know his person and office. He told him he made use of this artifice as a prelude to impress on his mind the following prediction, "That God would punish him who had suffered Adad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment (b); for the time would come when this very Adad, whom he now spared, would be the means of his death, and the destruction of his

"army." Ahab was highly exasperated at the denunciation of the prophet, and commanded him to be imprisoned; though he was much affected, and struck to the very heart, by his prediction. But we shall return to the affairs of Jehoshaphat, king of Jerusalem.

CHAP. IX.

Jehoshaphat, a pious, virtuous, and wise king of Jerusalem, assists Ahab in an expedition against the Syrians.

JEHOSHAPHAT had not only enlarged his territories, and put garrisons into all the cities under his jurisdiction, but had appointed governors in those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes. This prince was favoured with the Divine blessing, assistance, and protection, in all his undertakings; for his life might be deemed a series of piety and virtue, as scarce a day passed in which he was not employed in acts pleasing to God, and beneficial to mankind. His character, for integrity and humanity, gained him the reverence and esteem of all the neighbouring princes, as appeared from the munificent presents which poured in upon him from different quarters, and greatly conduced to enhance both his fortune and fame. In the third year of his reign he summoned the elders and priests that were under his jurisdiction, and ordered them to appoint commissioners in the respective cities and towns within his dominions, to enforce a regular attendance on divine worship, and a due observance of the laws of Moses. His own concern for the preservation of the pure religion had a powerful influence on the minds of his subjects, who seemed to vie with each other in the promotion of so excellent a work. Nay, his general conduct seems to have impressed the neighbouring princes with a kind of reverential awe; for they lived in peace and harmony, and studied to render each other mutual services. The Philistines paid their tribute with the most scrupulous regard to justice; and the Arabians their annuity of 630 lambs, and the like number of kids, with the greatest complacency.

Jehoshaphat also fortified his large cities and towns, and kept, in constant pay, a well disciplined army, to be in readiness upon any urgent occasion. Of the tribe of Judah there were three hundred thousand shield-bearers, under the command of Edra, and two hundred thousand under Johanan; and of the tribe of Benjamin, two hundred thousand archers, under the same officers. There was also another officer, called Achobab, who commanded an hundred and eighty thousand men, armed with bucklers; besides the soldiers who were dispersed in different garrisons.

Jehoshaphat at length married his son, Jehoram, to Gotholia, the daughter of Ahab, king of the ten tribes; upon which occasion, when he went to Samaria, he was most sumptuously entertained by Ahab; and his officers and attendants in general, were presented with the rarest productions of the country. At the entreaty of Ahab, upon this visit, he joined him in an expedition against the king of Syria, for the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead, which had been taken, and was detained from him, by that prince. Jehoshaphat promised him a powerful assistance, and sent for a numerous army from Jerusalem to Samaria, where both the kings went out of the town, and each of them, seated on a throne of state, reviewed and gave orders to their forces. Previous to their entering upon hostilities, Jehoshaphat deemed it adviseable, if there were any prophets at hand, to consult them upon the occasion; for there had been a three years interval of peace between the kings of Israel and Syria.

2 Chron. 18. Jehoshaphat a wise and virtuous prince.

An excellent politician, and particularly attentive to the observance of the laws and religion of his ancestors.

The influence of good example.

Beneficial effects of an upright administration.

Jehoshaphat joins with Ahab in his expedition against the Syrians. 1 Kings 22.

(a) This was the dress of humble supplicants in those times. The sackcloth on their loins was a token of great sorrow for what they had done; and the ropes about their necks, as an indication that they would submit to whatever punishment Ahab should think proper to lay on them.

(b) Ahab's great offence consisted in suffering so horrid a

blasphemer as Adad to go unpunished, which was contrary to an express law, Lev. xxiv. 16; and this law extended not to those only that were born in the land, but to strangers likewise that were among them, and in their power, as Adad certainly was.

CHAP. X.

Consultation of the prophets relative to the war. Different opinions and predictions of the true and false prophets. Death of Ahab, and succession of his son Ahaziah.

IN consequence of the advice of Jehoshaphat, Ahab called his prophets together to the number of about four hundred, and commanded them to make enquiry concerning the event of a war with Adad, and particularly the carrying the city, on which account it was undertaken. These prophets unanimously declared for the expedition, alledging their assurance of the Syrians being vanquished and taken captives as before. But Jehoshaphat, who suspected the reality both of these prophets and their prediction, asked Ahab if there were no other prophets to whom they might have recourse with more certainty. Ahab replied, that "There was, indeed, one Micaiah; but that he had never foreboded him any success, but, on the contrary, had foretold that he should fall by the hand of the king of Syria; for which cause he was now in prison."

Upon Jehoshaphat's desire, however, that he might be produced, an eunuch was dispatched to bring him into the royal presence. The messenger informed Micaiah on the way, that the rest of the prophets had unanimously declared that Ahab should be victorious in his expedition against the king of Syria. Micaiah declared that he would not prevaricate in so solemn a matter, but most faithfully report to the king such message as he should receive from the Divine intimation.

Upon the prophet's arrival, and Ahab's adjuring him to speak the truth, he said, "I saw all Israel scattered and flying, and the Syrians pursuing them as flocks of sheep are dispersed when their shepherd is slain; by which representation I am given to understand, that the Israelites, in general, shall return safe, but that the king shall fall in the action." When Micaiah had uttered this alarming prediction, Ahab said to the king of Jerusalem, "Are you not convinced that this man is my enemy?" Micaiah declared the contrary; and solemnly averred, that the words he delivered were expressly according to the Divine command, adding, that Ahab, at the instigation of false prophets, had engaged in an expedition which to him would prove fatal. The resolution of this upright prophet threw the king into suspense and consternation.

During his state of anxiety one Zedekiah presented himself to Ahab, and, in contempt of Micaiah, undertook to controvert his opinion, and detect the fallacy of his prediction. In order to this, he cited the prediction of Elias, "That the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who, at his instance, was stoned to death by the multitude." Thence he inferred the fallacy of Micaiah, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, by saying, that the king within the compass of three days should fall in battle. As a farther proof of his fallacy, Zedekiah said he would smite Micaiah, to try if his hand would wither upon so doing, as Jadon caused the hand of king Jeroboam to wither upon a former occasion. Having thus spoken, he struck the prophet; and Ahab finding no judgement immediately

follow, persevered in his resolution of entering upon the war, giving more credit to false prophets than true, and thereby hastening the judgement that awaited him. Zedekiah then made horns of iron, and declared to Ahab that those horns were signals of his total conquest of Syria. Micaiah, on the other hand, assured the false prophet, that, in a short time, he should be called to account for his fallacious pretensions, and be compelled to seek refuge to avoid just punishment. The king was so exasperated with Micaiah, that he remanded him back to prison, with orders to the governor of the city, to allow him only bread and water till his return.

The kings of Israel and Jerusalem now advanced with their forces towards Ramoth; and the king of Syria no sooner had intelligence of it, than he marched on to meet them. It had been agreed that Ahab should assume the disguise of a private habit, while Jehoshaphat was arrayed in his royal robes, in order to evade the presage of the prophet. But this artifice had no effect; for Adad, by his officers, had issued strict orders to his army to encounter neither small nor great, except Ahab, king of Israel,

The Syrians, at first, seeing Jehoshaphat at the head of the army, conjectured that he was Ahab, and advanced towards him to execute the order of their king; but when they found their error, they retreated. They kept the field from morning till night, the one party flying, the other pursuing; but no blood was shed during the whole day. Ahab was the object of pursuit; and the Syrians, in general, were in quest of him. At length one of Adad's attendants drew an arrow at a venture, that entered through his breast-plate into his very lungs. Ahab was desirous of keeping the accident from the knowledge of his men, lest they should be intimidated, and therefore ordered his charioteer to take him a little way aside, as he was mortally wounded. He remained in his chariot till about sun-set, when he expired in great agony.

When night came on the Syrians withdrew to their camp; and as soon as the death of Ahab was announced by an herald, they all returned home. The king's body was carried to Samaria, and there interred. The chariot, in which he was conveyed, was so stained with blood that issued from his wound, that they were obliged to wash it in a neighbouring fountain, in doing of which the dogs came and licked it, thereby fulfilling one part of the prediction of Elias, which he denounced against Ahab for the murder of Naboth, the citizen of Jezreel. He died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold; so that, to confirm the Divine authority of the predictions of the true prophets, we find these singular instances of the interposition of Divine Providence. This should dispose us to the worship of the one only and true God, and dissuade us from any reliance on false prophets and impostors, who are actuated by mercenary views, and, instead of leading us to our duty to God, divert us from it into the paths of infidelity and impiety. The gift of prophecy is of singular advantage, as men are thereby shewn what they ought to avoid; though they too frequently persist in their obstinacy till it proves fatal. This was the case of Ahab. He disbelieved those who foretold his defeat, and was slain for giving credit to what eventually proved false. He was succeeded in his government by his son Ahaziah.

End of the EIGHTH BOOK.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K IX.

[Including a Period of about One Hundred and Seventy-Six Years.]

C H A P. I.

The piety, as well as civil and military talents, of Jehoshaphat. Prophecy of Elias verified in the death of Ahaziah. Jehoshaphat, with auxiliaries, vanquishes the Moabites and their confederates.

WHEN king Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem, after his joining with Ahab against the king of Syria, he was met by the prophet Jehu, who severely reprehended him for espousing the cause of so impious and abandoned a prince as the late king of Israel. The prophet, however, assured him, that, for the sake of his own exemplary piety and virtue, the offence for which he had rebuked him, should not only be pardoned, but that God would be pleased to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies.

Upon the admonition and encouraging information of the prophet, the king offered up prayers and sacrifices, as an acknowledgement of the goodness of the Father of Mercies. He then appointed a general visitation throughout his dominions, and issued particular orders to those to whom the charge was committed, to instruct the people in the laws of Moses, and the religion of their ancestors. He also erected tribunals, and commissioned magistrates in all the cities, and considerable towns, strictly enjoining them to administer justice to all men, without respect to person, interest, or affection, always remembering they must render an account of the discharge of their duty to that Being who searches the heart, and cannot be deceived.

Having taken these wise precautions for the establishment of order and good government in the several cities belonging to the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem, where he constituted judges out of the most considerable priests and Levites, giving them the same strict charge, upon the same principle, to administer justice with the utmost impartiality.

If matters of an intricate or important nature, within their respective districts, should be brought before them, they were by means to pass a definitive sentence without the greatest caution and delibera-

tion, as nothing could reflect such foul disgrace on a king and people, amongst whom the Almighty had been pleased to establish his temple, as a partial administration of justice. He appointed two principal superintendants out of the tribe of Judah; those were Ahaziah, the priest, for religious, and Zebediah, a priest, for civil concerns.

About this time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat with a large army of mercenaries, and encamped at Engedi, a city near the lake of Asphaltites, three hundred furlongs distant from Jerusalem, and famous for the production of balsam and palm-trees. When Jehoshaphat heard that his enemies had passed the lake, and made an irruption into his dominions, he was much alarmed, and immediately issued orders for calling a general assembly of the people in the temple. When they were convened, in a fervent and humble address, he implored the Divine blessing upon his arms, to enable him to repel so formidable an invasion. This was entirely agreeable to the practice of our forefathers, upon the first institution of that sacred place; for whenever they had cause to apprehend danger of being over-run by a foreign power, the people were summoned to meet in full assembly, to implore the Divine assistance towards the repelling the invasion of their enemies, and the maintenance of those possessions which they enjoyed through the Divine bounty. Jehoshaphat mingled his prayers with his tears, which were accompanied by the joint supplications of the whole multitude.

In the midst of their devotions there came into the assembly a certain prophet, named Jahaziel, exclaiming, that their supplications had reached the Almighty, who would defend their cause, and maintain the religion they professed. He recommended them to prepare for a march the next day against their enemies, whom they should find encamped between Jerusalem and Engedi, at a certain ascent, known by the name of Sis, which, in our language, signifies an eminence. The prophet added, that there would not be a necessity for any exertion on their part; they might therefore stand inactive spectators of the Divine interposition in their favour. At this declaration

Expedition of the Moabites and confederates against Jehoshaphat. 2 Chron. xx.

The king implores the Divine aid in the temple, according to ancient custom.

The Jews are assured by a prophet of victory.

declaration the king and people fell prostrate, worshipped and adored, while the Levites accompanied their praises with hymns adapted to musical instruments.

At break of day the king went into the desert near the city of Tekoa, where he admonished the multitude to place their whole reliance on the Divine aid, according to the declaration of the prophet. He assured them that there was no necessity for their being ranged in order of battle, and that nothing more need be done than to form lines of the priests and Levites, who should move cheerfully forward, chanting hymns of thanksgiving, accompanied by music, as upon a day of victory and deliverance from a common enemy. The king's counsel was universally approved and followed.

The Ammonites and confederates slay each other.

Just as the Ammonites and their auxiliaries were ready to begin the attack, they were struck, from on high, with such terror and consternation, that they fell upon one another as enemies; and so frantic was the rage that prevailed amongst them, that, out of so vast a number, not one man was left alive. When Jehoshaphat took a view of the valley on which the enemy had been encamped, found it covered with dead bodies, and reflected that he obtained a victory without either toil or bloodshed on his part, in joy for so signal a blessing, he gave his soldiers the pillage of the camp, and the spoils of the dead, which were so immense, that they were three days in collecting and carrying them off.

On the fourth day the multitude assembled together in a deep craggy valley, called the valley of Beracha, where they joined in their adorations of the Divine Being, for the late wonderful display of his goodness and power. From hence the valley took its name; for Beracha implies, "The valley of Blessings;" and that name it retains to this day. When Jehoshaphat's army marched back again to Jerusalem, several days were devoted to fasting and sacrifice.

Jehoshaphat is revered by foreign princes.

The fame of this extraordinary event impressed foreign nations with so striking an idea of the piety and virtue of Jehoshaphat, which had been thus eminently rewarded by the Divine protection, that they held him in awe as a prince highly favoured of God, and maintained the same opinion during his reign.

Maintains a friendship with Ahab.

Jehoshaphat lived on terms of friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel, and had a joint concern with him in the ships that traded to Pontus and Thrace. But their design miscarried, to their very great expence and detriment; for the ships were not properly constructed for those seas. Indeed, either through ill conduct or foul weather, they were all cast away; so that their project was rendered abortive, nor was it ever after revived. Thus much, at present, for the transactions of Jehoshaphat.

2 Kings i. Ahaziah imitates the infamous example of his father.

Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, and king of Israel, took up his residence at Samaria. He seemed addicted to all the vices and abominations that fixed a stigma on the character of his father. Indeed, if possible, he out-vied Jeroboam, the grand seducer of the Israelites to idolatry. Soon after his accession to the throne, the Moabites, who had been obedient to the kings of Israel, from the first separation of the two kingdoms, took the opportunity of revolting, nor was it in his power to reduce them to obedience. It happened, in the second year of his reign, that Ahaziah received a violent confusion by a fall from a terrace, inasmuch that he was reduced to a very bad state of health. In this extremity he sent to the god of Ekron (a) to know if he should recover. Upon this occasion the God of the Hebrews commanded the prophet Elias to go meet the messengers, and ask them whether the Israelites had not a God of their own? for, if so, there was no need of consulting a strange god, in this or any other case. He was enjoined also to bid them go back, and tell their

Consults an idol god.

(a) Ekron was a city of the Philistines, which fell, by lot, to the tribe of Judah, but was afterwards given to the tribe of Dan; though it does not appear that the Jews ever had a quiet possession of it.

(b) Should it be asked why these men were singled out to suffer Divine punishment, when the whole nation was plunged in the same idolatrous practices and immoralities, is it easy to reply, that these men suffered in the case before us, because there was not the same reason why others should suffer; nor could the

king that he should not recover. When the prophet had executed the Divine command, the messengers hastened with the purport of it to the king, who was much surprized at their speedy return. On his enquiry concerning the matter for which they had been sent, they informed him that they were met by a man who bade them proceed no farther, but go back and tell their king, in the name of the God of Israel, that the hurt he had received would prove mortal. The king then demanded a description of the man who had presumed to send such a message; upon which they told him that he was an hairy man, and that he wore a leather girdle.

The people Elias tells Ahab's doom.

From this description the king immediately concluded the person to be Elias, the prophet, and therefore dispatched an officer, with fifty men, to apprehend him, designing to take away his life for his presumption. The officer, finding the prophet on the top of a mountain, commanded him to come down, and go with him to the king; for it was his positive order, if he refused immediate compliance, to bring him away by force. Elias told the officer that he would convince him, by an extraordinary act, that he was a true prophet, and no impostor; he would pray that fire might descend from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and officer. He accordingly prayed, and a fire (b) instantly descended, and consumed them all. The king no sooner received intelligence of the destruction of these men, than, fired with indignation, he sent another officer with fifty more. Upon his laying on Elias the same command, enforced with the same menaces, they all shared the same fate. After this the king sent a third officer. This person acted very differently from the former; for, when he came to Elias, instead of peremptorily demanding his person, he saluted him with respect, and thus addressed him: "I need not inform you of the purport of my commission, or the reluctance I feel in the execution of it: therefore I have only to intreat that, in compassion for the lives of both officers and soldiers, you would come down, and go with us to the king." Elias was so affected by his discreet and courteous behaviour, that he came down and followed him.

A dreadful judgement executed on the officers who resist by the king to apprehend the prophet.

When he came to the royal presence, he, without an ceremony, thus addressed the king: "The Lord hath said, Since you esteem me no God, and unable to tell what will be the issue of your distemper; and that you prefer the God of Ekron in point of authenticity, be assured that thou shalt die." The prediction of the prophet was soon verified; for the king's indisposition increasing daily, he at length gave up the ghost; and dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Jehoram. This prince also followed the pernicious example of his father, devoting himself to the practice of idolatry, in contempt of the laws and religion of his forefathers; though, abstracted from this, his ability for government was considerable.

The prophet approaches the king and assures him of his doom.

Ahaziah dies, as his brother Jehoram foretold, and is a great idolater.

At this time the prophet Elias disappeared from among men (c). He left behind him, as his successor, in the prophetic office, Elisha, of whom we have spoken already.

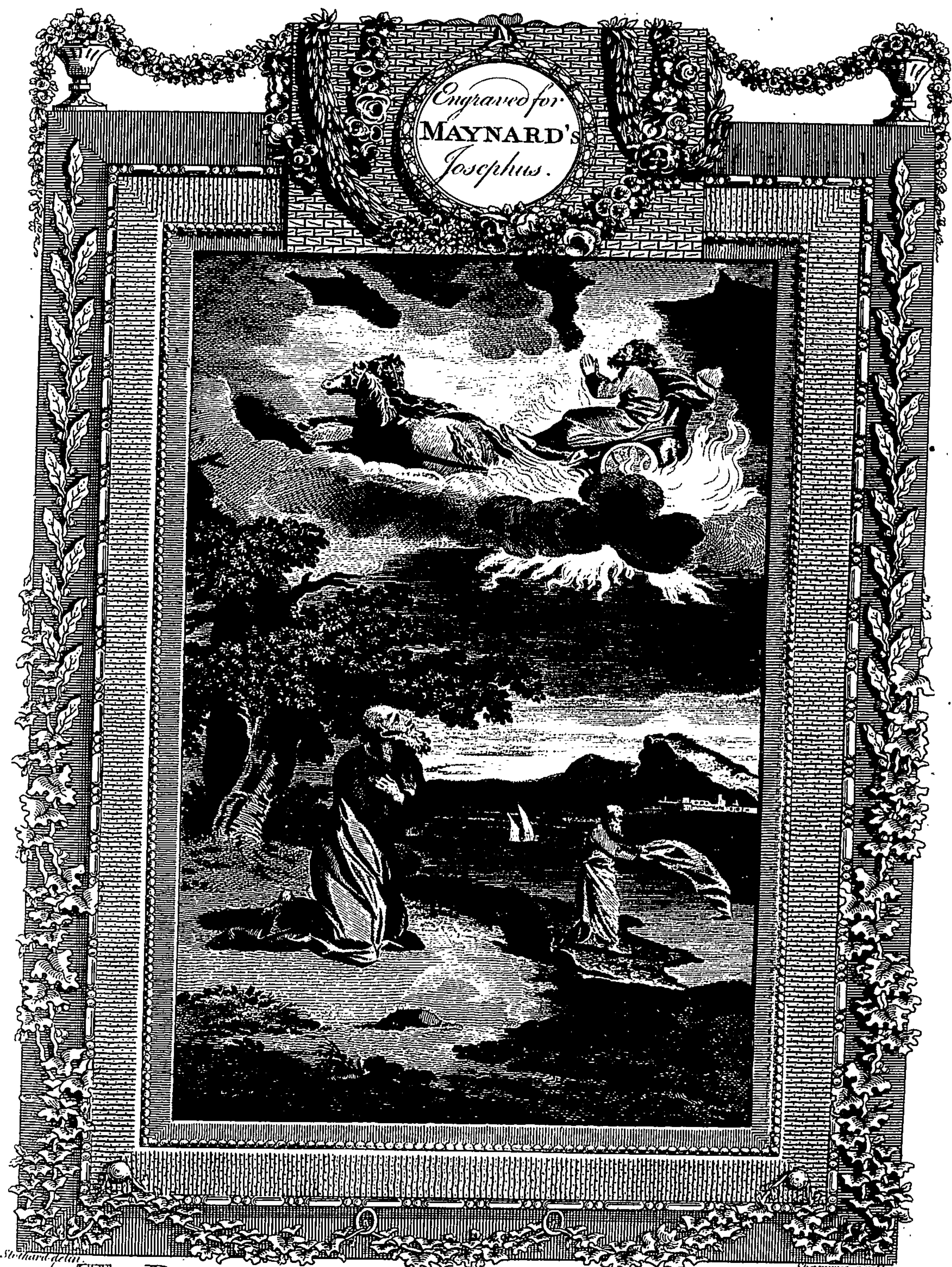
Disappearance of Elias, and his successor Elisha.

Upon Jehoram's succeeding to the throne of his brother, he formed a resolution of going to war with Mesha, king of the Moabites, for refusing to pay an annual tribute in sheep and lambs, which had been paid to his father Ahab, during the whole of his reign, though denied to his brother Ahaziah. In consequence of this resolution Jehoram raised a very considerable army at home, and then solicited the alliance of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, urging, as a motive, the ancient friendship that subsisted betwixt their respective fathers. Jehoshaphat not only complied with his request, but engaged to bring the king of Idumæa into the league, having, from di-

Expected of Jehoram as an alliance Mesha.

death of any others so well answer the ends of Infinite Wisdom. If this catastrophe was intended for the punishment of evil-doers, who so fit to be made examples, as those who were actually engaged in the wicked enterprize?

(c) The sacred records informs us, that, while this prophet was conversing with his successor, Elisha, in the prophetic office, there suddenly appeared a fiery chariot, that parted them; immediately on which the prophet was conveyed by a whirlwind into heaven. See 2 Kings ii. 11.



(The PROPHET ELIAS) carried up to HEAVEN
in a fiery Chariot, in the presence of his Disciple Elisha.

vers causes, a considerable influence with that prince.

As Jehoram met with so favourable a reception upon his application, he went to Jerusalem, where he was cordially received, and sumptuously entertained, by the king of the place. The plan of the expedition was debated in council; and it was carried unanimous, that the army should march through the desert of Idumæa, where the enemy would be least apprized of their design. According to the resolution formed in council, the kings of Judah, Israel, and Idumæa, proceeded towards the desert, where, having wandered for the space of seven days, they were greatly distressed for want of water both for their men and cattle, insomuch that they sunk into the utmost despondency. Jehoram was so particularly distressed, that he impatiently exclaimed, "What have these three kings done, to be delivered up captives to the Moabites without resistance?" But Jehoshaphat bearing the calamity with pious resignation, endeavoured to soothe the affliction of Jehoram, and advised him to enquire if there was a prophet of the Lord at hand, in order to ask of him counsel concerning the Divine will. Being informed, by a servant, that he had seen Elisha, the son of Shabat, and disciple of Elias, there, the three kings, on the proposal of Jehoshaphat, immediately repaired to the prophet, and enquired of him what would be the consequence of the army's being wholly destitute of water. Elias replied to Jehoram, who was more particularly inquisitive, "Ask counsel of the gods of your father, and of your mother." Jehoram, notwithstanding this abrupt reply, persisted in his application to the prophet, and intreated him to return a favourable answer, and save the lives of thousands that were perishing with thirst. Elisha solemnly declared he would return no answer but for the sake of Jehoshaphat, a pious and virtuous prince; and then ordering a musician to be called, while he was singing an hymn, accompanied with his instrument, the prophet recommended to the kings to cause ditches to be cut, which should be supplied with a sufficiency of water both for the people and their cattle. He added, moreover, that henceforward they should not experience the calamities of drought; for that the Almighty would enable them to overcome their enemies, destroy all their plantations, stop their rivers and fountains, and lay their country waste. Early next morning the prediction of Elisha was verified; for there came down from Idumæa, three days journey from that spot, an impetuous torrent, which filled all the ditches they had caused to be dug; so that a copious supply was obtained for the refreshment both of man and beast.

The king of Moab, upon receiving intelligence that the confederate kings were advancing against him by way of the desert, marched out with his whole army to meet them on the borders, and thereby preclude an invasion. The armies of the confederates were by this time not far from the land of Moab; and when the army of that country perceived the water, which, from the reflection of the beams of the rising sun, appeared like blood, they concluded that a contention had arisen between the three kings, that their armies had engaged and slain each other, and that they had nothing more to do than take possession of the spoil of an abandoned camp. Elated with this confidence, they asked permission of their king to rise, which being granted, they rushed on as to an advantage already gained, upon a supposition of their enemies having destroyed each other. But they soon found themselves mistaken; for when they came up to the camp, in order to rifle it, they met with an unexpected reception, the confederates falling on them with such courage and resolution, that, being obliged to give way, great numbers were slain on the spot, and the main body reduced to the necessity of saving themselves by a precipitate flight.

The kings, availing themselves of this success, made an incursion into the land of the Moabites, destroyed their cities and towns, drove away their cattle, choked up their rivers and fountains, cut down their timber, and made ravage and devastation wherever they went. The king of the Moabites was obliged to take refuge in a town, which was

soon after besieged by the confederate army. Apprehending the danger of losing it by assault, he determined on making one resolute effort. Having selected seven hundred of his choicest troops of horse, he made a desperate sally at their head, in order to break through the enemy's weakest quarters; but failing in the attempt, and meeting with a repulse, he was reduced to the necessity of saving himself by a precipitate retreat to the town in which he had taken refuge. This disappointment, aggravated by others, induced him to an action the most horrid and barbarous that frantic despair could possibly suggest. He took his eldest son, the heir-apparent, and sacrificed him upon the walls of the town, in view of the enemy's army. The kings were so affected at the horrid spectacle, that, impressed by the feelings of humanity, and a reflection on the vicissitudes of fortune, they raised the siege, and retired to their own country. Jehoshaphat lived in peace after this expedition the short time he survived it: he soon after died at Jerusalem, in the sixtieth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign; and was interred, with a magnificence suitable to his character, as he did honour to his station as a king; and to human nature as a man, by a conduct uniformly pious, virtuous, and just.

CHAP. II.

Succession of Jehoram to the throne of his father Jehoshaphat. Elisha performs singular miracles. Adad, king of Syria, invests Samaria. The siege miraculously raised. Adad put to death by Hazael, who usurps his crown. Flagitious actions of Jehoram. Elisha's denunciation against him.

THE late king Jehoshaphat had a numerous issue, but he appointed his eldest son, Jehoram, to the succession. He had the same name with his mother's brother, the son of Ahab, and king of Israel, who was just returned to Samaria from the war with the Moabites, and brought with him the prophet Elisha. There are upon sacred record several memorable passages relative to this venerable character, which I deem worthy of being related upon this occasion.

Elisha was applied to by the widow of Obadiah, steward of Ahab's household. She told him he was no stranger to the violent outrage of Jezebel against the prophets, nor to her husband's preservation of them, and borrowing money for their maintenance. She added, that her husband dying, and leaving her in indigent circumstances, the creditors threatened to make slaves of her and her children for the debt, and therefore intreated him to afford her some assistance. The prophet asked her what she had in the house, to which she replied, that she had only a little oil in a cruise. He then bid her borrow what empty vessels she could of her neighbours, take them home with her, shut herself up with her two sons, and from her little, but multiplied, store, to pour into the vessels till they were full. The widow did as she was ordered, and the oil continuing to run from her own vessel till those she had borrowed were full, she returned to the prophet to give him a particular account of what had passed, and to thank him for his interposition in her behalf; upon which he told her to sell as much of the oil as would satisfy the creditors, as there would remain a sufficiency for the support of herself and family: by this means she was freed from a state of embarrassment.

Elisha having notice of a conspiracy against the life of Jehoram by the Syrians, who had treacherously planted an ambush to surprise him, gave the king immediate intelligence, with a caution to beware of a certain place, where the plot was laid. The king availed himself of the prophet's information and advice, put off an intended hunt, and frustrated the whole design. Adad, king of the Syrians, was so incensed at the disappointment, that he reviled his own servants, and threatened them with death itself, for disclosing a plot to which they alone were privy. When it was represented to him, "That he should not suffer himself to be biassed by a groundless opinion, nor suspect his servants of discovering his design to his enemy;" when he was also given to understand

The king of Moab sacrifices his eldest son.

2 Chron. 21. Jehoshaphat succeeded by Jehoram.

Josephus proposes to relate the various acts of the prophet Elisha.

Elisha multiplies the oil of the widow of Obadiah. 2 Kings 4.

Apprizes the king of Israel of the snares laid for him by the Syrians. 2 Kings 6.

Council held at Jerusalem concerning the expedition.

The three kings and their forces distressed for want of water.

They apply to Elisha for counsel.

Jehoram is at first repulsed by him.

The prophet foretells a supply of water.

His prediction fulfilled.

The king of Moab prepares for action.

The Moabites overcome.

The Moabites are destroyed.

that the prophet Elisha was the man who had discovered and laid open all his counsels, he gave immediate orders to some of his messengers to go in quest of the prophet; and word was soon sent him that he might be found at Dathan. Upon this intelligence he immediately dispatched a number of officers to apprehend him. They beset the town by night, and thereby prevented passengers from coming in or going out. When the prophet's servant had notice of this extraordinary incident, and found the design upon his master, he hastened to him, and, with timorous accent, related the circumstance. Elisha bid him take courage, nor harbour a fear in his breast, as his confidence was ever firmly reposed in the goodness and power of an over-ruling Providence. Upon this he besought the Almighty to manifest to his servant his presence and protection in such a manner, as to inspire him with hope and courage, and lead him to an entire resignation to his holy will and pleasure. His prayers were heard; and there appeared, in the sight of the servant, a multitude of chariots and horses round about Elisha, as a guard to his person. This dissipated the fear, and animated the courage, of the servant, as well as confirmed the character and office of his master.

After this the prophet intreated that the Syrians might have such a mist cast before their eyes, as to affect their sight, so that they should not discern him from another man. In confidence of the grant of this request, he went into the midst of the troops, and asked them whom they fought. They answered, "Elisha, the prophet;" upon which he told them, if they would follow him, he would lead them to the place where he was to be found. These men, whose understanding became impaired, as well as their sight, followed him with the greatest cheerfulness, till at length he brought them to Samaria. Upon their entrance into the city, king Jehoram, at the instance of the prophet, commanded the gates to be shut, and the Syrians to be surrounded. Elisha then intreated that their sight might be restored; and his prayer being granted, the mist was withdrawn, and, to their great astonishment, the Syrians saw themselves surrounded by their enemies in their own capital, Samaria.

While the Syrians were in this state of danger and suspense, apprehending nothing but a retaliation of injuries from a professed enemy, the king proposed to the prophet the putting them all to death: but this he absolutely rejected, as a means totally inconsistent with honour, justice, and humanity, and never justifiable but in self defence, or when victory is obtained in battle. He observed, that these men had been guilty of no act of hostility upon his territories, but only were brought thither by the Divine will, and through the Divine power, without any malicious intention, and without their own knowledge. The prophet, from these considerations, recommended to the king that they should be treated not only with lenity, but hospitality, and, after affording them every comfortable refreshment, dismissed without the least annoyance. Jehoram followed his counsel; so that, after a splendid and sumptuous regale, they were sent home to their king without offer of the least injury.

Upon their return they related to the king the particulars of this strange event, which struck him with conviction, that it was certainly brought about by the display of a Divine power, and that what the prophet had delivered were the dictates of Divine inspiration. He therefore determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel; but resolved, however, upon an open war, relying on the strength and power of superior numbers.

In consequence of this resolution Adad raised a formidable army, and marched with his whole force against Jehoram, who thinking himself incompetent

to engage him in the field through great inequality in point of numbers, kept within the walls of Samaria, depending on the strength of its fortifications. Adad, however, invested the place, not doubting of its surrender, if not through force of arms, by famine, through his precluding them from obtaining provisions. The siege had not been long carried on before the people were brought to so miserable a scarcity, that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and five pieces were given for a pint of pulse. In this extremity Jehoram was apprehensive that the enemy might receive information of the dreadful degree in which the famine prevailed; so that he daily walked round the fortifications, had an eye upon the guards, and was very attentive that no person whatever should enter the city with first undergoing a proper examination.

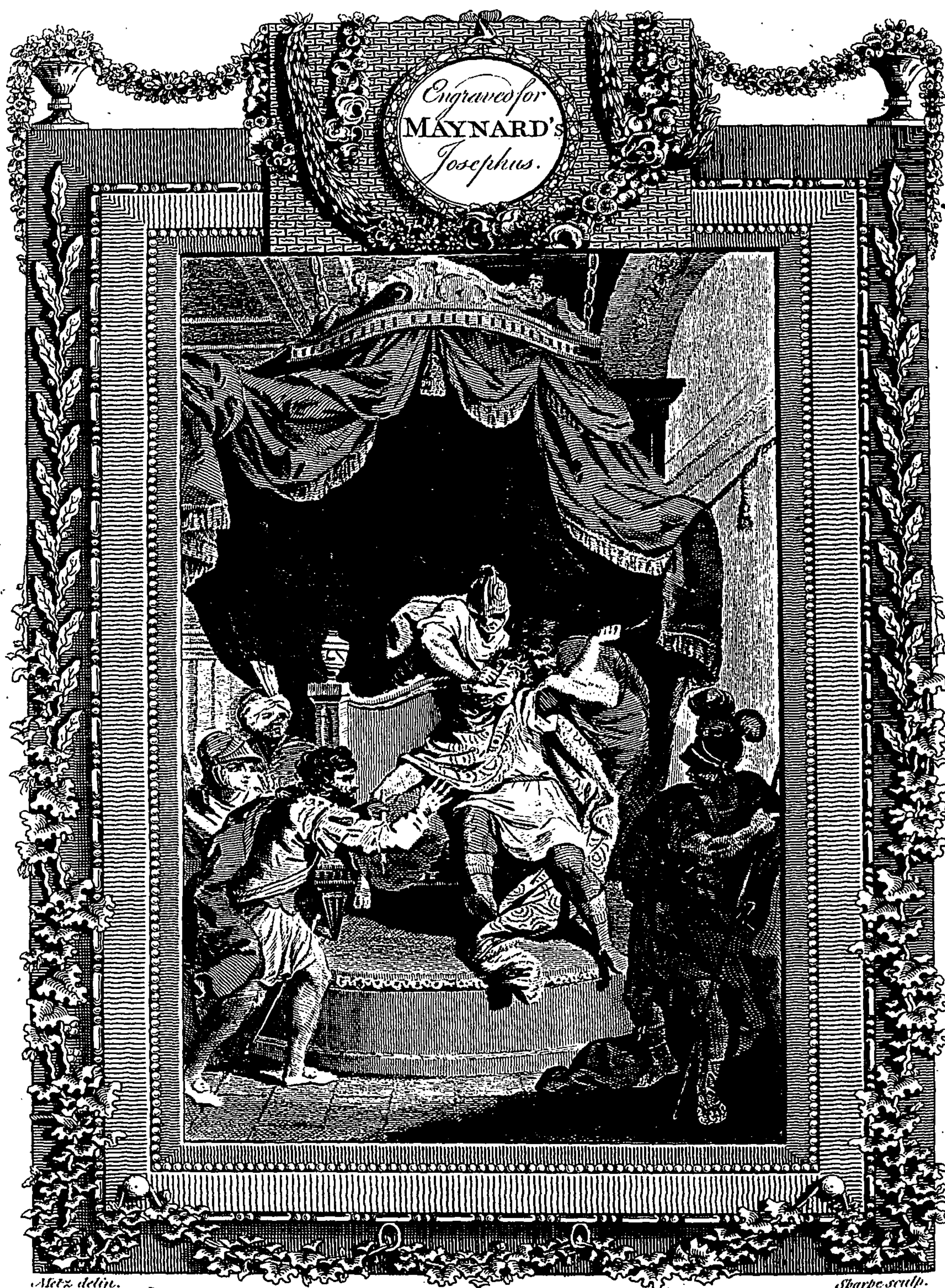
As the king was one day walking on the walls of the city, upon this business of watchful inspection, a strange woman accosted him, requesting his assistance. Supposing she wanted food, he put her off with a rebuke of anger, asking her how she could expect relief from him, who had neither barns, nor any kind of provisions to spare. The woman gave him to understand she did not come to solicit him for food, but for justice, and earnestly intreated him to determine a dispute between her and another woman. The king asking her meaning, she told him that "Her neighbour and herself, having each a male infant, and being both ready to perish for want of food, came to an agreement to kill their children and eat them, as the only means to prevent starving. She added, that her child was killed and dressed the preceding day, and the other woman partook of it; but that now, when she ought, in turn, to partake of her child, the woman had broken her agreement, and concealed it (a)."

Jehoram, deeply affected by this melancholy tale, rent his clothes, and, in a fit of rage and horror, vowed vengeance on Elisha, whom he took to be the cause of this dreadful calamity. While this frenzy prevailed, he dispatched an officer to take off the prophet's head; and the man immediately set forward to execute his commission. Elisha, by the spirit of prophecy, had notice of this wicked design against his life, and, therefore, having acquainted the people with it who were with him, and particularly informed them, that Jehoram, the son of a murderer, had sent an officer, with a party, who were then on the way, to take off his head, he desired them to secure the doors, and by no means to admit the officer till the arrival of the king, who, he had reason to be assured, had changed his mind, and was hastening after his people to prevent mischief. They watched as they were directed, shut the doors upon the men when they came, and kept them out till the appearance of Jehoram, who hastened with the utmost speed to countermand the execution of the order, and save the life of the prophet.

The king, on his arrival, began to reproach the prophet with inhumanity, in beholding himself and his people reduced to such extremity of distress, without interposing, and offering up one prayer for their relief. The prophet then encouraged and comforted him with this promise and assurance, "That, by the same hour on the following day, Samaria should be so abundantly stored with all kinds of provisions, that the market price of a measure of fine flour should be only a shekel; and that two measures of barley should be sold for the same sum." This prediction was credited by the king, and those of his attendants, who had seen different proofs of the prophet's veracity. They rejoiced in the presage as if already accomplished, and bore their present distresses with a degree of patient resignation, being revived by the hope of a speedy relief. But one of the king's favourite officers, who commanded a third

(a) The manner in which this melancholy story is related in the scripture is as follows: "And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king. And he said, If the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barn-floor, or out of the wine-press? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will

"eat my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son." 2 Kings, vi. 26, &c. A melancholy story indeed! and a terrible display of that Divine vengeance which Moses had long before told the Israelites would befall them, if they rebelled against God. See Deut. xxviii. 53.



Metz delin.

Sharpe sculp.

ADAD, King of Syria, STIFLED to DEATH
by Hazael, who succeeds him on his Throne.

of his army, could not be brought to place any confidence in it; on the contrary, as the king was that day familiarly leaning on his shoulder, he affirmed it to be "a thing impossible, unless it should rain meal from heaven." The prophet made him a brief reply to this effect, "That himself should see the plenty, but should not be permitted to taste of it." And this prediction accordingly came to pass.

1 Kings 27
The conduct
of the lepers

There was a law in Samaria, that no persons affected with the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should be suffered to live within the walls of the city. It happened, at this time, that there were four leprosy persons that had their habitations without the gates. The famine raged with such violence in the city, that no provisions could be expected from that quarter; and to remain in their habitations, would be to give themselves up to the most lamentable of deaths. They therefore unanimously resolved to cast themselves upon the mercy of the enemy, who would either relieve their necessities, or put them to death; so that their miseries one way or other would be soon terminated.

In consequence of this resolution, they proceeded, by night, to the camp of the Syrians, whether they had no sooner arrived, than, to their great surprize, they found it entirely deserted by the enemy. For, upon the approach of the lepers, the Syrians were struck with a panic, by the imaginary noise of horses and armed men breaking in upon them, and concluded that the king of Israel had called in the assistance of allies, and were coming to surprize them. This conjecture threw them into the greatest consternation, insomuch that they hastened to Adad, and told him that the confederate kings were just at hand, within hearing of the march of the army. Adad gave credit to the delusion, as he himself was influenced by the same false imagination; so that, in one general confusion, the whole camp broke up, the army dispersed, and every man began to shift for himself, leaving their treasure, cattle, baggage, and provision; in a word, all their possessions behind them.

The Syrians
desert their
camp in a
panic.

The lepers, having gone through the camp of the Syrians, and found all safe, first regaled themselves most plentifully, and then carried off a great quantity of gold, and other valuable effects, without finding so much as one person in the field. They loaded themselves four times, and buried their treasure in a hole, which they dug for that purpose, without the camp. But while they were thus regaling, and providing for themselves, they reflected that their countrymen were still under the dismal apprehensions of starving in the town, or perishing by the enemy, and that it was but justice to inform them, as soon as possible, of the happy event that had taken place. Thus resolved, they made the utmost haste to the city, called aloud to the centinels on the walls, that the enemy had totally abandoned their camp, and left behind them all their tents, cattle, and treasure.

The lepers
give notice
of the de-
fection of
the Syrians.

Intelligence of this important event being communicated to the king, he immediately summoned a full council, to whom he gave it as his own private opinion, that it was only an artifice of the enemy to draw them out of the city, and that, placing themselves in ambush, they would suddenly fall on them, and obtain a compleat victory. He observed, that they might, perhaps, despair of starving the besieged to death, and therefore had recourse to this invention to surprize them, and thereby gain their point. From thence he inferred the expediency of guarding against such a design, and deliberating on measures with the greatest caution. One of the council stood up, and, with due deference to that venerable board, gave his opinion in concurrence with that of the king, observing further, that it would be proper to send two horsemen as far as the river Jordan for discovery, and if their suggestions were justly founded, and they should be made prisoners, the loss would not be considerable; but if they did not discover any part of the enemy, they might reasonably suppose that all was safe, and that they had retired to their own country.

Confulta-
tion and re-
solutions of
the king
and council
upon the
flight of the
Syrians.

The king readily assenting to the last proposal, two scouts were immediately dispatched for intelligence. In a short time they returned, and reported, that not one individual of the enemy was to be seen; but that they saw abundance of corn, arms, and other articles which they had left behind them, that they might

be light and more expeditious in their flight. Upon this information, the people, at the king's command, rushed out of the city, in great numbers, in order to pillage the enemy's deserted camp, where they found an immense booty, in treasure and cattle, and such an incredible stock of grain, that, in a most amazing superabundance, they forgot their scarcity; for two measures of barley were sold for one shekel, and a measure of flour at the same price, according to the prediction of Elisha. This measure contains about an Italian bushel and an half.

The camp
of the Sy-
rians spoiled
and im-
mense booty
carried off.

The officer, who disputed the veracity of the prophecy, was appointed by the king to guard the gate, which led from the city to the camp, in order to prevent disorder, and their crushing one another to death in the sally; but the crowd pressed on him with such vehemence that he was trampled to death: so that, though he saw the great abundance of provisions afterwards brought to market, yet, as the prophet had foretold, he did not taste thereof.

Prophecy
respecting
the unbe-
lieving offi-
cer verified.

When Adad, upon the miraculous raising of the siege of Samaria, had escaped to Damascus, and was informed, that all the alarms of chariots and horsemen, that had given such an irreparable rout to him and his army, were, in truth, nothing more than judicial impressions of fright and terror, without any foundation, he looked upon it as a declaration from heaven against him; and this anxiety of thought made him as sick in body as in mind.

2 King 2.

Adad, being informed that Elisha was at this time in Damascus, he sent Hazael (who was now become one of his prime ministers) with magnificent presents to the prophet, and to enquire whether or not he should recover from the sickness under which he then laboured. The noble messenger took with him forty camels, loaded with the choicest curiosities that either the town or country afforded, and meeting Elisha on the way, saluted him, with the greatest reverence, in the name, and by the command, of king Adad, telling him, at the same time, that he had commission to offer him presents, and also to consult him about his disease, whether or not he might hope for relief. The prophet assured Hazael, that the king was to die, but charged him not to disclose it to him. The messenger was much affected by this melancholy presage; and Elisha poured forth tears abundantly, on contemplation of the miseries the people were to undergo after the decease of Adad. When Hazael enquired of the prophet the cause of his excessive grief, he replied, "I cannot refrain from weeping, when I con-

Adad de-
pares. Ha-
zael to con-
sult Elisha
upon his re-
covery from
his sickness.

Elisha fore-
tells the
death of
Adad.

template on the calamities which you yourself are to bring upon the people of Israel. You will put their strong men to the sword, burn their fenced cities, dash their children against the stones, and destroy their women in a state of pregnancy." When Hazael, struck with surprize, asked, by what power he was to perpetrate all these evils, the prophet assured him he had received Divine intimation that he was to reign in Syria.

Also the dire
calamities of
the Israel-
ites, under
the tyranny
of Hazael,
whose reign
the prophet
predicts.

These words of Elisha fixed the ambition of Hazael, who immediately left the prophet, and returning to the king his master, gave him great hopes of recovery. This, however, the treacherous courtier took care to prevent himself; for the next morning he put him to death, by stifling him with a cloth dipped in water, and took possession of his palace and government. Adad was an active prince, and greatly beloved by his people, insomuch that, to this day, the memory of Adad, and Hazael his successor, is honoured by the Syrians, for their generosity in general; and the magnificence of the temples they erected at Damascus, together with the ornaments with which they embellished the city in particular. Their images are daily carried in grand procession, and much esteemed for their antiquity; for several hundred years have elapsed from the time of the existence of their original. The death of Adad gave rest to the king of Israel, delivered him from the apprehensions which had long disturbed his quiet, and afforded him the enjoyment of an interval of peace.

Adad put to
death by
Hazael, who
takes posses-
sion of his
government.

Adad and
Hazael ho-
nourably
commemo-
rated by the
Syrians in
the days of
Josephus.

When Jehoram, the king of Jerusalem, (who, as already observed, had the same name as the king of Israel), ascended the throne, he sullied the commencement of his reign by the slaughter of his brother and his father's friends, and the commission of deeds, in general, as surpasses, if possible, the most abandoned

2 Kings 8.
Jehoram,
king of Ju-
dah, a cruel
and impious
prince.

abandoned of his predecessors. Indeed, he was chiefly instigated by the example and persuasion of his wife, Gotholiah, the daughter of Ahab, to trespass against the laws and religion of his country; by the practice of idolatry, and departing from the worship of the only one and true God. Now, though the Almighty was not pleased to extirpate this family, for the sake of the promise given to David, Jehoram continued his provocations by the introduction of customs that tended to the promotion of impiety, and the subversion of the real interests of the people.

The Idumæans revolt from Jehoram.

The Idumæans having at this time revolted from Jehoram, and slain their former king, who had ever been faithful to his father, as well as set up another in his place, Jehoram, incensed at this insult, made an incursion with a considerable troop of horse, and a number of chariots, into the enemy's quarters by night. He destroyed those parts that were contiguous to his own kingdom, but did not attempt any further progress into the country. This expedition, so far from filling the minds of those who had revolted with any degree of fear and apprehension, instigated others to follow their example; for it caused the defection of the country of Libnah. Such, indeed, was the frantic madness of Jehoram, that he compelled the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and there pay their adorations, and worship false gods.

The profi-
gacy of Je-
horam.

Elisha's
epistle.
2 Chron. 21.

As he persisted in these abominations, setting the religion and laws of his country at defiance, there was brought him an epistle from the prophet Elisha, which declared, "That since he had wilfully and presumptuously set himself in opposition to the practice and example of his forefathers, and espoused the prophanation of the Israelites, and that, not resting there, he had corrupted the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, from the worship of the true God, and seduced them to idolatrous superstitions, in making gods of images, and, like Ahab, used violent means to compel the people to those abominable practices, not sparing the blood of his brother, and other pious and virtuous men, that, for these causes, his family and people should fall into the hands of a merciless enemy, that should spare neither women nor children, and that he himself should be tormented with a lingering pain in his intestines, till his bowels should rot by degrees, and at length fall out." This was the judgment denounced at the Divine command, by the prophet Elisha, in his epistle to Jehoram, who was brought too late to a sense of his impiety.

CHAP. III.

The Arabians invade Judea. Miserable death of Jehoram. Succession of his son Ahaziah.

SOON after this dreadful denunciation of the Divine vengeance against Jehoram, an army of Arabians, from the borders of Ethiopia, with other barbarians, made an incursion into his dominions, rifled his palace, and put to the sword his wives, and all his children, except one, who was Ahaziah, and he very narrowly escaped their fury. This public calamity was followed by the execution of the judgment denounced against the king, who, according to the prediction of the prophet, fell into a most tormenting disease, his bowels dropping out daily by degrees, till at length he expired in the greatest agony. As he lived detested, so he died unlamented, by the people, who even insulted his remains, inferring the justice of his punishment from the enormity of his crimes. They even denied him an honourable funeral, or a place in the sepulchral monument of his father. He died in the fortieth year of his age, and eighth of his reign, and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Ahaziah.

Death of
Jehoram.

Succession
of Ahaziah.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram is wounded at the siege of Ramoth-Gilead. Jehu carries on the siege. Is anointed king of Israel. Proceeds to the city of Jezreel.

AS the city of Ramoth-Gilead had been a place of long dispute between the two crowns of Israel and Syria, Jehoram, king of the Israelites, on the

death of Adad, king of Syria, entertained sanguine hopes of recovering it. With that view he laid siege to it with a very powerful army; but, at the first onset, he received a very dangerous wound with an arrow from the bow of a Syrian; so that he was obliged to quit the army, and retire to Jezreel, for necessary accommodations, and the conveniences of the cure. His troops, however, continued to oppose the enemy under the command of Jehu, to whom it was delegated during his absence, and who, in a short time, took it by force. Jehoram proposed, on his return, to prosecute the war against the Syrians; but, in the mean time, the prophet Elisha, thinking it a proper opportunity for executing the orders left him by Elias, relative to the punishment of the house of Ahab, ordered one of his disciples to go to Ramoth-Gilead, and there anoint and declare Jehu king, in the name, and by the authority, of the Most High. He also ordered him to depart in as private a manner as possible, and by no means give the least notice of the purport of his journey.

Siege of
Ramoth-
Gilead.
Jehoram is
wounded,
and returns.

Ramoth-
Gilead is
taken by al-
fauk, under
command of
Jehu.

Elisha sends
to anoint
Jehu king.

When the young prophet reached the town, he found Jehu engaged with his officers, in consulting what steps should be taken relative to the prosecution of the war. As soon as a convenient opportunity offered, he gave Jehu to understand that he desired to have a conference with him in private. The general immediately retired with him into an inner chamber, which they had no sooner entered, than the young prophet, taking out a phial of oil, poured it on his head, telling him, "That God had chosen him king for the destruction of the house of Ahab, and to avenge the blood of the prophets that had been so wantonly and cruelly spilt by Jezebel." He added, that "As Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and after him the family of Baasha, had been utterly exterminated for their wickedness, so there should be left no remainder of the impious stock of Ahab." When he had thus spoken, he hastily left the chamber, and endeavoured to pass unseen by any of the army.

Jehu relates
to his offi-
cers the cir-
cumstances of
the young pro-
phet.

As soon as Jehu returned to the council-chamber, the officers, from the appearance of the young prophet, having entertained a very mean opinion of him, enquired concerning his person and business, intimating that he seemed to give indications of insanity. Jehu, at first, gave an evasive answer; but that rendering them more urgent and inquisitive, he related to them all that had passed, told them he was a prophet, and that his business was to anoint him king of Israel, which he had no sooner done than he hastened away.

After this declaration every one of them put off his garment, and strewed it under him in token of submission; and when he had taken his place they all saluted him king, with acclamations, benedictions, and the sounds of horns and trumpets, to congratulate his accession to the throne. Jehoram still continued at Jezreel, on account of the wound he had received from the Syrians at the siege of Ramoth-Gilead; and Ahaziah, king of Judah, his sister's son, was also at the same place, upon a visit of duty and respect to him. Jehu therefore took this opportunity of marching with his army to Jezreel, where he might surprize them both at once; but warned his men, upon their allegiance, not to give Jehoram any intelligence of their design.

Is declared
king by the
army.

CHAP. V.

Jehoram and Ahaziah are both slain by Jehu.

JEHU was disappointed in his intention to get to Jezreel before Jehoram could receive any intelligence of what had passed at Ramoth-Gilead, notwithstanding the precision with which his officers had executed his orders in possessing themselves of all the avenues to the town, and keeping the strictest guard. Jehoram had a centinel on the watch-tower, who perceiving a large body of men approaching; concluded it was Jehu who commanded them, hastily ran to the king, and acquainted him with the particulars of what he had seen, and his conjectures who they were. The king upon this immediately dispatched a messenger on horseback to the party with instructions to learn who they were. The messenger executed his master's orders, and, on making enquiry relative to the state of the army, Jehu, instead of giving



*Seventy of AHAB'S SONS SLAIN at one time by order of JEHU,
the Son of Jehoshaphat, and their Heads cut off and sent to Jezreel.*

giving him the least satisfaction as to the purport of his message, ordered him to fall into his rear, and join the march. The messenger, in this situation, was under an unavoidable necessity of obeying; and the centinel on the watch tower seeing him detained, gave the king notice that he had joined the troops. He then dispatched another messenger with the same instructions, and with the same success as the former, till roused with resentment by such contemptuous treatment, the two kings mounted their chariots, and set out together to meet Jehu, who continued his march at a very regular moderate pace. It happened that they met near the field of Naboth, the Jezreelite, and very probably not far from the spot where that innocent and injured man was stoned to death. On their first meeting, Jehoram asked Jehu concerning the situation of his army, and whether it was war or peace? Jehu, in reply, cast a bitter reflection on the whoredom and witchcraft of Jezebel, his mother.

The kings meet near the field of Naboth.

Jehu slays Jehoram.

Ahaziah mortally wounded by Jehu.

Interred at Jerusalem.

From this answer Jehoram was convinced of the hostile intentions of Jehu, and the danger in which he stood himself; so that he gave Ahaziah to understand he was betrayed, and then turned his chariot, and endeavoured to save himself by flight. But Jehu prevented him from effecting his design; for, at that instant, he let fly an arrow at him, which penetrating his heart, he immediately expired in his chariot. As soon as Jehu saw this, he commanded Bidkar, one of his principal officers, to take the body and cast it into the field of Naboth. This circumstance suggested to his mind the prediction of the prophet Elias to his father Ahab, "That his whole race should perish on the very spot he had unjustly arrested from Naboth, the legal proprietor."

When Ahaziah, king of Judah, saw the fate of Jehoram, he became apprehensive of his own danger, and attempted to make his escape, and turned off into a bye-path to evade pursuit. But Jehu, following him to a certain bank, wounded him with an arrow, and caused him to leave his chariot, and take horse, in order to save himself by flight. He reached as far as the city of Megiddo, where he died of his wounds. His remains were removed to Jerusalem, and there interred in the royal sepulchre of his ancestors. He reigned over Judah two years, and was as despicable a character as his father.

CHAP. VI.

Jezebel is put to death by command of Jehu, who exterminates the race of Ahab, the idolatrous priests, and demolishes the temple of Baal.

IN the mean time Jehu made the best of his way to Jezreel, where Jezebel, the queen mother, determined to maintain her state to the last, had dressed herself in her best attire, and fixed herself at a window of the gate of the city, in order to view the procession. As soon as Jehu came opposite the window, she upbraided him with treachery, and uttered this sarcasm; "A hopeful servant that kills his master." Fired with indignation at such insolence, Jehu called out to know who she was, and bade her come down; but she not immediately obeying, he commanded the eunuchs that were about her to cast her down headlong, which being done, the walls of the tower, against which she struck in falling, were stained with her blood; and when her body fell to the ground, it was so trampled on by the horses as to be quite disfigured.

Jezebel is trodden under foot, and torn by dogs & Kings ix.

Soon after Jehu and his retinue arrived at the palace, he gave orders to Jezebel's servants, from respect to her exalted station, to see the remains of their mistress interred with the honours due to her rank; but when they came to seek for her body, they found only a part of the skull, the palms of her hands, and her feet, the rest having been devoured by dogs. When Jehu was informed of this circumstance, it gave him additional veneration for the prophetic

(a) Besides the accomplishment of the Divine decree, Jehu had this farther design in requesting this cruel service of the rulers, elders, and great men of the nation, viz. that thereby he might engage them in the same crime and conspiracy with himself; for, by prevailing with them to murder Ahab's kindred in this manner, he bound them to his interest so closely, No. 12.

spirit of Elias, who had foretold, "That dogs should eat the flesh of Jezebel in the field of Jezreel."

There were at this time seventy sons of king Ahab in Samaria, under the guardianship of the governors, elders, and other great men of the city. Jehu, to effect his intention of extirpating the race of Ahab, wrote letters to these guardians, giving them to understand, that, being well provided with men, arms, chariots, horses, and all necessary implements of war, they would do well in selecting one of the bravest youths from the stock of Ahab, under whose conduct they might revenge the death of their lord and master. This insinuation was thrown out to sound their disposition, and try how they stood affected to his interest. Having deliberated on the purport of the letters with great circumspection, and come to a resolution, that it would be neither prudent or safe, in their then situation of affairs, to oppose a power that had already defeated the united efforts of two mighty potentates, it was unanimously agreed to return for answer, "That they would own no other lord and master than himself, and that they were entirely at his devotion." Jehu sent them back, in reply, "That, as a proof of the fidelity of their allegiance, they should send him next day the heads (a) of all the sons of Ahab, which he should deem an indubitable testimony of their good faith." The guardians having conferred on this injunction of Jehu, unanimously agreed on compliance, and, without the least remorse, ordered the heads of all the princes to be cut off, put into baskets, and sent to Jezreel. Jehu, being informed of their arrival, ordered them to be laid in two heaps before the gate of the city, one on each side, and to let them remain there that night. The next morning he went to the place, and, after viewing the heads, addressed the people to this effect: "I was concerned in the death of my master, but I did not slay all these." His main point was to satisfy the people that this rigour towards the house of Ahab was not only agreeable to the Divine will, but consonant with the prediction of the prophet. When he had extirpated as many of the race of Ahab as could be found, he returned to Samaria. On his way he overtook a company, consisting of forty-two people; and enquiring who they were, and where they were going, they replied, they were relations of Ahaziah, king of Judah, and were going to pay a visit to the court of Samaria, being ignorant of the fate of the late kings, Jehoram and Ahaziah. As soon as Jehu understood who they were, he ordered his guards immediately to seize and put them to death.

Ahab's 70 sons are slain by desire of Jehu.

Jehu causes Ahaziah's relations to be slain.

When he had advanced a little farther, he met Jehonadab, his particular friend, and a man of strict probity, who, after the first salutation, highly commended him for his zeal in extirpating the race of the wicked Ahab, according to the Divine command. Jehu then invited him to accompany him in his chariot to Samaria, assuring him he "Would not spare one apostate, but put to the sword all the false prophets and priests, and those who deceived the multitude, and seduced them from the worship of the true God to the adoration of foreign gods, deeming it pleasing to a good man to see the destruction of the wicked." Jehonadab submitted to the king's pleasure, and attended him to the city.

As soon as Jehu arrived at Samaria, he caused strict search to be made for all the kindred of Ahab, and all that could be found to be put to death; so that, in a short time, the whole race was extirpated. He next formed a resolution of destroying the temple of Baal, with all the false prophets and idolatrous priests, which design he executed by the following stratagem. Calling an assembly of the people together, he told them he was determined to pay a very strict attention to the worship of Baal; adding, that "If Ahab served Baal a little, Jehu would serve him twice as much; for he would worship double the number." He then desired that all

Puts to death all the kindred of Ahab in Samaria.

that if any of the inferior people had been inclined to oppose his designs, they were, by these means, deprived of any man of figure and distinction to head them: and not only so, but, by this expedient, Jehu thought likewise that he might, in a great measure, justify, at least lessen, the odium of his own conduct.

Projects a scheme for the destruction of all the false prophets and priests.

All the false prophets and priests of Baal put to the sword.

the prophets and priests of Baal might be present, as he had a great sacrifice to offer to the god of Ahab, whom they called Baal, declaring at the same time, that the absence of any priest should be punished with death. Having appointed a day for the proposed solemnity, he sent messengers throughout the whole country of the Israelites, to summon the priests up to Samaria on that day. Upon the arrival of the priests and prophets, they were presented with those kinds of vestments in which they were accustomed to perform their religious ceremonies. When Jehu entered the temple, attended by Jehonadab, he gave orders that strict search should be made to find out any who were not worshippers of Baal, as he would not suffer any prophane intruder to mix in their sacred offices. It being reported that none were present but the devotees of Baal, he ordered them to proceed to the performance of their usual ceremonies. Just as they were beginning, he had fourscore guards ready at the door, who only waited the word of command to break in upon the idolators. Their orders were to put all the false prophets and priests to the sword, and vindicate the laws and religion of their fathers, which had been so long and so flagrantly violated. He threatened that if any one was suffered to escape, their own lives should pay the forfeit. The word of command was given, the commission was executed with the utmost rigour, and every individual put to the sword. The temple was set on fire, and reduced to ashes; so that Samaria was now purged of its idolatrous abominations. This Baal was the Syrian idol, to whom Ahab dedicated an altar in Samaria, for the sake of Ithobal, his father-in-law, king of Tyre and Sidon.

Thus did Jehu extirpate the race of Ahab, and abolish the rites and ceremonies of the worship of Baal, although he suffered the Israelites to persist in the worship of their golden calves. However, the punishment he inflicted upon that impious generation was so consistent with the Divine will, that the prophet foretold to him his posterity should reign over Israel to the fourth generation.

CHAP. VII.

Acts of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, who reigned in Judah six years. She is put to death by Jehoiada, the high-priest, who raises Joash, the son of Ahaziah, to the throne.

2 Kings ii. xxii. Athaliah vows vengeance on the house of David.

General massacre of the sons of Ahaziah, Joash excepted.

Jehoiada forms a design for deposing Athaliah.

WHEN Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, king of Israel, and widow of Jehoram, king of Judah, was informed of the devastations which Jehu had made in the impious house of her father, and particularly of the massacre of her brother and son, she formed a resolution of revenging their deaths by so effectually extirpating the race of David, as not to suffer one to escape her vengeance, who should boast an hereditary claim to the crown of Judah. To effect this, she gave orders that not only the children of Ahaziah, but likewise their offspring, should all be put to death. These orders were accordingly put in execution, but, from a circumstance that occurred, were not, as she intended, fully accomplished. At this time Jehosheba, the sister of Ahaziah, by the father's side, was married to Jehoiada, the high-priest. Coming to the palace, where Athaliah's executioners were murdering all the rest, she found Joash, an infant of about a year old, amongst the dead bodies of the slain, which it seems had there been concealed by the nurse. She privately conveyed him to her dwelling, and from thence into the temple, where she kept him concealed during the six years of Athaliah's reign over Jerusalem and the two tribes, without the knowledge of any one person, except her husband.

After the expiration of six years, Jehoiada entered into an association with five principal officers of the army (captains of hundreds) to depose Athaliah, and transfer the crown to the right heir. Having bound themselves by an oath of fidelity and secrecy, they applied themselves to the execution of the design, in which they embarked with great confidence of success. The officers, who had joined in the association with Jehoiada, dispersed themselves throughout the country, to summon the priests, Levites, and

the leading men of the tribes, in the name of the high-priest, to Jerusalem.

As soon as they were assembled, Jehoiada informed them that they were called together to consult on a matter he had to communicate, which was of the utmost importance to the public weal. He added, that the business required secrecy, in order to carry it into execution with success. The oath having been generally administered, he opened the whole affair without reserve, and then pointing to the child, addressed them in words to this effect: "Behold your king, the only surviving branch of that family, which, according to the Divine promise and prediction, shall never be wanting to fill the throne of David. It is my advice that you divide yourselves into three parties; one to guard the person of the king in the temple, one to secure the avenues leading to it, and the other to guard the open gate that leads to the palace, that none be permitted to enter, except the priests and Levites, upon pain of death." He also gave orders that a select number of priests and Levites should stand with their drawn swords as a guard about the king, to put to death whosoever should press into the temple with a weapon about him; and, at all events, to secure the life of the king.

The whole assembly approved of the conduct of the high-priest, whose next business was to open a magazine of military stores that had been deposited in the temple of David, and to deliver out lances, arrows, and other implements of war, to the centurions, priests, and Levites, who planted themselves as a guard upon the temple, and so beset the avenues, as to exclude all those who were not to enter. When these preparations were made, Jehoiada brought forth the young prince, placed the crown on his head, put the book of the law into his hand, anointed him, and then proclaimed him king of Judah, the people expressing their approbation by the loudest acclamations.

The shouts of the people reaching the palace, greatly alarmed Athaliah, who immediately summoning her guards to assemble, hastily repaired to the temple, where she herself was admitted by the priests; but her attendants were kept out by the guards, who were posted there by Jehoiada for that very purpose.

As soon as she entered the place, and saw the child upon the throne with a royal crown upon his head, and heard, at the same time, the loud huzzas of the people upon the joyful occasion, she rent her clothes, exclaimed vehemently, and called her guards to exterminate the traitors who had combined to deprive her of her kingdom. Jehoiada, on the other side, commanded the officers of the guards to conduct her immediately out of the temple, as that place was not to be polluted with the blood of a sorceress. Orders were likewise given, that if any man should attempt a rescue, he should be put to death. Those who had the charge of this commission conducted Athaliah to the stable gate belonging to the palace, and there dispatched her without any opposition.

As soon as this design upon Athaliah had taken effect, Jehoiada summoned the populace to the temple, and administered to them an oath of allegiance to their king, respecting the safety and defence of his person, and the honour and preservation of his government. After this the king took an oath of religious reverence to God, and for the observance of those laws that Moses received from above, and transmitted to posterity.

These ceremonies being over, the whole multitude hastened to the temple, which Jehoram and his wife Athaliah had built, during the reign of Ahab, king of Israel, near Jerusalem, and dedicated to Baal. After destroying the image of Baal, and all the ornaments within, they levelled the whole structure with the ground, and put to death Mattan, the priest, who was then in attendance.

The holy temple was committed to the charge of the priests and Levites, according to the institution of David; Jehoiada appointing two solemn sacrifices to be offered up every day, with incense, agreeable to the law.

Having made these and some other reforms, Joash was conducted out of the temple into the palace, by the governors, officers, and all the people, and being placed

A general summons of the priests and leaders to Jerusalem.

2 Kings ii. xxii. Jehoiada addresses the assembly, and predicts Joash's king.

Jehoiada anoints and proclaims Joash king.

Athaliah is deposed.

Covenant between the people and the king confirmed on oath.

Demolition of the temple of Baal.

Restoration of the worship of the true God.



DESTRUCTION of the TEMPLE of BAAL,
with its priests, false prophets, & worshippers, by order of
JETHU, King of ISRAEL.



Metz delin.

Collyer sculp.

ZACHARIAH
Son of Jehoiada, the High Priest. Stoned to Death, by order of
KING JOASH.

placed a second time on the throne, was received with the loudest acclamations. A general joy and festivity took place; nor did one man regret the fall of the impious Athaliah.

Joash was seven years old when he came to the crown. His mother's name was Zibia, of Beertheba. During the life of Jehoiada, he observed the laws, and maintained a zeal for Divine worship. When he arrived at years of maturity, he had two wives given to him by the high-priest, by whom he had both sons and daughters. Thus much, for the present, relative to Joash, and the particulars respecting his deliverance from the treachery of Athaliah, and his advancement to the throne of Judah.

CHAP. VIII.

Expedition of Hazael against the people of Israel. Jehu dies, and is succeeded by his son Jehoahaz. Death of Jehoiada, and apostasy of Joash. Hazael invests Jerusalem. Joash is slain by the friends of Zachariah, whom he had caused to be put to death.

2 Kings xiii.
Expedition of Hazael against the Israelites.

Death of Jehu, and succession of his son.

2 Kings xii.
2 Chron xxiv

Resolution of Joash, king of Judah, to repair the temple, not carried into immediate effect.

Design of repairing the temple revived.

Jehoiada's plan for raising contributions to carry it on.

Artificers and materials provided, and the repairs completed.

Death of Jehoiada, the high priest.

Joash interlined in the sepulchre.

HAZAEI, king of Syria, at this time waged war against the Israelites, and their king Jehu, laying waste a large track of land to the eastward beyond Jordan, particularly in the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasses, not only burning and pillaging, but putting men, women, and children, to the sword, without mercy. Nor did Jehu seem disposed to resent his outrages and cruelty, having, from a zealous defender of the religion and laws of his country, degenerated into a negligence and contempt of them. He died in the twenty-seventh year of his reign over Israel, was buried at Samaria, and succeeded in his government by his son, Jehoahaz.

Sometime after Joash had been on the throne of Judah, he formed a resolution of repairing the temple, which had been very much damaged in the days of Jehoram and Athaliah. For this purpose he directed his uncle, Jehoiada, to send certain priests and Levites throughout the several parts of his dominions, in order to raise a supply of money, by levying a tax on the people, at half a shekel a head. Jehoiada, convinced that the people were not disposed to apply their money towards the ends proposed, did not put the king's commands in force, and they remained unexecuted till the twenty-third year of his reign. Joash then finding so pious a resolution totally laid aside, sent for Jehoiada, the high-priest, together with the priests and Levites, whom he censured for their negligence, and repeated his charge to them, to set about the necessary methods for raising the contribution required. A variety of expedients were suggested by Jehoiada, in order to effect the business without aggrrieving the people, till at length the following was adopted as most eligible. A chest, made of wood, through the cover of which a slit was cut, for the purpose of receiving donations, was placed over the altar. This being done, it was recommended to the people to contribute towards the intended work, in proportion to their zeal for the true religion, and the worship of the only true God. The multitude being perfectly satisfied with these means of collecting, brought contributions of gold and silver in great abundance. The high-priest was entrusted with the key of the chest, which, in the presence of the king, was opened every day, and after the money was counted, it was registered by the clerks of the treasury.

When it was found that sufficient treasure was accumulated for beginning the work, masons, carpenters, and other artificers were employed, and the choicest timber, and all necessary materials provided; so that, in a short time, the repairs were compleatly finished. The overplus of the contribution, which was very considerable, was applied to the purpose of procuring cups, flaggons, goblets, and other vessels, for sacred services, over and above the oblation of daily sacrifices. This important work was finished under the immediate care and inspection of Jehoiada, who, with it, closed his life in the 130th year of his age. He was a man of exemplary piety and virtue, universally beloved by the people; and, in consideration of his steady attachment to the house of David, his remains were deposited in the sepulchre of the kings.

The death of the good high-priest was productive

of fatal consequences both to king and nation. Joash soon degenerated from his late zeal for the cause of true religion, into a contemptuous negligence of the Divine worship; and the heads of the people were in general disposed to follow his example, till, indeed, from the baneful influence of the great, the apostasy became almost universal.

This declension from the laws and religion of their forefathers, to which they had so inflexibly adhered during the life of Jehoiada, was highly offensive to the Almighty, who was pleased to send several prophets to expostulate both with the king and people on their flagrant impiety, and to threaten them with a severe punishment, unless they immediately reformed, and returned to their duty. But the vengeance denounced against them, and the repeated examples of the fate of their predecessors and families, upon whom the judgement of heaven had been inflicted, as a punishment for the enormity of their crimes, were not sufficient to effect a reformation. Nay, such was the obduracy, as well as ingratitude, of the king, that he caused Zachariah, son of the late high-priest, Jehoiada, to be stoned to death in one of the courts near the temple, for the freedom he had taken in remonstrating with him, in strong terms, on the general impiety, and exhorting both him and his people to a timely repentance, in order to avert those judgements which, their persisting in their iniquities, would certainly entail upon them. The prophet Zachariah appealed to God with his dying breath, as his judge and witness, that, "He suffered only for having administered good counsel, and being the son of a man, who had deserved so well from his king and country."

Declension of king and people from their former zeal for religion.

Zachariah is stoned to death at the command of the king.

Hazael lays waste the borders of Judah.

Joash redeems Jerusalem with the spoils of the temple.

Death of Joash.

It was not long before the great avenger of violence was pleased to punish Joash for his base treatment of his servant and prophet Zachariah. Hazael, king of Syria, made an incursion, with a powerful army, into his dominions; and having first rifled and destroyed Gath, proceeded towards Jerusalem, where the king himself had taken refuge. Joash, being in no condition to make resistance, was so alarmed at the approach of the Syrian army, that, to redeem himself from the miseries of a siege, he compounded for himself and the city, and delivered up all the treasure of the temple, that which was dedicated to religious uses, as well as the donations of particular kings, to Hazael, in order to prevail with him to withdraw his troops. The value of the bribe tempted the invader, who accepted it, raised the siege, and returned with his forces to his own country.

No sooner was Hazael departed than Joash was attacked with a severe distemper; and the friends of Zachariah, in revenge for the death of the prophet, and son of their late much loved high-priest, took him by surprise, and slew him. Joash reigned forty years, and was buried in the city of Jerusalem; but his late impious courses had rendered him so obnoxious in the eyes of the people, that his remains were denied a place in the royal sepulchre.

CHAP. IX.

Expedition of Hazael, king of Syria, against Jehoahaz, the son and successor of Jehu, on his accession to the throne of Israel. Jehoahaz implores and obtains the Divine assistance against him. Dies, and is succeeded by his son Joash. Last prediction and death of Elisha. Death of Hazael, and succession of his son, Adad.

JOASH was succeeded in the government of Judah by his son Amaziah, who, at the time of his accession, was twenty-five years of age. In the twenty-first year of Joash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, entered upon the government of Israel, in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He cannot be said to have followed the example of his father, which, at the commencement, and during a considerable part of his reign, was praise worthy; for the son and successor lived in the constant practice of all impious and idolatrous abominations. For this cause it pleased the Almighty to afflict both him and his people, by delivering him into the hands of Hazael, who reduced him to so low an ebb, that he had no more than 10,000 foot, and 500 horse, to defend himself against the enemy, who wasted his country, and destroyed his subjects. This circumstance fulfilled the

2 Kings xiv.
Amaziah succeeds his father Joash.

Jehoahaz, king of Israel, an abandoned prince.

the prediction of Elisha to Hazael, when he told him he should kill his lord and master, and take possession of Syria and Damascus.

Jehoahaz intercedes, and obtains the Divine aid and protection.

In this unfortunate situation Jehoahaz had recourse to heaven, by prayer and supplication, for deliverance from the power and oppression of the Syrians. His humiliation was accepted; and that Divine goodness, that supports the innocent, and pardons the penitent, and is even disposed to reform, rather than punish, was pleased to grant him his request, put an end to a ruinous war by a timely peace, and restore his dominions to the blessings they had formerly enjoyed.

Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, a pious prince

After the death of Jehoahaz, Joash, his son, succeeded to the government of Israel, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Joash, king of Judah. He was a pious and virtuous prince, and maintained a character, for religion and government, totally different from that of his father.

The prophet Elisha was now far advanced in years, and being, as was supposed, upon his last bed of sickness, Joash, who always entertained the highest respect for the prophet, and payed him the greatest reverence, made him a visit on this melancholy occasion. After he had expressed his grief for the agonies under which the good old prophet laboured, and mixed his lamentation with tears, he pointed out the great loss all Israel would sustain in the death of a father, defender, and protector; as such he had proved both by his counsel and his prayers, which had so often delivered them from the desolation of their enemies, and obtained them the most important of blessings.

Visits Elisha in his sickness. Emblematical prediction of the prophet.

The kindness and compassion of the king so far wrought upon the prophet, that, having first bestowed on him his blessing, he emblematically predicted to him the future success he should have over his enemies the Syrians, in the following manner: he called for a bow and arrows, and, when brought, bid the king put his hand upon the bow, bend it and shoot. The king then discharged thrice, and gave it over. Elisha told him if he had shot more arrows, he would have reduced the whole kingdom of Syria; but since he had been satisfied with shooting three times only, he must content himself with three several victories over them, wherein he should recover such parts of the country as they had taken from his father. Upon these words the king went his way, and the prophet departed this life soon after. He was a man eminent for his piety, and the integrity of his life; for which he was honoured with singular instances of the Divine favour and regard, as appears from the miracles he wrought, which stand upon record in the sacred history of the Hebrews to this day. He obtained a magnificent funeral, becoming the dignity of his character, as a prophet of the Lord.

Death and character of Elisha.

Soon after the burial of this prophet, it happened that certain robbers cast a traveller, whom they had slain, into Elisha's tomb. As soon as the body of the dead man touched that of Elisha it revived (a). Thus have we recounted the acts of Elisha, who seems to have had a Divine power, not only during life, but even after his death.

A dead man revives on touching the body of Elisha. 2 Kings 13.

Upon the death of Hazael, king of Syria, the kingdom devolved, by right hereditary, to his son Adad, who was overcome by Joash in three engagements; by which means all that country was recovered to the Israelites which his father Hazael had taken from them, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Upon the demise of Joash his son succeeded to the throne.

CHAP. X.

Amaziah, king of Judah, overcomes the Amalekites and allies. Apostatizes, and is defeated by the king of Israel, to whom he delivers up Jerusalem. Is slain by his own people, and is succeeded by his son Uzziah.

IN the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah came to the government of the tribe of Judah, in the city of Jerusalem. His mother's name

(a) Men of such exalted characters as the prophet Elisha had monuments of stone, in the form of our square tombs, wherein their bodies were deposited; and therefore, the men who carried the dead body here spoken of, flung it into the tomb of the prophet, that they might be the more able to provide for their

was Jehoadan, a native of the place. When he found himself fully established on the throne, he revenged the death of his father upon the heads of those who treacherously murdered him, under a pretence of friendship. But, though he brought the assassins to public justice, he spared their children, according to the precept of Moses, which expresses, "That children should not be punished for the iniquity of their fathers."

2 Kings 14. Amaziah revenges the murder of his father.

After this he selected an army out of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, composed of men in their prime; and when they were incorporated, appointed officers to command them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a great number of auxiliaries, for an hundred talents of silver, determined upon a war with the Amalekites, the Edomites, and the Gabinites.

Resolves on an expedition against the Amalekites.

When this combined army was ready for marching against them, he received a visit from a prophet, who, by the Divine direction, dissuaded him from employing the Israelites, as they were become an abandoned generation, and would certainly be destroyed, together with those who joined them. The prophet added, that, with his own force, and the Divine aid, he might overcome the enemy. The king rather hesitated at compliance with the requisition of the prophet, as he had already deposited the money for payment of the auxiliaries; but on the prophet enjoining him to yield implicit obedience to the Divine will, he discharged the auxiliaries with this sarcastic remark, "That he had bestowed that treasure on them as a bounty, which they had received only as hire." On dismissing the mercenaries, he advanced with his own troops against the combined army of the enemy, when he overcame, and cut off, ten thousand of them in one battle, and carried away ten thousand more to the summit of a stupendous rock, where they were all destroyed by being thrown down the precipice. He then returned home with an immense booty.

But, in the mean time, the hired subjects of the king of Israel, thinking themselves shamefully and contemptuously dismissed, were greatly exasperated against Amaziah; and, to avenge so heinous a disgrace, they plundered all the towns in their way to Judah, killed no less than three thousand men, and carried away a considerable booty, in order to make amends for the plunder they had promised themselves in going against the Edomites.

The dissatisfied mercenaries lay waste part of Amaziah's dominions.

Amaziah, elated with this conquest over the Edomites, and claiming too much merit to himself, regardless of the interposing hand of Divine Providence, fell from the worship of the true God; for, on his return to Jerusalem, he brought with him the idols of the Amalekites, to which he paid adoration, and offered incense. This was so displeasing in the sight of heaven, that a prophet was sent to reprove him for his apostacy, and vain dependance on those powers which had suffered their votaries to be taken captive by the Hebrews, and carried, with the rest of the spoil, like abject slaves, to Jerusalem. The king interrupted the prophet in his discourse, reproached him with want of deference to his person and character, and enjoined him, at his peril, not to interfere with matters that did not concern him. The prophet told him he would desist; but assured him withal, that vengeance would be the certain consequence of his persevering in idolatry.

Amaziah lapses into idolatry.

The king, however, was so transported with pride and vanity upon his late success, that he determined to resent the indignity offered him by the subjects of the king of Israel, whom he had dismissed from assisting him against the Amalekites, and who had committed ravages in different parts of his dominions on their return home.

With this view, he wrote an imperious letter, commanding him and his people to pay the same allegiance to him which they had formerly rendered to his ancestors, David and Solomon, in default of which he might expect a decision of the cause by the point

Purport of Amaziah's letter to Joash.

own safety. That the man should be restored to life by his body touching the bones of the prophet, was a very great miracle, and most probable was wrought that the people might be convinced, if they imitated the conduct of Elisha, his God would save and deliver them out of the greatest difficulties.

of

of the sword. Joash treated his haughty behaviour with disdain, and returned him an answer couched in a parable to this effect :

King Joash to king Amaziah greeting.

" It happened upon a certain time, that a thistle, which grew on Mount Libanus, sent to a cedar tree growing on the same spot, saying, give thy daughter in marriage to my son; whereupon a wild beast passing by, trod the thistle to the ground. Learn hence to lower your ambition, nor aspire to things above your reach. Be cautious, lest your pride, on having conquered the Amalekites, should lead you to such actions as may terminate in the loss of your life and kingdom."

This sarcastic reply enraged Amaziah to the highest degree, and rendered him more furious and implacable than before; as if Providence had given him up to the influence of his outrageous passion, in order to expose him to the stroke of Divine justice for his impiety. Thus inflamed, he took the field; and both armies were drawn up in order of battle; but no sooner were the troops of Amaziah advanced within sight of the enemy, than they were struck with such a panic and consternation, that they gave way on the first onset, and, consulting their own safety, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their king in the hands of his enemies. Amaziah being now at the mercy of Joash, the latter refused him quarter upon any other terms, than that the citizens of Jerusalem should set open their gates, and receive him and his victorious army into the town. Necessity forced compliance; so that Joash entered Jerusalem with his army in a most triumphant procession, through a breach of three hundred cubits of wall he had caused to be broken down, with his prisoner Amaziah marching before him. He proceeded first to the palace, and then to the temple, both of which he plundered of their richest valuables; and then dismissing Amaziah, returned to Samaria. This calamity befel Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah.

In consequence of this fatal stroke of Divine justice, the leading men of Jerusalem entered into a conspiracy against Amaziah. Having received intimation of their design, he endeavoured to escape by flight to Lachish, a town situated on the frontiers of the country of the Philistines: but this attempt proved fruitless; for the conspirators sent ruffians after him, who put him to death. His body was carried to Jerusalem, and buried in royal state. Thus fell Amaziah, king of Judah, as a punishment due to his neglect of the worship of the true God, and introduction of abominable idolatry. He lived fifty-four years, reigned twenty-nine, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Uzziah.

C H A P. XI.

Transactions of Jonah, the prophet. Death of Jeroboam, and succession of his son Zachariah. Piety and conquests of Uzziah. His delinquency afterwards severely punished. Dies with grief, and is succeeded by his son Jotham. Divers successions to the throne of Israel. Excellent qualities of Jotham, king of Judah. Prediction of the destruction of Nineveh, and the Assyrian empire, by the prophet Nabum.

JEROBOAM, the son of Joash, ascended the throne of Israel, and resided in the palace of his ancestors at Samaria. He was a prince most dissolute and licentious, abandoned to the most idolatrous and profligate practices, by which he brought down almost innumerable calamities upon the people of Israel.

It was foretold him by Jonah, the prophet, that he should overcome the Syrians, and enlarge his domi-

nions as far as the city Hamath on the north, and the lake Asphaltites on the south, which were formerly the bounds of the land of Canaan, according to the allotment of Joshua, their general. Jeroboam, elated by this prediction, made an expedition against the Syrians, took from them all the above-mentioned track of land, and annexed it to his own territories.

As I promised, at my entrance upon this work, to give a faithful and impartial history of our nation, I deem it necessary, in this place, to recount the actions of this prophet, as I find them represented in the sacred records.

Jonah had received a Divine commission to go to Nineveh, and denounce the destruction of that great city, because of the many enormous crimes of its inhabitants: but Jonah, instead of obeying the Divine command, in order to avoid the danger to which such a denunciation might expose him, directed his course another way, and intending to retire to Tarshish, a town in Cilicia, embarked on board a vessel at Joppa. In the course of their passage there arose a violent tempest, which so alarmed the mariners, that, after labouring some time in opposition to the winds, they found themselves in the most imminent danger of being shipwrecked. It was observed that, during the time of their labour, and even that of their prayers, Jonah was the only man that did not exert himself upon so pressing an occasion, but lay in the hold totally inactive and useless. The master finding that the violence of the storm increased to such a degree as to frustrate all their endeavours, suspected that so unusual a tempest was occasioned by the extraordinary crimes of some person on board the vessel: it was, therefore, generally agreed amongst the crew and passengers, that they should cast lots, to know who was the man.

This was accordingly done, and the lot fell upon Jonah. In consequence of this the mariners enquired who he was, and what he had done, to bring on himself, and them, so great a calamity. Jonah frankly acknowledged that he was an Hebrew, and not only an Hebrew, but a prophet to the great God: but that as he, by disobeying the Divine command, had brought on the present calamity, he wished them to throw him overboard, as the only means of abating the storm, and saving themselves and the vessel.

The mariners being much surprized at the free and unconcerned confession of Jonah, by which he doomed himself to death, hesitated some time, and endeavoured, by rowing hard, and exerting their utmost might, to reach the land, in hopes of saving his life; but finding that all their efforts were in vain, that the waves still ran higher and higher, and that the vessel was on the very point of sinking, they were at length prevailed on, through the injunction of the prophet, and the imminent danger in which they stood, to throw him overboard.

No sooner was Jonah thrown into the sea than the tempest abated. It is related the Jonah was swallowed up by a large fish (a), and, after three days, and as many nights, cast up again, living and found, upon the shore of the Euxine Sea. From thence, having implored and obtained pardon for his disobedience of the Divine command, he proceeded immediately to the city of Nineveh, according to his commission, and standing on an elevated place, where he might best be heard, foretold them, " That the empire of Asia was nearly at an end;" and having uttered this prophetic declaration, he took his departure. This is recounted concerning the prophet Jonah in the sacred writings: but we return to our main history.

Jeroboam, after a prosperous reign of forty years, departed this life, was buried in Samaria, and succeeded by his son Zachariah; as was Amaziah by his son Uzziah, who began to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the

He makes war against the Syrians by consulting the prophet Joash.

History of the prophet Jonah.

Jonah disobeys the Divine command.

Jonah is cast into the sea.

Goes to Nineveh, and executes the Divine commission.

Death of Jeroboam. 2 Kings xiv.

(a) It has been a generally received opinion that this fish was a whale, but that such an opinion is erroneous will appear from the following observation: First, we never heard of whales being found in the Mediterranean Sea; and secondly, the throats

of the largest whales are not wide enough to swallow a man. It was a large fish, of which there are many in those seas, but the particular species cannot be pointed out.

reign of Jeroboam. His mother's name was Achi, and he was a native of Jerusalem.

2 Chron. 26
Uzziah wages war against the Philistines, whom he overcomes.

Uzziah extends his conquests, and lays his vanquished foes under contribution.

Attends to the repairs, fortifications, improvements, and conveniences of Jerusalem.

Promotes agriculture.

His military force.

Uzziah was a prince pious, active, valiant, and courteous. He made an expedition against his enemies the Philistines, overthrew them in battle, took the cities of Gath and Jamina by assault, and demolished their walls. His next expedition was against the Arabians on the borders of Egypt. He built a town upon the Red Sea, and committed it to the guard of a strong garrison. He afterwards subdued the Ammonites, who were so alarmed at the rapidity and extent of his conquests, that they, as well as others, became his tributaries.

Having thus reduced his enemies to submission, he next directed his attention to Jerusalem, the capital of his dominions. He rebuilt the ruined walls, and repaired that breach which had been made by Joash, king of Israel, when he entered the city with his army in triumph, after making Amaziah his prisoner. He erected also several towers of 150 cubits in height; and built castles and strong forts for the protection of the country. He also constructed aqueducts, cisterns, and basins, for the convenience of his cattle, of which he had immense numbers, the lands about him being pasturage. As he was a great lover of husbandry, he employed prodigious numbers of ploughmen and planters on the plains, as also vine-dressers on the mountains, by which he obtained considerable possessions.

But the chief glory of his country lay in his military force, which consisted of 370,000 select men, under the command of 2000 brave and experienced officers, who had been trained up in the most perfect knowledge of martial discipline. They were all furnished with swords, bucklers, spears, bows, slings, and other implements of war, and rendered expert by constant practice in their respective exercises. He likewise constructed machines (a) and engines for battering, and casting of stones and darts, with hooks, and other offensive weapons.

But at length the mind of Uzziah was so elated with the success of his military operations, and the glory he had acquired by his attention to national concerns, that he grew, as it were, intoxicated with the idea of his power and greatness, and forgetting himself, neglected the more important duties of his worship to God, following herein the example of his father, who could not enjoy a course of prosperity with due moderation.

Uzziah becomes elated by prosperity.

Usurps the office of high-priest.

On a certain day, that was fixed for a solemn festival, the king, having assumed the sacerdotal habit, went into the holy temple to offer incense upon the golden altar. Intimation of this being given to Azariah, the high-priest, he, accompanied by a train of eighty priests, immediately repaired to the temple, and protested against such an assumption of the sacerdotal rights, which had ever been the peculiar privilege of the priests of the house of Aaron. Azariah enjoined him to desist from such prophaneation, nor continue to incur the Divine displeasure by a conduct repugnant to the Divine will.

This remonstrance had not the least effect upon the king, who, instead of paying any attention to it, fell into a violent passion, treated the high-priest with the greatest indignity, and commanded him and his attendants to depart upon peril of their lives. This menace was followed by a terrible earthquake; and the roof of the temple opening with the shocks of it, there passed a beam of the sun through the cleft, that struck upon the face of this sacrilegious and impious prince, who, at that very moment, became a leper.

Is smitten with leprosy.

This awful judgement was accompanied with a tremendous effect.

(a) This is the first time we read of any machine either for besieging or defending towns, which is plainly the reason why sieges were of so long a continuance before these were invented. It is said of Uzziah, that, "He made, in Jerusalem, engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers, and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones;" so that it must certainly be a mistake to attribute the invention of the ballista, the scorpio, or the onager, to the Greeks or Romans, because we find them made use of in the east long before the Greeks had brought the military art to any great perfection. Uzziah was certainly the first inventor of them; and therefore it is said, that, for these and other warlike preparations, his name was spread abroad. From this time they began to be employed

where, by the same earthquake, one half of the mountain was torn from the other, and after it had rolled over and over, stopped at the east side of an opposite mountain, having choaked up the high-way, and covered the king's gardens with rubbish.

A tremendous earthquake.

When the priests found that the king was infected with leprosy, and that he had been smitten as a Divine judgement, they admonished him to depart the city; as an unclean person, and unfit for common society. The disgrace of being infected with so noxious a disease humbled his pride so far, that he took the admonition of the priests, and having lived some time in private out of the city, (Jotham, his son, taking upon him the administration of government), his grief at length brought him to the grave, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and fifty-second of his reign. As he was a leper, his body was not interred in the royal sepulchre, but in the same field, in a monument by itself.

Death of Uzziah, and succession of his son Jotham.

Zachariah, (b), king of Israel, and son of Jeroboam, was murdered in the seventh month of his reign, by Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who usurped the throne. Shallum's government was much shorter than that of his predecessors, for he survived his usurpation but thirty days. At the time of his murdering Zachariah, Menahem had the command of an army at Tirzah, who, upon the news of what had befallen Zachariah, marched with his troops to Samaria, defeated and overthrew Shallum, and putting him to the sword, was, not only with the approbation of the army, but likewise the heads of the people, raised to the regal dignity.

2 Kings 15. Zachariah is taken off by Shallum, who usurps the government.

Shallum is slain, and succeeded by Menahem.

Menahem, having thus secured possession of the government, returned with his army to Tirzah, in order to renew the siege he had before undertaken, and reduce the inhabitants to subjection. But the citizens shut the gates against him, and refused him admission; at which he was so enraged against them, as revolvers, that, after making himself master of the place, he put all to the sword without distinction either of age or sex; indeed, he exercised that merciless cruelty upon his own countrymen, which would have been unpardonable even towards the most savage barbarians. In short, his reign was one scene of murder, rapine, superstition, and idolatry.

His brutal barbarity.

When his affairs were in a most distracted situation, he was threatened with an invasion by Pul, king of Assyria; but not daring to stand the hazard of a battle, he came to a timely agreement with him, for the composition of a thousand silver talents, which he raised upon the people, at fifty shekels a head. He died soon after, and was buried at Samaria, leaving his son Pekahiah to succeed him; who inherited not only the crown, but the ill qualities of his father. The reign of Pekahiah, however, was but short; for, after he had been upon the throne about two years, Pekah, the general of his army, conspired against him, and having cut him off, with several of his friends about him, seized upon the government, which he held about twenty years, during which he was as notorious for his impiety towards God, as his tyranny and injustice towards men. In the course of his reign Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, invaded the Israelites, and, after subduing the land of Gilead, the country beyond Jordan, and that part of Galilee that is adjacent, as also Cydida and Afra, took the inhabitants prisoners, and carried them away into his own country.

Is threatened with an invasion by the king of Assyria.

His death. Is succeeded by Pekahiah, who reigns, and is succeeded by Pekah.

The Israelites carried away captive by the king of Assyria.

Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned in Jerusalem over the tribe of Judah. His mother was a native of that city, and her name Jerusha. He was a pious and

2 Chron. 27. Jotham a pious and virtuous prince.

both in attacking and defending towns; and therefore we find the prophet Ezekiel, in describing the future sieges of Jerusalem and Tyre, makes mention of battering rams and engines of war, which, in all probability, were what latter ages called the ballista and catapultæ.

(b) Zachariah was the fourth king from Jehu, and the last of his race; in whom was fulfilled that gracious promise God was pleased to make to Jehu, as a reward for his courage and zeal in executing the judgement which God had commanded him to do on the house of Ahab, viz. that he and his family should sit on the throne of Israel unto the fourth generation, which was about 100 years, the last of the family being this king Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam II.

virtuous

Employed
in acts of
public uti-
lity.

Lays the
Ammonites
under con-
tribution.

The down-
fall of Ni-
neveh and
the Assyrian
empire
foretold.

Ahaz an
impious
prince.
2 Kings xvi.
2 Chron. 28.

Is attacked
by the kings
of Damascus
and Israel.

Conflict be-
tween the
kings of Ju-
dah and Is-
rael.

The prophet
Obed re-
sisteth.

virtuous prince, exemplary for the veneration of the Deity, his justice to mankind, and his concern for the public weal. His care was to preserve decorum in all things, and rectify whatever was found to be amiss. He repaired the decayed porches and galleries of the temple, as well as the walls of the city, where they were falling to ruin, and built towers, large and almost impregnable. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, whom he overcame, and laid under the contribution of an hundred talents annually, thirty thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley. Indeed he so advanced the kingdom, that his people were happy at home, and a terror to their foreign enemies.

In the reign of this prince there appeared a prophet, whose name was Nahum. He foretold the destruction of Nineveh, and the destruction of the Assyrian empire, in words to the following purport: "The condition of Nineveh shall be like that of a fish in a violent agitation of water before a great wind. The people shall fly away before the storm in trouble and confusion, saying to each other, 'Take with you your gold and silver; but none shall regard it, for their lives shall be dearer to them than their treasure. Factions and divisions shall prevail amongst them, and there shall be weeping, wailing, with trembling knees, and pallid countenances. Nineveh, (saith the Lord), I will strike thee from the face of the earth, and put an end to the outrages of the wild beasts that thou hast sent into the world!'"

This prophet foretold many other particulars, which it is not deemed necessary to repeat, as they may appear tedious to the reader; I shall therefore only add, that this prophecy was fulfilled an hundred and fifteen years after it was delivered.

CHAP. XII.

Upon the death of Jotham, Ahaz succeeds to the government. Rezin and Pekah make war upon him. Pekah overthrowes Ahaz.

ON the demise of Jotham, who paid the debt of nature in the forty-first year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign, Ahaz, by right hereditary, succeeded to the throne. He was a very wicked prince, and, instead of following the maxims of his father, gave himself up to idolatry, in imitation of the kings of Israel. He built altars in Jerusalem, sacrificed to false gods upon them, and offered his own son as a burnt-offering, after the manner of the Canaanites.

While Ahaz was following these impious pursuits, Rezin, the king of Damascus, and Pekah, the king of Israel, having joined in a league, marched in conjunction up to Jerusalem, and pressing hard, lay before it a considerable time; but the place was so well fortified and defended, that they made but a slow progress, and afterwards found it expedient to raise the siege.

In the meantime the king of Syria possessed himself of Elath, near the Red Sea, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and introduced in their places a colony of Syrians. He afterwards took possession of several castles and strong holds, harraised the Hebrews very much and returned with an immense booty to Damascus.

When the king of Jerusalem had intelligence of the departure of the Syrians, and apprehended himself a match for the king of Israel, he advanced with his army against him; but having, by his crimes, incurred the Divine displeasure, the enemy gained the victory, and slew an hundred and twenty thousand of his men. In this action Zachariah, the general of the Israelites, killed Amia, the son of Ahaz, in a personal encounter. Seven principal officers fell upon the same occasion. Elkanah, the general of the troops of Judah, was taken prisoner; and the Israelites returned in triumph to Samaria, graced by a long procession of captives of both sexes, and laden with the richest spoils of the enemy.

There was at this time in Samaria a prophet, named Obed, who went out of the town to meet the army on their return, accompanied by a great number of the principal inhabitants. As soon as they approached, the prophet, in express terms, stated to the conquerors, that they were by no means to impute the late victory to their own virtue or valour, but

consider it as a judgement from heaven upon king Ahaz. He told them they might rest satisfied with their conquest and spoils, without making slaves of their own kindred of the two tribes, and enjoined them to set them at liberty, and send them home, without offering any indignity to their persons, upon the peril of falling under the Divine wrath. A council called.

Upon this remonstrance and admonition of the prophet, the Israelites called a council to deliberate on their future proceedings. The point in question being fully stated, one Berachiah, a man of rank in the assembly, arose, and put a negative against bringing any of the prisoners into the town, lest they should themselves thereby incur the vengeance of the Almighty. He represented, that their own transgressions had already occasioned the severest denunciations of the prophet, and that therefore it would be highly blameable in them to add to their number or enormity. The opinion of Berachiah was supported by other leading men in the assembly, so that the officers of the army, prevailed on by the force of the arguments alledged, gave the prisoners their freedom. They were also furnished with necessary provisions, and escorted as far as Jericho, on their return home, by a detached party, which afterwards returned to Samaria. The prisoners are discharged.

CHAP. XIII.

Ahaz forms an alliance with the king of Assyria. Lays Syria waste, and puts the king to the sword. Death of Ahaz. Succession of Hezekiah, who restores the true religion, and vanquishes the Philistines.

THE situation of Ahaz was now so desperate, that, being unable to send a proper force to repel the incursions of his enemies, he dispatched an embassy to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, with magnificent presents, to solicit his alliance against the kings of Israel, and of Syria and Damascus.

The Assyrian monarch was so captivated with the bribe, that he readily engaged in the interest of Ahaz, and marching with a powerful army against Rezin, king of Syria, slew him in battle, besieged and took Damascus, and laid waste the whole country. He transplanted the inhabitants of Damascus to the Upper Media, and sent colonies from his own country to people Damascus. He then depopulated a great part of the land of the Israelites, and carried away a great number of prisoners. An alliance between Ahaz and the king of Assyria.

After the reduction of Syria by means of the alliance with Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, Ahaz, to gratify him for his services, took all the gold and silver out of the royal treasury and the temple, with other invaluable articles, and carried them with him to Damascus, where he delivered them up to his ally, with acknowledgment of his valiant conduct, and then returned to Jerusalem. Ahaz rewards the service of Tiglath-Pileser.

Such was the pusillanimity and absurdity of the king of Judah, that notwithstanding the mortal enmity which subsisted between his subjects and those of Syria, he abjectly condescended to worship their gods, and join in their idolatrous ceremonies; vainly persuading himself that they would be propitious to his arms, because he had manifested an unhallowed zeal for a false religion. When it appeared to him necessary, he would pay homage to the gods of the Assyrians; nay, he seemed to prefer every kind of idolatry to the adoration of the true God, and the laws and religion of his ancestors. He contemned the honour and service of the Almighty to such a degree, that, having rifled the temple of all its vessels and ornaments, he commanded the very doors to be shut, in open defiance of all that was sacred; and, in a word, suppressed the Divine worship throughout his dominions. Joins in the idolatry of the Syrians.

While Ahaz was thus carrying on his horrid impieties, the Almighty was pleased to stop his career, by suddenly cutting him off in the very prime of his life, being only thirty-six years of age, and in the sixteenth of his reign. His son Hezekiah succeeded him on the throne of Judah. Death of Ahaz.

About this time Pekah, king of Israel, lost both his government and his life, through the treachery of a court confidant named Hosea, who enjoyed the fruits of an impious usurpation for the space of nine years. He was a character profligate and abandoned. Hosea slays Pekah, and usurps the throne of Israel.

Vanquished and laid under contribution by the king of Assyria.

2 Kings xviii
2 Chron. 29.

Hezekiah sets about a reform of worship.

It is addressed.

He endeavours to reclaim the Israelites from idolatry.

The Israelites deride the messengers.

Some are brought over to the true worship.

He goes to the temple to worship.

Extraordinary liberality and donations of the king.

done to the highest degree, a contemner of God, and an enemy to justice. At length Salmanezer, king of Assyria, led an army against him; and that Almighty aid which he had rejected and despised, being justly withheld, he was easily overcome, and forced to submit to the terms imposed by the conqueror, who laid him under contribution.

In the fourth year of the reign of Hosea, Hezekiah ascended the throne of Judah. He was a prince of distinguished abilities, and revered for his strict adherence to piety and justice. No sooner had he got possession of the kingdom, than he began with a laudable zeal to set about an entire reformation in matters of religion. To this end he summoned an assembly of the priests and Levites, whom he addressed as follows:

"It is unnecessary for me to remind you of the misfortunes consequent on my father's sins, in your refusing the worship due to God, and uniting with him in the adoration of idols. But as experience has now taught you how dreadful a thing it is to trifle with heaven, I recommend that all past failings may be buried in oblivion, that you cleanse yourselves from former pollutions, and that you purify the temple by sacrifices and consecrations; in doing of which alone, you may hope for future prosperity, as well as pardon for the sins you have committed."

The priests were so affected by the king's speech on this important occasion, that they instantly followed the instructions it contained, by opening the temple, cleansing it from all impurities, preparing the vessels, and laying their sacrifices on the altar, according to the form and manner prescribed by the Mosaic institution.

Hezekiah then sent messengers throughout all his dominions, to summon the people up to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, which had been long intermitted through the impious neglect of former kings. He also exhorted and invited the Israelites to relinquish their idolatrous superstitions, and return to the true religion, and the worship of the true God, promising them, upon those conditions, liberty to pass and repass, and celebrate the festival in common with his own people. He observed, that he was not actuated by a principle of self interest in giving them this invitation, but a desire to promote their real prosperity, as they would most certainly find, if they would be guided by his counsel.

But the Israelites treated the invitation with scorn, and held the messengers in derision: nay, they insulted the prophets for their good offices in admonishing them to return to their duty, and foretelling the calamities that would befall them without a timely humiliation and repentance. They not only neglected this salutary counsel, but gratified their bigotry and resentment at the expence of the lives of some of the prophets. They proceeded, indeed, from one enormity to another, till the Almighty, in his vindictive wrath, avenged himself on them for their impieties, by delivering them up to the oppression and tyranny of their enemies, as will appear from the sequel of their history. Many, however, of the tribes of Menasseh, Zebulun, and Issachar, were duly impressed with the promission of the prophets, and cordially resorted to Jerusalem, at the invitation of Hezekiah, to worship the true God according to the form of his own appointment.

As soon as Hezekiah was informed that the necessary preparations were made in the temple for the worshipping of God, he repaired thither early the next morning, attended by the princes, and a great concourse of the people, and sacrificed for himself, seven bulls, seven rams, and as many goats. Having laid his hands on the victims, the priests performed the duties of their function, while the Levites standing around, chanted Divine hymns, and accompanied the vocal with instrumental music, as David had composed and set them of old.

When this ceremony was over, the king and the people cast themselves prostrate, and paid adoration to the One Supreme. He afterwards sacrificed seventy bullocks, an hundred rams, and two hundred lambs; besides six hundred bullocks and three thousand other cattle, which he bestowed as a bounty for

the entertainment of the people. When the solemnities were duly observed, and the ceremonies regularly passed, according to precise form and order, the king joined in the general festivity, and universal joy prevailed throughout Jerusalem.

The feast of unleavened bread was now approaching, and during the time of the preparation, they offered up a course of other sacrifices for seven days successively. The king again bestowed upon the people as a bounty, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle. The princes likewise following the example of his liberality, added a thousand bulls, and one thousand four hundred other beasts, inasmuch that it might be deemed one of the greatest festivals that had been solemnized from the days of king Solomon.

After the celebration of this festival, the king's next care was to purge the whole country, having first purified Jerusalem itself from the abominations of idolatry. He then appointed daily sacrifices, according to the law, to be supplied out of his own stores, and enjoined the people to present the priests and Levites with the tenths and first fruits, that the ordinary concerns of life might not divert them from a due attendance on the offices of their sacred function. He also caused granaries and store-houses to be built, for the common use and service of themselves, wives, and children, to be distributed in proportion to their shares; so that, by these means, the ancient discipline was restored.

Hezekiah having thus effected an entire reformation in matters of religion, and established the worship of the true God throughout his dominions, directed his attention to politics, by endeavouring to recover those places which had been taken by the Philistines during the reign of his father. To this end he made war upon them, and over-ran their country from Gath to Gaza, which he annexed to his own territories. In the mean time the king of Assyria sent a message to Hezekiah, to demand the tribute which his father Ahaz had agreed to pay annually to the kings of Assyria, with a menace, in case of refusal, to lay waste his country. But Hezekiah, relying on the Divine protection, conscious of his own integrity, and confident of the fulfilment of the prediction of the prophet Isaiah, was by no means intimidated by the menaces of the Assyrian. This shall suffice for the present concerning the transactions of king Hezekiah.

CHAP. XIV.

Salmanezer takes Samaria. Lays waste the kingdom of Israel. Transplants the ten tribes, and forms a colony of Chuthites in their country.

WHEN intelligence was given to Salmanezer, king of Assyria, that the king of Israel had entered into a secret treaty of alliance with So, the king of Egypt, he was greatly exasperated, and advanced with his army against Samaria. This city was besieged by him in the seventh year of the reign of Hosea: it sustained an attack till the third year, when it was taken by assault, in the ninth year of the present king, and seventh of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem.

The loss of Samaria was attended with the total destruction of the kingdom of Israel; for the people were all transplanted into Media and Persia; and their king, Hosea, was carried off with them. The king of Assyria brought others from thence in exchange, as far as Chuthah, a river of Persia, to plant in Samaria, and up and down the country of the Israelites.

This was the miserable end of the Israelites, who impiously, as well as obstinately, persisted in their transgressions of the Divine command; nor would they attend to the voice and admonition of the prophets, though they were told by them, that inevitable destruction would be the consequence of their continuance in disobedience of the Divine commands. These calamities took their origin from the seditious revolt of the Israelites from Rehoboam, and advancing to the regal dignity Jeroboam, who, in contempt of the laws and religion of their forefathers, drew the indignation of heaven upon them, by leading them into the practice of the most execrable abominations: but that monster of iniquity did not escape unpunished.

The

Salmanæzer
invades Syria
and Phœnicia.

Testimony
of Menander
respecting
the acts
of Salmanæzer.

The king of Assyria extended his ravages, and carried all before him, throughout Syria and Phœnicia. His name is recorded in the history of the Tyrians; for, in the reign of Elulæus, (as Menander has it in his Annals, that were translated from the Tyrian into the Greek language), he made war upon Tyre (a). Menander writes to this purport: "This king Elulæus reigned thirty-six years; and, upon a revolt of the Gittæans, sent a fleet thither, which reduced them to obedience. The king of Assyria also sent an army against them, and invaded the whole country of Phœnicia. A short time after this expedition the cities of (b) Sidon, Arce, with many others, revolted from the Tyrian to the Assyrian monarch. When the Tyrians would not submit, the latter renewed the attack upon them with a fleet of sixty sail, and eight hundred rowers, under the conduct of the Phœnicians. This fleet the Tyrians encountered with only twelve vessels, dispersed the enemies ships, and took five hundred prisoners. The naval reputation of the Tyrians was enhanced by this exploit. But the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at the river and aqueducts, to prevent the Tyrians from drawing water. The Tyrians laboured under this inconvenience, and were obliged to dig pits to procure a supply for their relief."

(a) Tyre, or Tyrus, as it was anciently called, was situated upon a rock, which its name implies. It is supposed to have been first built by a colony of Sidonians, from whence the prophet Isaiah calls it "The daughter of Zidon;" Isaiah xxiii. 12. It was a place of such great trade and wealth, that, according to the same prophet, "Her merchants were princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth." Tyre had two good havens, one towards Sidon, and the other towards Egypt, and was divided into three cities, viz. Palæ-Tyre, that is, Tyre on the Continent, or Old Tyre; Tyre on the Island; and Tyre on the Peninsula. The houses in the city were lofty, and the buildings in general magnificent, particularly the superb temple erected by its king Hiram, and dedicated to Jupiter, Hercules, and Astarte, the walls of which were 150 feet high, proportionably broad, firmly built of huge blocks of stone, and cemented together with a strong white mortar.

Tyre was taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and after him by Alexander the Great. The latter, however, rebuilt it; and in time it recovered its beauty and opulence, and was invested with the privileges of a Roman city. After undergoing various revolutions in succeeding times, it was finally reduced by the Turks, in whose hands it has continued ever since. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who dwell in caverns, and subsist by fishing: such is the completion of Ezekiel's prophecies concerning it, of which we shall transcribe the words: "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyre, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up, and they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers. I will also

The Chuthites, who removed into Samaria from a country of Persia, called Chutah, composed five nations, each of whom brought their respective country gods along with them. These idolaters so incensed the Almighty, that they were visited with a dreadful plague, insomuch that the greater part of them were swept from the face of the earth; and finding no relief from any human means, they were directed by the oracle to have recourse to the worship of the One Supreme God, as the only means of averting their calamity. Upon this they sent messengers to the king of Assyria, requesting him to send some of the priests who were carried away captive with the Israelites. This being granted, and the priests arrived, they had the law of Moses read, with an explanation of the same, so far as it related to the theory and practice of religion, insomuch that, through their attention, the pestilence ceased.

The people of that country still retain the name of Chuthites among the Hebrews; but by the Greeks they are called Samaritans. They are fickle in their notions, and in their conducts time-serving. When the Hebrews are in prosperity, they claim kindred; when in adversity, they disclaim all connections. But this will appear hereafter with greater propriety in another place.

Origin of
the Chuthites.

A raging
pestilence.

The Chuthites instructed in
the true religion.

"scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock; it shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord, and it shall become a spoil to the nations." Ezek. chap. xxxi. 3, 4, 5. It is worthy of remark, that the Tyrians were particularly celebrated for dying purple, which was first found out by them from an accident, viz. a dog's lips being finely tinged by eating of the fish called conchilis. This fish is a buccinum, a name given by the ancients to all fishes whose shells bear any resemblance to an hunting horn; and it appears from Pliny that the famed Tyrian purple was obtained from it. The dye was so much valued in the time of the Roman emperors, on account of its being the imperial colour, that one pound of it cost above a thousand Roman denarii, or above thirty pounds sterling.

(b) Sidon, or Zidon, was founded by Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan. Joshua calls it, by way of eminence, *the Great Sidon*. Josh. xi. 8. From whence it has been asserted by some, that in his time there were two Sidons, namely, a Greater and Lesser; but no geographer has made mention of any other Sidon distinguished from Sidon the Great. Joshua assigned Sidon to the tribe of Asher, but this tribe could never get possession of it. It is situated upon the Mediterranean, in a fertile country, and has a fine harbour. It has always been famous for its great trade and navigation. There are extant some remains of Sidon, whereon are seen ancient Phœnician characters, the same as the Hebrew characters, and which were used by the Jews before the captivity of Babylon. The principal deities of the Sidonians were Baal and Astarte, or the sun and moon. They likewise worshipped Hercules.

End of the NINTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK X.

[Including a Period of upwards of Two Hundred Years.]

CHAP. I.

Sennacherib's expedition against Hezekiah. He violates his oath. Hezekiah is encouraged by the prophet Isaiah.

2Kings xviii
Sennacherib
wages war
with Heze-
kiah, and
advances to
besiege Je-
rusalem.

Bromises to
decline hos-
tilities on
stipulated
conditions.

Violates a
solemn pro-
mise.

IN the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, with a numerous and well disciplined army, and having taken several of the fenced cities of Judah by assault, was now advancing towards Jerusalem. Hezekiah, deeming it most expedient to compound the matter, sent an embassy to the king of Assyria, with an offer of submission, and paying him tribute. When Sennacherib heard the proposals of the ambassadors, he determined to decline hostilities, solemnly engaging, upon condition of receiving three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, to withdraw his army, and give up his design of investing Jerusalem. Hezekiah complied with his terms, and, to fulfil the agreement, was under the necessity of exhausting all the treasure, both of the palace and temple, to raise the stipulated sum, and present it to Sennacherib. The base and perfidious Assyrian having received the money, receded from his agreement; for, instead of declining the siege, and withdrawing his army, he left Rabshaketh, his lieutenant-general, with Flarata and Anacharis, two other principal officers, to carry on the siege of Jerusalem, while he marched himself with a considerable detachment against the Egyptians and Ethiopians.

On drawing up their army, they pitched their camp within sight of the walls of Jerusalem, and Rabshaketh dispatched a messenger to demand a parley with Hezekiah. The king, thinking it unsafe to go in person, sent out three of his particular friends, Eliakim, his deputy governor, together with Shebna and Joash, the keepers of the records.

As soon as they came to the Assyrian camp, and delivered their commission to the officers, Rabshaketh addressed them in haughty and peremptory terms to this effect:

"The mighty potentate, Sennacherib, demands to know, upon what principle or prescriptions the king of Judah disputes of admitting the army into the city, or acknowledging his supremacy. Does he rely on the aid of the Egyptians? Vain and delusive hope. He trusts to a broken reed, that will not only deceive, but wound him severely. Go, tell your master this expedition is undertaken against him by the Divine will and direction, and that, therefore, the king of Assyria will as certainly obtain victory over Hezekiah and his subjects, as he hath done over the Israelites."

Rabshaketh
his insolent
address to
the deputies
of Hezekiah

Rabshaketh addressed himself to Hezekiah's ambassadors in Hebrew, a language in which he was versed. Eliakim, apprehending that what he had said, being generally understood, might have an unfavourable effect on the multitude, requested him, if he had anything further to say, to speak it in Syriac. But Rabshaketh being apprized of Eliakim's motive for desiring a change of language exalted his voice, and continued his harangue in Hebrew, to this effect:

"It is necessary that your people should well understand the commands of the king, my master, as it commands them to submit before it is too late. I am aware, that it is your purpose to amuse the people with vain hopes of defending themselves by force. But if you have courage to attempt an enterprize, or entertain a thought of repelling the assailants, I will supply you with 2000 horses, if you will undertake to find them riders. But alas! you cannot make the experiment. Thus reduced, why will you longer deliberate? Your compliance will ensure your safety, while a farther opposition will involve you in most imminent danger; for necessity will at length compel the weak to yield to the strong."

When Hezekiah's messengers acquainted him with the purport of Rabshaketh's harangue, he immediately divested himself of his royal attire, put on sackcloth, after the custom of the country, in token of

Hezekiah implores the Divine aid against the Assyrians. 2 Kings xix. Applies to the prophet Isaiah.

Obtains assurance of success.

Isaiah farther encourages the king of Judah.

Testimony of Herodotus.

See also Herodotus.

of humiliation, and prostrating himself on the ground, fervently implored the Divine aid and protection, as the only means whereby he could overcome a powerful and haughty foe. Having done this, he dispatched some trusty friends, accompanied by a number of priests, to the prophet Isaiah, entreating him to exert his utmost endeavours by prayer, to intercede with the Almighty in his behalf, that thereby he might be able to humble the pride and power of his enemies. The prophet complied with the king's request, and succeeded so far in his intercession, that he was authorized to bid the king and his friends take courage, as Sennacherib should be overcome without a battle, and abandon his design with loss and disgrace, his pride be humbled, and the Divine vengeance pursue him to his ruin. He added, that Sennacherib should miscarry in his Egyptian expedition, and returning home disappointed, should fall by the sword in his own land.

At this very time Hezekiah received letters from the king of Assyria, expostulating with him on the folly and presumption of maintaining an opposition to a prince who had vanquished so many warlike nations, and concluding with a menace, to spare neither age, nor sex, but put all to the sword without distinction, unless, without delay, they let open the gates of the city, and cleared a free passage for his army. Hezekiah relying on the Divine veracity and power, was not affected by this imperious epistle; but folding it up, laid it in the temple, and again had recourse to ardent supplication for the safety of the city, till Isaiah returned with this encouraging answer, that, "His petition was heard, and that he need not apprehend any harm from the Assyrians upon that undertaking; that there were happier times at hand, in which they should enjoy their possessions in full security from the invasion of their enemies."

Soon after this the king of Assyria, finding all his attempts against the Egyptians frustrated, withdrew his army, and returned home upon this occasion. He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and at length, when he had brought his platform within a little of the top of the walls, and was upon the very point of making the assault, he received intelligence that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was advancing with a powerful reinforcement to the Egyptians, and that he took his way through the desert, with a design to fall upon the Syrians by surprise. Sennacherib was so alarmed at this report, that he immediately withdrew his army.

Herodotus, in the second book of his history, calls this war of Sennacherib, a war against the priest of Vulcan, as the Egyptian king was also a priest of that false god, and assigns this cause for the raising of Pelusium. "The king of Egypt, upon this occasion, called upon his god for aid, which being granted, was fatal to the Arabian." But here Herodotus was mistaken; as he should have written "Assyrian" instead of "Arabian." The same historian adds, that "There came in one night such multitudes of rats into the camp of the Assyrians, that they gnawed all their bowstrings to pieces, and rendered useless several other pieces of their arms, even to the disarming of the Assyrians, who, upon this disappointment, drew off from the town."

Berosus, a Chaldee historian, speaks of this Sennacherib, and writes, that he reigned over the Assyrians, and made war upon all Asia and Egypt. His words are to the purport of the following chapter.

CHAP. II.

Judicial pestilence in the army of Sennacherib. He raises the siege, and returns home, where he is murdered by his two sons.

WHEN Sennacherib returned from the Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found the army he had left under the command of Rabshaketh, his general, almost destroyed by a pestilential distemper, which, on the very first night of the siege, swept away, in general, officers and soldiers, one hundred and eighty-five thousand men. This tremendous mortality so alarmed Sennacherib, that, partly through apprehension of Divine vengeance, and partly through fear of the loss of the rest of his army, he fled with precipitation to his palace at

"Nineveh, where he was treacherously assassinated, and died by the hands of his elder sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, in his own temple, called, after his darling idol, Nisroch. The parricides fled into Armenia; and Esarhaddon, the third son, succeeded to the government. This proved the conclusion of the Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem."

CHAP. III.

Hezekiah, on the supposed approach of death, has the promise of fifteen years being added to his life. Forms a league with the king of Babylon. Isaiah foretells the captivity of the Israelites in Babylon, and the calamities of Hezekiah and his descendants. Death of Hezekiah.

HEZEKIAH being thus providentially delivered from all apprehension of danger from the Assyrians, betook himself, with his whole people, to thanksgivings for the late mercies received, duly impressed with the interposition of heaven, by which their preservation was wrought, as well through the pestilence, as the alarm it occasioned his enemy. While he was thus piously disposed he fell into a severe distemper, inasmuch that his physicians despaired of his life. In this condition, nothing affected the king so sensibly as the reflection that, on his dying without issue, the succession of the family would cease, and the kingdom be left without a legitimate heir. Thus anxious concerning a most important point, he addressed himself to the Almighty, with prayers and tears, to vouchsafe to prolong his life, that he might have a successor from his own stock, and not be taken from among the number of the living, till he became the father of a son to transmit his memory to posterity.

The Almighty was pleased to compassionate his case, and the rather, it seems, because he was not so much troubled for the loss of his kingdom, as the want of an heir to succeed him in the government of it. Upon this the prophet Isaiah was sent to him with the comfortable assurance that, in three days, his disease should leave him, that he should survive it fifteen years, and the kingdom at length descend to his son and heir. When the prophet had thus executed his Divine commission, Hezekiah, surprized at this sudden reverse of his doom, and, from the desperate state of his distemper, fearful of its not taking place, indicated a desire of some token from Isaiah, to make him sensible of his authority; as there is, indeed, a propensity in mankind, when they labour under difficulties beyond either hope or reason, to have the cause and end of them confirmed by some extraordinary evidence.

When the prophet asked him what sign or token he required as a due satisfaction, he requested that the shadow upon his dial might go ten degrees backward from the place where it then stood. The king finding this miracle wrought from the prayers of the prophet, was restored presently to his health, and went up immediately to the temple, to render his most unfeigned thanksgivings to the Father of all Mercies.

It was at this time that the Assyrian empire was dissolved by the Medes, an event of which we shall speak hereafter. But Balad, the king of Babylon, sent ambassadors with presents to Hezekiah, inviting him to a league of amity and alliance. Hezekiah received them with great courtesy, entertained them with royal magnificence, shewed them the curiosities of his palace, and sent them back with sumptuous presents to the king their master.

Upon this the prophet came to him, and enquired who those men were, and whence they came? He replied they were sent from the king of Babylon, and that he had shewn them all the richest curiosities of his palace, that they might gather from thence a knowledge of his dignity, and thereby induce their master to pay him all due deference. The prophet rejoined, "Know that a day will shortly come when these boasted treasures shall all be carried away to Babylon, and that your sons, after becoming captives, shall be attendant eunuchs in the royal palace of that city. This I foretell you from Divine authority." This awful prediction penetrated

2 Kings xx. Hezekiah falls into a dangerous distemper.

Intercedes for the prolongation of his life.

His prayers are heard.

A miracle to confirm the faith of Hezekiah.

Dissolution of the Assyrian empire.

An embassy from the king of Babylon.

Prediction of the Babylonish captivity.

Hezekiah of the very soul. He reflected, however, that, though he could not but be much grieved at the calamities that awaited his house, yet, as they were consequent on the Divine decree, he had only to ask of heaven that he might enjoy peace during the appointed time of his life.

Testimony of Berofus concerning Balad.

Confirmation of the prophecies.

Berofus makes mention of this Balad, king of Babylon. But the prophet Isaiah, who spoke by Divine, and of course infallible, inspiration, was so convinced of the truth of the prophecies, that he committed them to writing, and left them to the judgment and evidence of posterity. There were twelve more that did the same; and it appeared, from events; that, in all cases, good or ill, the accomplishment exactly corresponded with the prophecy.

When Hezekiah had survived in peace the interval already mentioned, he paid the debt of nature, in the fifty-fifth year of his life, and twenty-ninth year of his reign.

CHAP. IV.

Succession of Manasseh, an impious prince, but afterwards reclaimed through means of the Babylonish captivity. Is succeeded by his son Amon, from whom the crown devolves to Josiah.

WHEN Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, by Hephzibah, a native of Jerusalem, ascended the throne of his father, he deviated from his conduct in every instance, both of religion and government. Influenced by the example of those around him, and open to the flattery of sycophants, who were averse to the reformation effected by Hezekiah, he rushed into the commission of the most daring impieties, and all those idolatrous abominations, for which the severest judgments had been denounced and inflicted on the Israelites upon several occasions. He was so daring as to profane the holy temple itself: nay, his example, as it were, infected not only the city in which he resided, but spread a contagion throughout his dominions.

Manasseh a profligate and abandoned prince

His contempt of God, and cruelty to good men.

He began his reign with a contempt of the Divine Being, and the persecution of good and holy men, who would not conform to his abominations. Nay, he embued his hands in the very blood of the prophets (a), inasmuch that a day scarcely passed in which some or other of them were not put to death, so that the streets of Jerusalem were crimsoned with their gore. These horrid enormities called so loud to heaven for vengeance, that prophet was sent after prophet, both to the king and people, with admonitions to them to repent in time of their neglect of the Divine worship, and to return to their duty, upon the peril of suffering the like calamities for the same transgressions, for which their brethren, the Israelites, had suffered before.

But they turned a deaf ear to the reasonable warning and advice of the prophets; till at length they found their menaces attended with those dreadful effects, which, by a timely attention, and due reformation, might have been prevented.

Upon their persisting in their impious and iniquitous courses, the Almighty was pleased to punish them most severely, by the means of the king of Babylon and Chaldea; who made war upon them, sent an army into Judea that overcome and destroyed the whole country, surprized Manasseh, and carried him away as a prisoner at his mercy.

Manasseh overcome, and carried captive into Babylon.

Upon repentance restored to his kingdom

This distressed and degraded situation brought Manasseh to reflection, and rendered him so sensible of his atrocious crimes, that he earnestly besought the Almighty so far to soften the hearts of his enemies, that they might treat him with some degree of lenity and humanity. The Almighty was pleased in mercy to hear his prayer, so that he was released by the king of Babylon, and reinstated in the government of Judea.

Upon his arrival at Jerusalem, through the cle-

mency of the conqueror, he exerted his utmost abilities to make every possible atonement for his former crimes. His late conduct was totally reversed, and he seemed wholly intent on the advancement of religion and virtue. He purified the city, and consecrated the temple afresh, and made it the business of his life to manifest a due reverence and gratitude towards his Divine Protector. Conscious that his former mal-administration had, in a great measure, been the cause of the miseries which his people had endured, he endeavoured to effect a reformation amongst them, both by his example and authority. He caused an altar to be erected, agreeable to the directions of Moses, and offered upon it daily oblations.

2 Chron. 33
Manasseh effects a total reformation in religion and manners.

When he had restored religion to its original state and purity, he attended to the fortifying of Jerusalem, made the necessary reparations in the old walls, and, as a farther security, encompassed them with new ones. He erected several strong and lofty towers, and provided the out works with stores and ammunition. In a word, his general conduct was so reformed, that, from the instant of his return to his duty to God and his subjects, he was regarded as one of the happiest of princes. He died after holding the government fifty-five years, and in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in his own garden. The crown devolved to his son Amon, whom he had by Emsalema, of the city of Jabat.

Attends to the repair of the city.

Death of Manasseh.

Succeeded by his son Amon, who is cut off in the second year of his reign.

This prince, following the pernicious example of his father's early life, and indulging himself in the same licentious courses, was soon arrested by the hand of Justice; a conspiracy being formed against him by his own domestics, who cut him off in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the second of his reign. The people, however, took care to avenge his murder, by putting to death all those who were any ways concerned in it. His remains were deposited in the monument of his father, and he was succeeded on the throne by his son Josiah, a youth who had attained to his eighth year.

Josiah succeeds to the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

Instances of Josiah's zeal for the establishment of the true religion, and extirpation of idolatry.

THE mother of Josiah was a native of Bosath, and her name was Jedida. He was a prince eminently possessed of the most amiable and virtuous disposition, and seemed inclined to follow the example of David, throughout the whole course of his conduct, in the promotion of the religion and laws of his country. Before he had completed his twelfth year, he gave an instance of his piety, by suppressing the worship of idols, and restoring the people to the religion of the true God. Such of the ordinances of his predecessors as he found productive of ill consequences he abolished; such institutions as were expedient he retained; and to those which required alterations he made amendments, which would have conferred honour on the most consummate wisdom, and the experience of advanced years.

Josiah's zeal for the establishment of true religion. 2 Chron. 34

Having made this reform in the city of Jerusalem and its environs, he next made a progress throughout his dominions, firmly resolved to purge religion from all those corruptions which had been introduced in the preceding reigns. He caused all the groves and altars, together with the carved and molten images which his apostate predecessors had set up, to be destroyed. By these means the people were drawn from the vanity of their superstitions, to a reverence for the exercise of the worship of the only true God, and for the use and custom of burnt-offerings and other sacrifices upon the altar.

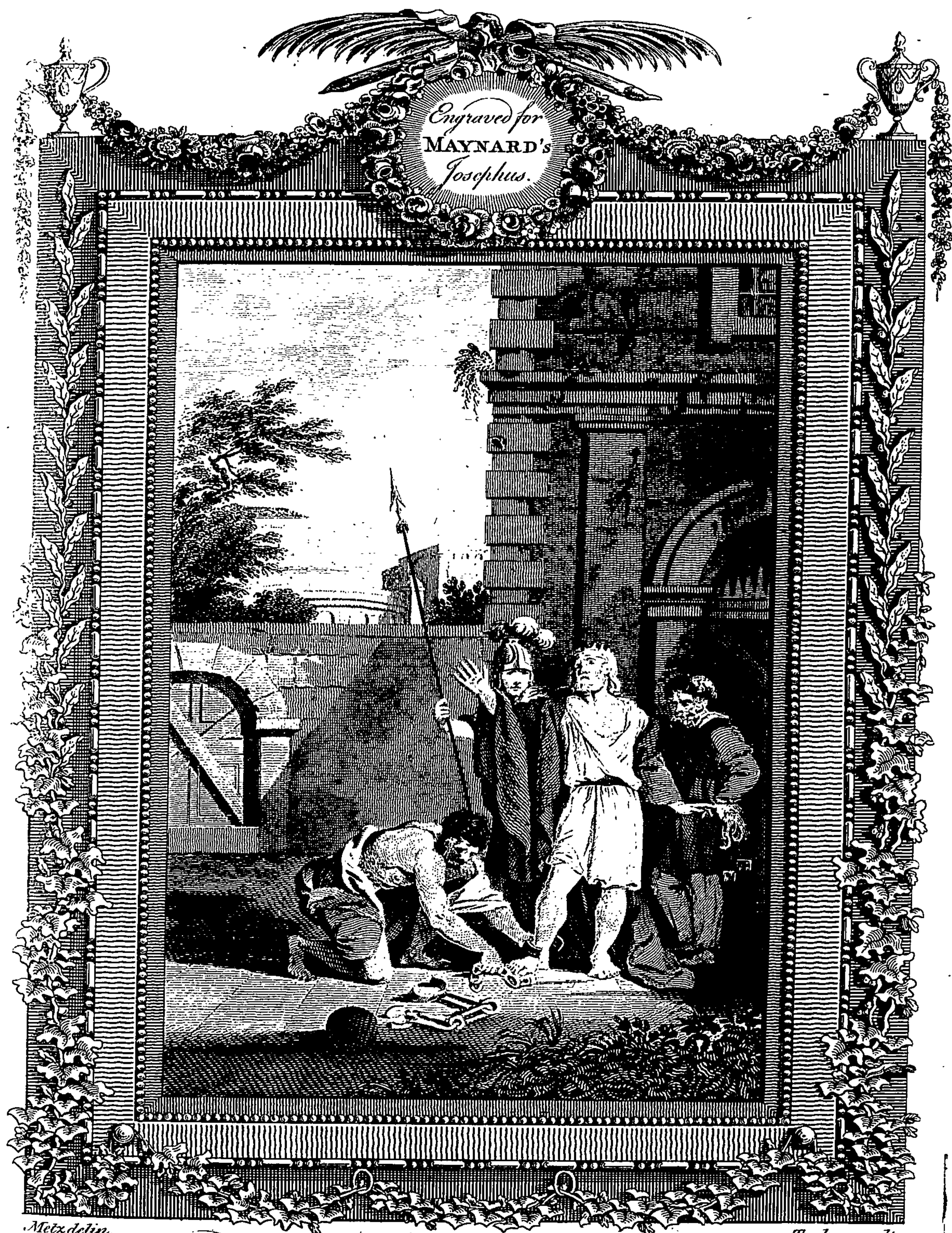
He also appointed certain magistrates and commissioners for the regulation of manners, and deciding matters of a private concern, in order to preserve good government, and an impartial administration of justice.

Justices appointed for the regulation of manners.

attention to his remonstrances, he caused him to be apprehended, and, to make his torture both more lingering and exquisite, had him sawn asunder with a wooden saw; and to this it is probable the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers, when he says, *they were sawed asunder.* Heb. xi. 37.

His

(a) Among these was the prophet Isaiah, who was now upwards of an hundred years of age. In the late reign he was in great esteem at court; and being himself of the blood royal, he thought it more incumbent on him to endeavour to reclaim Manasseh from his degenerate and wicked courses. But this so exasperated the king against him, that, instead of paying any



Metz delin.

Tookey sculp.

MANASSEH *King of Judah* RELEASED from CAPTIVITY,
by order of the *King of Babylon.*

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T. West delin.

Sharp sculp.

MANASSEH, King of JUDAH, loaded with CHAINS,
and confined in prison at Babylon, by order of King Sardanapalus.



Stothard delin.

Grignon sculp.

HILKIAH and SHAPHAN presenting to King JOSIAH the Book of the LAW of MOSES, which had been found in the Temple.

Published as the Act directed by J. Cooke No 74 Paternoster Row.

His attention was next directed to the reparation of the temple, for which purpose he deputed commissioners throughout his dominions, to receive contributions of gold and silver, from those who were willing to promote the design; but leaving all his subjects at full liberty, that they might have no cause of complaint. The contributions being brought in, and deposited in the treasury, Amaziah, the governor of the city, Shaphan, the secretary, Joah, the recorder, and Hilkiah, the high-priest, were appointed to engage workmen, provide materials, and regulate the expences of the intended repairs. This gave rise to the rebuilding of the temple, and the erecting of a lasting monument to the posterity of the king's piety and bounty.

Josiah, in the eighteenth year of his reign, directed Hilkiah, the high-priest, to apply what gold and silver there remained after the charge of the necessary repairs of the temple was defrayed, in the formation of cups, chalices, goblets, and other vessels and utensils, for the performance of sacred services. He likewise ordered that all the gold and silver remaining in the treasury should be brought out, and applied to the same purpose.

The repairs of the temple being compleated, and all expences defrayed, Hilkiah, in conformity to the king's orders, took out the money for the purpose of converting it into vessels for the use of the temple; and, upon removing the gold, happened to discover the sacred book of Moses (a). This he took out, and gave to Shaphan, the king's secretary, to peruse, who, upon reading them over, went to the king, accompanied by Hilkiah, who told him, that he had executed all his commands relative to the reparation of the temple, and at the same time presented the book to him in great form, assuring him what it was, and where they had found it.

The king ordered Shaphan to read a part of the contents, which being done, he rent his robes, in dread of the heavy curses denounced against a wicked generation. In the height of his affliction he desired the secretary, with Hilkiah, and several priests who were present, to go to the prophetess Huldah, the wife of Shallum, a man of eminence, and unite their endeavours to prevail upon her to make intercession with God for pardon towards himself and his subjects. He told them there was great reason to apprehend that the vengeance of heaven would fall upon the present generation as a punishment for the iniquity of their progenitors, and particularly their neglect and contempt of the laws of Moses; and that, without obtaining a reconciliation, they should be dispersed over the face of the earth, and terminate their lives in misery.

Hilkiah, with those who were appointed to accompany him, immediately repaired to the prophetess, and having related the cause of the king's affliction, and his earnest desire of her intercession with heaven in behalf of him and his subjects, she bade them return him this answer; "That the sentence already pronounced was not to be recalled on any supplication or intercession whatever. That the people were to be banished from their own country, and punished, for their disobedience, with the loss of all human comforts. That the judgment was irrevocable, for their obstinately persisting in their superstitious and idolatrous practices, notwithstanding so many warnings to a timely repentance, and the menacing predictions of the prophets, if they persevered in their abominations."

This unchangable decree was to shew, by the event, that there is a just and over-ruling Disposer of all Things, and the predictions which he delivered by the means of the prophets, will be infallibly verified, as the certain indications of his whole will respecting mankind. The prophetess added, "Tell the king, however, that, in consideration of his own

pious and virtuous example, the judgment shall be averted from the people during his days; but that the day of his death shall be the eve of their final destruction."

As soon as Josiah received this message from the prophetess, he immediately dispatched messengers to the several cities within his dominions, commanding all the priests and Levites, and men of all ages and conditions, to repair with the utmost speed to Jerusalem. These orders being obeyed, and the people assembled, the king went to the temple; where, in the hearing of the whole multitude; he caused the laws of God, as contained in the books of Moses, to be distinctly read, after which he bound himself and the people, with their universal consent, by a most solemn oath, strictly to observe every article contained in the sacred books, respecting the laws and religion established by Moses. This solemn oath was followed by prayers and oblations for the Divine blessing and protection.

The king strictly enjoined the high-priest to take a particular account of the plate and vessels in the temple, and to cast out so many of them as they should find to have been dedicated by any of his ancestors to idolatrous services. Those that were found were reduced to dust, and in that state thrown into the air. All the priests were likewise put to death that were not of the stock Aaron.

Having effected this reformation in Jerusalem, Josiah made a progress throughout his whole dominions, where he destroyed all the relics of Jeroboam's superstition and idolatry; and burnt the bones of false prophets upon the very altar which that impious king had set up. Of this we have taken notice before, as well as the intervention of the prophet with a prediction in the hearing of the multitude, at the time when Jeroboam was offering sacrifice, "That one of the race of David, Josiah by name, was to do this." The prediction was verified, by the event, three hundred and sixty-one years after it was foretold.

So ardent was the zeal of Josiah for extending the great work of reformation, that he went in person to several of the Israelites, who had escaped the Assyrian bondage, in order to dissuade them from continuing in superstition, and prevail with them to embrace the pure religion of their forefathers, according to the long established custom of their country. Nor did he rest here, but caused the towns and villages to be searched for the discovery of any remains of idolatrous practices that might be concealed. The very figures of the horses over the porch of the temple, which their forefathers had dedicated to the sun, and all the monuments to which the people had ascribed Divine honour, were, by his special order, taken away and destroyed.

Having thus purged the whole nation from idolatry, and fully restored the true worship of the one only and true God, he called an assembly of the people at Jerusalem for the purpose of celebrating the passover, the time for that festival being near at hand. On this occasion the king gave out of his own store, for paschal sacrifices, thirty goats, a thousand lambs, and three thousand oxen. The heads of the priests presented to the others of the sacerdotal order two thousand six hundred lambs; and the chiefs of the Levites gave to their tribes five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen. A solemn sacrifice was made of these victims according to the precepts of Moses, and the ceremony was performed under the direction of the priests. From the time of the prophet Samuel to that day there had never been a festival celebrated with equal solemnity; for this had the allowed preference, because the whole was conducted in strict conformity to the very letter of the laws, and the precise mode of their forefathers. Josiah, after the accomplishment of a work of such mo-

A general assembly in the temple, where the law is read, and the king and people bound by oath to the observance of it.

Josiah's efforts to extirpate idolatry.

Josiah celebrates the passover. 2 Kings 23. 2 Chron. 35

(a) Whether it was the whole Pentateuch, or the Book of Deuteronomy only, which the high-priest found in the temple, is uncertain; but it is generally agreed, that the part, which Shaphan read to the king, was taken out of the Book of Deuteronomy, and not without some probability; that the xxviii. and xxxth chapters, were that portion of scripture which the secretary, who (as we are told 2 Kings xxii. 8.) had read the book before he brought it to the king, thought proper, upon this

occasion, to turn to; for therein is contained a renewal of the covenant which Moses, as mediator, had made between God and the people of Israel at Mount Horeb; and therein are those threats and terrible comminations to the transgressors of the law, whether prince or people, which affected Josiah so much; and which Moses had given to the Levites to put on the side of the covenant, that it might be there for a witness against the transgressors of it. Deut. xxxi. 25, 26.

ment and importance to the nation in general, enjoyed his government in honour, peace, and plenty, till he closed his life in the following manner.

C H A P. VI.

Death of Josiah by an arrow, in an engagement with Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt. Jehoahaz, his son and successor, is carried captive into Egypt, and dies there. The king of that country delivers the government to Jehoiakim.

2 Kings xxiii Expedition of the king of Egypt against the Medes and Babylonians.

SOON after the celebration of the passover, Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, advanced with a powerful army towards the Euphrates, against the Medes and Babylonians, who had subverted the Assyrian empire, with a design of making himself master of Asia. When he came to Megiddo, a town within the dominions of Josiah, he refused him passage through his country, in an expedition against the Medes. The Egyptian upon this sent an herald, to give Josiah to understand, that he entertained not a thought of hostility towards him, and that his only design was to expedite his march towards the Euphrates, desiring him, at the same time, not to put him to the necessity of effecting that by force, which he wished to do by courtesy.

Josiah refuses the king of Egypt passage

Josiah, notwithstanding the very mild terms in which the herald's message was couched, persisted in the denial of the passage, as if through the impulse of a fatality that was to bring on his dissolution. For, putting his army in a posture to dispute the passage, and riding up and down from wing to wing, to animate his men, an arrow, from the bow of an Egyptian, gave him a mortal wound. He immediately commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, returned to Jerusalem, and there expired. He was interred, with great funeral pomp, in the sepulchre of his ancestors, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-first of his reign. Never did a king die more universally regretted by his subjects: the lamentations for his loss were as universal when dead, as had been their affections for his person when living. Jeremiah, the prophet, composed an elegy upon the occasion, which is extant at this day. This prophet foretold the approach of the Babylonish captivity, and the calamities of our days, and also, like Isaiah, committed his predictions to writing, for the information of posterity. Nor was Jeremiah the only prophet who foretold these melancholy events; for Ezekiel also left behind him, in writing, two books of prophecies, concerning the same events. These two prophets were of the later-dotal line. Jeremiah resided at Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, to the time of the destruction of the temple and city, of which we shall treat in due order.

Abattle ensues, and Josiah is mortally wounded.

Dies universally regretted.

Predictions of the Babylonish captivity, by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

On the death of Josiah, his son Jehoahaz succeeded to the government, in the twenty-third year of his age, and kept his court at Jerusalem. His character was the reverse of that of his father, and his mother's name was Hamutal.

Jehoahaz succeeds Josiah. An impious prince.

The king of Egypt, on his return from the expedition against the Babylonians, sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to a city called Hamath, in the country of Syria, whither he had no sooner arrived, than he caused him to be put in fetters, and delivered up his government to Eliakim, his elder brother, by the same father, on condition of his changing his name to Jehoiakim, and paying the Egyptian monarch an annual tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and one of gold. (a) Jehoahaz was carried captive into Egypt, where he finished his life in disgrace and misery, having reigned in Jerusalem three months and ten days. The mother of Jehoiakim was a native of Ramah; her name Zabida. He was a prince as

Jehoahaz is deposed, and succeeded by Jehoiakim.

Dies captive in Egypt.

(a) It is very probable the prophet Jeremiah had regard to this taxation when, in his mournful complaint of Jerusalem, he says, "She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces; how is it she is become tributary?" Lam. i. 1.

(b) Baruch, the son of Neriah, and grandson of Maaseiah, was of an illustrious birth, and of the tribe of Judah. Ceraiah, his brother, had a considerable employment in the court of king Zedekiah, but himself kept close to the person of Jeremiah, and was his most faithful disciple; though his adherence

destitute of religion as of humanity, having neither reverence for God, nor regard for man.

C H A P. VII.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, having defeated the king of Egypt, makes the king of Judah his tributary. Jeremiah foretells the calamities attendant on Jehoiakim.

2 Kings xxiv The king of Egypt comes by Nebuchadnezzar.

IN the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, advanced with a mighty army to Carchabesa, a city bordering on the Euphrates, with a resolution of making war upon Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, who, at that time, held all Syria under subjection. The Egyptian, sensible of the power of his adversary, took the field with a formidable body of forces, in order to oppose him; but coming to action, was obliged to retreat, with the loss of many thousands of his men. The victorious Babylonians passed the Euphrates, and subdued the whole country of Syria, as far as Pelusium, Judea only excepted.

Nebuchadnezzar joins Jehoiakim to pay tribute.

In the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, and eighth of Jehoiakim, the former made an expedition, with a powerful army, against Judea, threatening the inhabitants with the greatest extremities, unless they would become tributary, as were those of Syria in general. Jehoiakim, awed by these menaces, purchased peace for a certain sum of money, which was duly paid for the space of full three years; but the year ensuing, upon the credit of an idle report, that the king of Egypt was advancing against Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiakim refused to pay him tribute any longer. He found himself, however, miserably disappointed in his hopes; for the Egyptians, fearful of the power of the Babylonians, declined the contest.

Jeremiah foretells the destruction of Jerusalem.

The prophet Jeremiah had repeatedly foretold this event, and pointed out the folly of Jehoiakim, in relying on the assistance of the Egyptians. He likewise presaged the fate of Jerusalem, that it would be suddenly destroyed by the Babylonians; and the king himself taken captive. But the inhabitants of Jerusalem, instead of being duly impressed with the awful prediction of Jeremiah, treated it with contemptuous ridicule. Nay a charge was exhibited against the prophet to the king, as a mover of sedition; and being ultimately referred to the decision of the council, the majority were for pronouncing sentence of death. The elders, however, seeing the matter in its true light, would by no means agree to so rigorous a punishment. Their prudent advice was for discharging Jeremiah the court; observing, that he was not the only prophet that had foretold the calamities of Jerusalem, as Micah, and several others, had done the same before him, without being subjected to the censure or punishment of government, but, on the contrary, honoured and caressed, as bearing a Divine commission. The council, prevailed on by this cool, though forcible, mode of reasoning, gave up their former opinion, and revoked the sentence they wished to pass without due deliberation.

An assembly convened against him.

Jeremiah committed all his predictions to writing; and, upon a day of solemn fasting, when the multitude were assembled in the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read to the congregation those predictions which related to the destruction of the temple, the city, and the people. The rulers, alarmed at the denunciation, took the book from the prophet, and ordered him, and Baruch (b) his scribe, to abscond, and conceal themselves from public search. The book was then carried to the king, who ordered his secretary to read it in the presence of his friends. The king was so incensed at the contents, that he rent the book, threw

to his master drew upon him several persecutions, and a great deal of bad treatment.

The book called Baruch is introduced with an historical preface, wherein it is related, that Baruch, being then at Babylon, did, in the name of the captive king and his people, draw up an epistle, and afterwards read it to them for their approbation; and that, together with it, they sent a collection of money to the high priest at Jerusalem, for the maintenance of the daily sacrifices.

it into the fire, and commanded Jeremiah and Baruch to be immediately brought to him and punished; but they had absconded.

CHAP. VIII.

Nebuchadnezzar lays waste Jerusalem. Puts Jehoiakim to death, and appoints his son Jehoiachin to the succession.

Nebuchadnezzar lays waste Jerusalem, and puts Jehoiakim to death. Appoints Jehoiachin to the succession. Ezekiel carried captive to Babylon.

SOON after the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, who, alarmed at the prediction of the prophet, received him with his army into the city, and lulled, as it were, into a kind of fatal security, remained wholly inactive. But the Babylonian, upon his admittance into the city, violated the covenant previously made, and put the flower of the youth of Jerusalem, together with the king himself, to the sword. He then commanded his body to be thrown before the walls without burial, and constituted Jehoiachin, his son, king, both of the city and country, in his stead. He carried away captive to Babylon three thousand of the principal inhabitants, among whom was the prophet Ezekiel, being at that time a youth. This was the end of king Jehoiakim, who lived thirty-six years, and reigned eleven. He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin. His mother was a native of Jerusalem, whose name was Nehusta. He reigned only three months and ten days.

CHAP. IX.

Nebuchadnezzar violates his faith in imprisoning Jehoiachin, and the heads of the people of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem besieged by the Babylonians.

THE king of Babylon soon repented his having placed Jehoiachin on the throne of Jerusalem, apprehending that, in revenge for his perfidious practice, in the life of his father, he would embrace the first opportunity of stirring up sedition and tumult. Upon this reflection he dispatched an army to invest Jerusalem. Jehoiachin, being a prince of a just and mild disposition, and unwilling that the city should be exposed to destruction on his account, entered into a treaty with Nebuchadnezzar's deputies for delivering up the city, upon condition, that neither the town itself, nor the inhabitants, should sustain any injury. The treaty was ratified, and his mother and kindred delivered up as hostages to the deputies for the due performance of the articles. But before a year elapsed, the king of Babylon violated his faith, commanded his officers to secure all the youths of the city, and all artificers in general, and bring them bound to him. Their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, amongst whom were Jehoiachin himself, his mother and kindred, who were detained in custody by the king's command.

CHAP. X.

Jehoiachin deposed, and Zedekiah advanced to the throne. Upon his violating his oath, Nebuchadnezzar again invests Jerusalem. Zedekiah opposes the councils of the prophet Jeremiah.

Jehoiachin made prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar.

Jehoiachin being still detained in custody (a), the king of Babylon appointed Zedekiah, his father's brother, to the government in his place, binding him, by a solemn oath, to attempt no innovation, nor enter into any league with the Egyptians.

Though Zedekiah was no stranger to the fate of his predecessors for their impieties, he followed their pernicious example in the practice of the most detestable abominations. To this he was instigated by a similitude of disposition and manners in his contemporaries, and the sycophants who surrounded him. Indeed, an universal depravity seemed at this time to prevail. Such being the declension of true religion, and the prevalence of vice and immorality, Jeremiah, the prophet, frequently warned the king of

the evil tendency of his impious courses, and admonished him to a reformation. He also pointed out to him the danger, as well as folly, of relying on the misrepresentations of those about him, or the predictions of false prophets, all of which would eventually prove as delusive as that respecting the Egyptians overcoming the Babylonians. Zedekiah admitted the propriety of the prophet's observation and advice, and that it was conducive to his best interest; but such was the influence of the wicked suggestions and corrupt principles of those with whom he was most intimate, as to efface any good impression that might have been wrought on him by the salutary counsel of the prophet!

Ezekiel, being at this very time in Babylon, foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attendant on the people, and sent his predictions in writing to Jerusalem. The two prophets exactly corresponded as to the taking the city by force, and Zedekiah's being carried away captive; while there was an apparent disagreement between Ezekiel's foretelling that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, and Jeremiah's affirming that the king himself should carry him prisoner there. This seeming inconsistency, or at least diversity of expression, induced Zedekiah to doubt the truth of all the particulars in which they agreed; though the things foretold came to pass exactly according to their prophecies, as we shall render evident in their proper places.

After an alliance of eight years between the kings of Babylon and Judah, the latter violated the treaty, and went over to the interest of the Egyptians, not doubting but that those two powers united, would be able to crush the imperious Nebuchadnezzar. But the Babylonian no sooner received intelligence of this revolt than he advanced with his army against Zedekiah, laid his country desolate, forced his citadels, and proceeded immediately to the siege of Jerusalem. The Egyptian, hearing of the critical situation of his ally, posted away to his relief, at the head of a powerful army, with a resolution to attempt the raising the siege. Nebuchadnezzar, upon intelligence of his march and design, drew off his army, met the Egyptians, gave them battle, vanquished, put them to flight, and drove them out of all Syria. In consequence of this temporary departure from the siege of Jerusalem, the false prophets again plied Zedekiah with their delusions, intimating, that the king of Babylon would no longer wage war with him or his people, nor remove them from their own country into Babylon, and that those then in captivity would return; and all the plate and treasure, which had been carried away, would be restored to the temple.

But Jeremiah contradicted their groundless assertions, peremptorily charged them with imposture and delusion, and affirmed that "The king of Babylon would renew the war, besiege Jerusalem again, destroy the inhabitants by famine, carry away those that remained into captivity; rifle their private property, and spoil their temple: nay, that he would lay it in ashes, utterly overthrow their city, and, lastly, they should serve him and his posterity seventy years." The prophet added, that, "On the expiration of that term, the Medes and Persians should deliver them from bondage, by the utter extinction of the Babylonish empire; that then they should be dismissed, return to their native land, rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem." These important declarations of the prophet had great effect on the minds of the people in general: but the leading men, and those who were hardened in impiety, and abandoned to the gratifications of sensual desires, pronounced them the effusions of a distempered brain, and treated them accordingly.

As Jeremiah was on his journey towards Anathoth, the place of his birth, about twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, he was met on the way by one of the rulers, who took him into custody on pretence that he was a deserter, and going over to the king of

Jer. 32. Ezek. 12. The seeming contradiction of the prophets reconciled.

Zedekiah breaks the league, and revolts to the Egyptians.

Jerusalem again besieged.

The king of Babylon overcomes the Egyptians.

Zedekiah still amused by false prophets.

Jeremiah foretells the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Babylonish captivity. Jer. 37.

(a) Jehoiachin continued in prison till the death of Nebuchadnezzar; but when his son succeeded to the throne, he not only released him from his imprisonment, (which had continued thirty-seven years), but treated him with great humanity and

respect, allowing him an honourable maintenance, and giving him the precedence of all other princes in Babylon. The prophecy of Jeremiah, however, was amply fulfilled, he spending the remainder of his days in the place of his captivity.

Babylon. The prophet disowned the charge, and avowed that he was going to the place of his nativity; but the ruler, persisting in his accusations, carried him before some magistrates, who, after examination, sentenced him to torture, and afterwards to imprisonment, in which he continued some time.

In the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, laid siege to it eighteen months, and prosecuted the attack with the utmost vigour. The place, however, made an obstinate resistance against very powerful assailants; and though there prevailed, at the same time, amongst the inhabitants, both a pestilence and famine, the army exerted themselves in a most extraordinary manner. In this posture of affairs Jeremiah, in prison, exhorted the multitude to open the gates, and receive the Babylonians into the city, as the only expedient to save themselves, their families, and the town, from inevitable ruin. He assured them that those who remained in the city must expect to perish either by famine or the sword, whereas those who fled out to the enemy would save their lives.

But the heads of the people, notwithstanding the extremity to which they were reduced, were so far from attending to the prophet's counsel, that they represented him to the king as a lunatic, a mutineer, and one who intimidated the people by vague conjectures, and frantic representations; suggesting, at the same time, that the garrison was able to defend the place to the last extremity, if their ardour was not abated by a prognostication of imaginary evils.

Though the king was, in his own nature, neither illiberal nor cruel, yet, to obviate a dispute with the rulers at so critical a juncture, he left them to dispose of the prophet at their option. Having therefore gained the most desirable point, they hastened to the prison, took out Jeremiah, and let him down into a boggy pit, with a design to put an end to his life by suffocation. While he was in this condition, a favourite servant of the king, by birth an Ethiopian, hallooed and informed him of the treatment and situation of the prophet, and offered it as his humble opinion, that the rulers had not done well in aggravating his misfortunes, by exposing him to a death more grievous than that he could expect from his chains.

The king, prevailed on by the generous representation of his favourite, repented his leaving the prophet to the discretion of his enemies, and therefore ordered the Ethiopian to take with him thirty trusty men of his own guards, with all necessary implements, and use every possible and speedy endeavour to extricate the prophet from his present deplorable situation. The servant obeyed his orders, and released the prophet, who was soon after privately conducted to the king, who enquired of him, whether he could procure him relief under his present circumstances. Jeremiah replied, that "He could; but that the people would neither believe him, nor follow his counsel, as all his pretended friends were averse to him, deemed him an impostor, and were continually meditating the means of his destruction:" But where are those men (continued the prophet) who deceived us, in declaring that the king of Babylon would wage war no more against us? He added, that if he was open and ingenuous with him, his life might be at stake. The king then assured him, upon oath, that he would neither himself take away his life, nor suffer any of his people to do it; upon which he took courage, and advised him by all means to deliver up the city into the hands of the king of Babylon. This, he told him, was the only means of securing his own person, preventing the burning of the temple, and the demolition of the city: but if he pursued any other means, he was enjoined by Divine authority to assure him, he would entail upon himself, his family, and people, utter and inevitable destruction, and be considered as the author of all their calamities.

Zedekiah declared that he was disposed to follow the advice given him, from a persuasion it was conducive to the public good; but expressed his fears lest those of his own country, who were already gone over to the Babylonians, should accuse him to the king of Babylon, and thereby endanger his life. The

prophet dissuaded him from harbouring any such suspicion, and assured him, that if he delivered up the city, neither himself, family, nor the temple, should sustain any injury. Upon these words Jeremiah was dismissed by the king, who charged him by no means to discover what had passed between them, not even to the rulers, if they should come to a knowledge of his having been sent for; and if they should enquire into the cause, to pretend that he craved permission to stand in his presence, in order to solicit his enlargement. The prophet followed the king's injunction, and gave that answer to those who made enquiry concerning the business of his attendance.

CHAP. XI.

The taking of Jerusalem. Burning of the temple, and removal of the king and people to Babylon. The succession of high-priests. Nebuchadnezzar appoints Gedaliah deputy-governor, who is afterwards taken off by Ishmael. The Egyptians carried captive to Babylon. History of Daniel and his companions. Death of Nebuchadnezzar.

THE king of Babylon prosecuted the siege of Jerusalem with great vigour. He erected towers in order to repel those who stood upon the walls. The assailants, indeed, made every preparation for a general attack, while the place was defended with equal resolution by the besieged, who had not only their enemies to encounter, but the complicated calamities of pestilence and famine. They stood firm against both force and stratagem, opposing invention to invention, as if the point in dispute depended on military skill; the assailants being determined to take the city, and the besieged resolved to defeat their efforts by every exertion of prowess and skill in martial manoeuvres. The contest was maintained for the space of eighteen months, when, through want of provisions, and numbers sufficient to repel the vigorous attacks of the assailants, together with the incessant annoyance of darts, which the enemy discharged at them from the towers; they were reduced to the inevitable necessity of a surrender.

Thus was the city of Jerusalem taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, by the commanders to whom the business of the siege was committed by Nebuchadnezzar, who at that time was at Reblatha. The names of these commanders were Nersear, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabafaris, and Echanamparis. The city was taken about midnight; and when Zedekiah perceived the officers enter the temple, he took his wives, children, friends, and leading men, and with them fled out of the city through the desert. When the Babylonians received intelligence of this escape from some revolvers, they pursued them early next morning, overtook and surrounded them at a place near Jericho. Zedekiah's companions, perceiving the approach of the enemy, abandoned him, and dispersed themselves, seeking their only protection in flight. The king being thus deserted, fell into the hands of his enemies, with his wives and children, and the small remnant that adhered to him, all of whom were brought before Nebuchadnezzar. Zedekiah was no sooner presented to the king of Babylon, than he reproached him as "A covenant-breaker, and the most ungrateful of miscreants, who, after he had deposed Johoiachin, and advanced him to the throne, had used his power against the very man from whom he had received it." He added, that "The great Disposer of all Events, as a punishment for his treachery and ingratitude, had now reduced him to the abject state of a vassal and prisoner to him whose liberality he had so flagrantly abused."

After this severe, but just, reproach, he commanded his children and adherents to be put to death in his presence; and then that Zedekiah's eyes should be put out, and the vanquished prince carried as a dreadful spectacle in chains to Babylon. Thus were fulfilled the respective prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which Zedekiah disregarded from a seeming contradiction between them; the former foretelling that he should be taken captive to Babylon, and speak to the king, face to face; and the latter, that he should be carried away to Babylon, and not see him; which

Jeremiah is carried to the multitude.

Jeremiah is carried to the multitude.

Jeremiah is carried to the multitude.

Jeremiah is carried to the multitude.

Delivered by means of an Ethiopian.

Consulted by Zedekiah.

The prophet's advice.

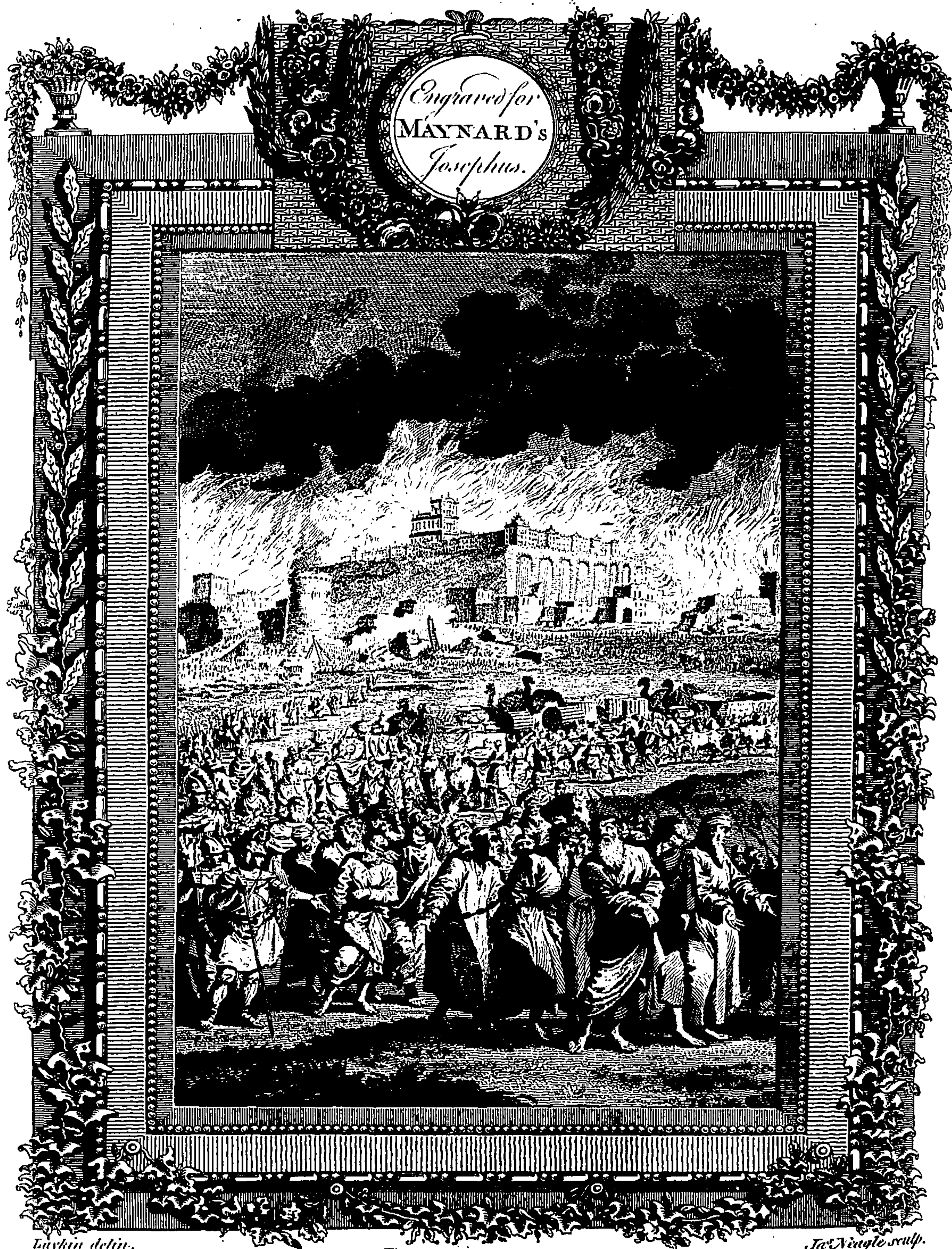
2 Kings 25. Nebuchadnezzar captures the city of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem taken.

Nebuchadnezzar presents Zedekiah to the king of Babylon.

Jeremiah foretells the fall of Jerusalem.

Ezekiel foretells the fall of Jerusalem.



Engraving delin.

Jas. Neagle sculp.

JERUSALEM *taken and burnt, and its Inhabitants
carried into CAPTIVITY by Nebuchadnezzar.*

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which he could not do, as he was brought blind thither.

Reflection of Josephus on the foregoing events
This may serve to convince the most ignorant and incredulous of the power and wisdom of the Almighty, and the infallibility of his word respecting events in general. All the various dispensations of his providence concur to demonstrate the immutability of his goodness and justice; so that hence we may infer the danger and folly of indulging a disbelief of those things which bear the sanction of Divine authority.

End of the king's succession from David.
Thus became extinct the race of kings descended from David, after a succession of twenty-one, in the space of five hundred and fifteen years, six months, and ten days, including the twenty years of the reign of Saul, who was of another tribe.

The city of Jerusalem, temple, and palace, destroyed.
After this signal victory, the king of Babylon sent Nebuzar-Adan, his commander in chief, to Jerusalem, with orders to rife and burn the temple, and, after laying the city level with the ground, to carry away the inhabitants captive to Babylon. Accordingly, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, Nebuzar-Adan executed his commission, rifed the temple, taking away all the vessels of gold and silver, Solomon's gorgeous laver, with the brazen pillars and their chapiters, and the golden tables and candlesticks. After a general pillage he set fire to the temple, and then laid the palace and the city in ashes. This memorable event occurred on the first day of the fifth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar.

Prisoners of eminence, some put to death and others kept in chains.
Upon the destruction of Jerusalem, and the transportation of the inhabitants, Nebuzar-Adan took with him prisoners, the high-priest, Seraiah, and Sephaniah, next in sacerdotal dignity; three chief superintendants of the temple; the first eunuch of the bed-chamber, with the king's secretary; and other men of eminence, to the number of sixty; all of whom were brought together to the king, then resident at Reblathis, a city of Syria. The king commanded the heads of the high-priest, and the leading men, to be struck off in that city; but the aggregate body of prisoners, with Zedekiah himself, they carried to Babylon. Jehozaback, the high-priest, and son of Seraiah, that was put to death, was taken and bound along with them.

Having enumerated the succession of kings in due order from father to son, I deem it necessary to observe the same method with respect to the high-priests, who, from time to time, exercised the supreme sacerdotal office.

Enumeration of the high priests from the building to the destruction of the temple.
The first high-priest, after the building of Solomon's temple, was Zadok. Then came his son Ahimaaz; and after Ahimaaz, Azariah, and so forward, Joram, Isus, Axiaramus, Phideas, Sudeas, Julius, Jotham, Urias, Nerias, Odeus, Saldumus, Elcias, Saræus, and Jehozadack, who was carried away captive to Babylon. These handed down the pontificate in a continued succession in their families from generation to generation.

Death of Zedekiah.
Upon the king's return to Babylon, Zedekiah was committed to prison, where he died, and was interred magnificently in the royal sepulchre of that city. The holy vessels taken out of the temple of Jerusalem were dedicated to the idol gods of the country. The captives were fixed in habitations, and Jehozadack was set at liberty.

Gedaliah (son of Ahikam) prominent in Jer. 23.
Nebuzar-Adan, the general, who brought away the people captive, left the multitude and the deserters to the charge of Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a man eminent for probity and generosity, who allotted each individual such a portion of land to improve, on condition of paying a stipulated tribute to the king. The prophet Jeremiah was also discharged from his imprisonment; and the king having enjoined the governor to pay him particular attention, Gedaliah signified to the prophet a desire of his accompanying him to Babylon; but Jeremiah replied, that he was not disposed to remove, but wished to remain there, and share in the miseries of his countrymen. Nebuzar-Adan hearing the prophet's resolution, gave

strict charge to Gedaliah to see him amply provided for, made him several valuable presents himself, left him, and returned to Babylon. Jeremiah took up his abode at Mizpah, having first obtained of the governor the liberty of Baruch, the son of Neriah, a man of noble birth, and well versed in the language of his country, whom he selected as his companion.

When the deserters, who had absconded Jerusalem during the time of the siege, heard of the burning and sacking of the city, and the return of the Babylonians into their own country, they repaired, from all quarters where they had secreted themselves, to Gedaliah, at Mizpah (a). The principal men amongst them were Johanan, the son of Careah, Jaazaniah, and Saraiah, with some others. Besides these was Ishmael, a person of royal extraction, but of a base and depraved disposition. This man, at the time of the siege, fled to Bathai, king of the Ammonites, for refuge, with whom he afterwards continued.

Upon the application of these fugitives to Gedaliah, he gave them encouragement to continue there, and plant colonies, assuring them they might live quietly without the least interruption or annoyance from the Babylonians; and binding himself upon oath to assist their cause, if any man should presume to give them molestation. He left them to make choice of the town or place of their residence, and offered to send some of his own people with them, to assist in fitting up their habitations; but admonished them by no means to neglect the season of providing for the next vintage and harvest, that they might not want corn and oil the ensuing winter for their subsistence. Having given them this encouragement and assurance, he left every man at liberty to dispose of himself in such a manner as he might deem most expedient.

The report of Gedaliah's humanity and generosity towards the fugitives, who applied to him for protection, gained him so great a reputation throughout the countries that bordered on Judæa, that the inhabitants resorted to him from all parts, and speedily formed a considerable colony, having land assigned them in property, on condition of paying a stipulated tribute to the king of Babylon.

Johanan, and the rest of the principal men of the Jews, retaining the most grateful sense of the humanity and generosity of Gedaliah towards their fugitive countrymen, deemed it their incumbent duty, from a principle of the profoundest respect, to advise him of a conspiracy formed against him by the king of the Ammonites, in conjunction with Ishmael, who was to take him off by treachery, and, being of the royal line, by that means seize on the government of Judæa. They intimated to the governor, at the same time, that the only means to prevent the execution of so horrid a design, would be privately to dispatch Ishmael, which, with his concurrence, they would undertake to do, apprehensive that, if so base and injurious a person was not speedily removed from amongst them, he would eventually prove the ruin of the Israelites in general.

Gedaliah, a man of a generous temper, and not prone to entertain jealousies of others, was unwilling to give credit to what had been related to him. He told them he thought it impossible that any man could be so barbarous and ungrateful, or so far deviate from all sense of moral obligation, as to seek the destruction of one whom, by all the ties of honour and hospitality, he was bound to defend and preserve even at the hazard of his own life. He farther observed, that, admitting the truth of what had been told, he could not so far violate the laws of hospitality, as to take away the life of a man who had sheltered himself under his protection. Johanan, and his friends, finding their advice ineffectual, respectfully took their departure.

In the course of about a month after Gedaliah had received this information and advice, Ishmael, with some of his friends, paid him a visit at Mizpah, where they were treated with every instance of hospitality and respect. Being invited to a sumptuous entertainment, Ishmael seized on what he thought the

The Jews that were dispersed come to Gedaliah.

Gedaliah deals candidly with the Jews.

The heads of the Jews in vain advise Gedaliah of a design upon his life. Jer. xl.

(a) Mizpah was situated on the east side of the river Jordan, and, in the division of the land, fell to the tribe of Dan; and here it was that Gedaliah chose to fix his habitation, or, No. 14.

perhaps, was ordered to fix it, because it lay nearer than any other place to Babylon, from whence he was to receive his instructions with respect to the administration of the government.

Gedaliah and his guests barbarously slaughtered. Jer. xli.

A general massacre.

Many of the people carried away captive, together with Zedekiah's daughters.

Ishmael is pursued by Johanan: the captives are rescued: Ishmael escapes with eight of his party.

Jer. xlii. The prophet Jeremiah is consulted.

They are enjoined not to go into Egypt.

Disobey the Divine will.

The prophet foretells the fate of the fugitive Jews, on their going into Egypt.

most favourable opportunity for carrying his execrable design into execution, nor did he fail taking advantage of it. In the midst of the entertainment, when conviviality and intoxication prevailed, Ishmael, and his companions, suddenly arose from the table, and falling on the governor, not only put him to death, but all the guards who were present. Being now the dead of the night, and the inhabitants of the city carelessly secure, they sallied into the streets, slaughtering all they could find, whether Jews or Babylonians, without distinction. The day after this horrid transaction took place, it happened that a party of fourscore men came to Mizpah, in order to offer presents to Gedaliah, in acknowledgment of their subjection to his government. Ishmael being apprized of their arrival, went, accompanied by his companions, some way from Mizpah to meet them, which he had no sooner done, than he offered to conduct them to the governor's house. The offer was readily accepted; but they had no sooner arrived there, than Ishmael and his companions shut the doors upon them, fell on and slew them, causing the bodies afterwards to be thrown into a pit, where they might be concealed. Some few of the number were spared, in consequence of their promising to make a discovery of some treasure, and other valuable commodities, which were hid under ground in an adjacent field.

Ishmael, after these horrid massacres, took away with him captive the common people of Mizpah, with their wives and children, and, amongst the rest, two persons of distinction, daughters of Zedekiah, whom Nebuzar-Adan had left under the immediate care of Gedaliah. When Johanan, and the rest of the principal men, heard of the horrid barbarities committed by Ishmael, and that he was posting with the news of his exploits to the king of the Ammonites, they collected a considerable body of armed men, went in pursuit, and overtook him at the fountain of Hebron. As soon as the captives who were with him saw Johanan, they rejoiced exceedingly, and immediately ran over to his party; while Ishmael, with only eight of his companions, made their escape to the king of the Ammonites.

Johanan, in the mean time, with the people he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, eunuchs, women, and children, retired to a certain place called Mandra, where they abode one day; being determined to remove from thence into Egypt, lest the Babylonians should revenge on them the murder of their governor. While this matter was in agitation, they entered into a resolution of applying to the prophet Jeremiah, and consulting him on their present critical situation. The prophet promised them his best advice and assistance; and, at the expiration of ten days, he received a Divine commission to inform Johanan and the other rulers, "That if they continued where they were, the Almighty would assist and secure them against any injury from the Babylonians, whom they so much dreaded; but that if, after this promonition, they were determined to go into Egypt, they might expect the same vindictive judgment for disobedience, as had fallen on their brethren before them."

Though the prophet assured them that this message was delivered to them at the Divine command, they doubted its authenticity, imagining it could not be consistent with the Divine will that they should continue where they were. Supposing it, therefore, an invention of the prophet, to gratify Baruch his disciple, and expose them to the resentment of the Babylonians, Johanan, and the people under him, in contempt of the Divine commission by the prophet, went away into Egypt, and took with them Jeremiah and Baruch.

Upon their arrival, the prophet received Divine intimation, that the king of Babylon should bring an army into Egypt; and was therefore commanded to tell the people that Egypt should be taken, that part of them should be slain, and part carried away captive to Babylon, which accordingly came to pass. For, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the twenty-third of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an inroad into Cœlo-Syria, and, upon subduing it, carried the war forward to the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had reduced them to subjection, made a furious incursion into Egypt, slew the then king, set up another in his place, and carried

away the Jews that were found there a second time captives to Babylon.

Such was the miserable state of the Hebrew nation, in having been twice carried away beyond the Euphrates: for the ten tribes were transported first by the Assyrians out of Samaria, in the reign of Hosea; and afterwards the other two by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians, upon the taking of Jerusalem.

Salmanezar transplanted the Chuthites into the country of the Israelites, out of the heart of Media and Persia; and they were called Samaritans from the name of the place into which they were thus transplanted. But the king of Babylon carried away the other two tribes without introducing any other into their country. For this cause Judea, with Jerusalem, and the temple, lay wholly abandoned for the space of seventy years. The interval between the captivity of the ten tribes, and the transmigration of the other two, proved to be one hundred and thirty-years, six months, and ten days.

Among the number of captives carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, were many youths of the first distinction, whom the conqueror, in consequence of their great natural abilities, kept in his palace, and employed proper tutors to instruct them in the language and learning of the Chaldeans. The most conspicuous amongst these were Daniel, Ananias, Misael, and Azariah. As it was the custom amongst conquerors to change the names of their captives, especially when they were to serve in any capacity about the court, their names were changed as follow: Daniel was called Belteshazzar; Ananias, Shadrack; and Azariah, Abednego. The king held these youths in high esteem for the sweetness of their disposition, their assiduous application to learning, and their extraordinary progress in useful knowledge; in so much, that orders were given for their daily supply of meat and wine from the royal table. But Daniel, being a devout observer of the religion of his country, and determined to abide by the precepts enjoined, concerning the eating of some living creatures, desired Aschanes, the chief eunuch, who had them in charge, that, instead of the delicacies which the king sent them from his own table, they might have pulse or dates, or any other ordinary food that had no life in it; as a plain diet would be most agreeable to their palates. The eunuch told them he was entirely disposed to gratify their inclination; but if such indifferent diet should cause them to look not so well as those who lived on better food, the king might take offence, and it might endanger his life. Finding the eunuch not entirely averse to the proposal, they urged him to permit them to make the experiment only for ten days, and after that, if he found the least change in their habit or complexion, he might bring them back to their sumptuous fare. The eunuch was prevailed upon to make the trial; and when he found them so far from being worse for the alteration, that they improved both in the habit of their bodies, and their intellectual faculties, he made no further scruple of complying with their desires, but gave them such diet as they requested, and kept the allowance from the royal table for his own use.

This abstemious mode of living agreed so well with Daniel and his companions, that it produced an apparent good effect in preserving them in a state both of mind and body, fit for study or labour, being neither surfeited with variety, or effeminated by luxury. In short, through the means of temperance and discipline, their spirits were kept clear and active, as appeared from their astonishing progress in the Hebrew and Chaldean languages. Daniel, indeed, exceeded the rest, and soon appeared to possess most singular knowledge in the understanding and interpretation of dreams.

About two years after the destruction of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar had an extraordinary dream, which so impressed his mind as to make him very uneasy: and what contributed to his perplexity was, that he could not recollect the substance of it. To assist his recollection in this particular, he summoned all his wise men, as Chaldeans, Magi, and the prophets, and told them, that he had an extraordinary dream, the substance of which he had forgotten, and therefore demanded of them the interpretation. They answered,

The Chuthites derive the name of Samaritans from Samaria.

Nebuchadnezzar superintends the education of the Hebrew youths of noble birth. Daniel, &c.

Daniel and his companions are treated with singular respect.

Their abstinence and prudence.

Their progress in learning.

Nebuchadnezzar applies to the wise men for interpretation. Dan. ii.

answered, that they could readily give him the interpretation, provided they knew the dream; but without that it would be impossible. This answer farther irritated the king, who immediately gave orders that all the wise men in Babylon should be put to death.

As soon as Daniel heard the cause of this dreadful decree, and had reason to apprehend that he and his companions might be included in it, he immediately repaired to Arioch, the captain of the king's guards, requesting to know the crime for which they were to die. The captain informed him, that the king had a dream which he had forgotten, and that they were to die because they could not tell him the substance. Daniel requested him to procure him a reprieve for one night only, and he would not despair of giving him the satisfaction he required, as he had cause to apprehend that, by the Divine assistance, he should be enabled so to do. The captain related to the king the particulars that had passed between him and Daniel; in consequence of which the execution was repited, to try the effect of the experiment.

Nebuchadnezzar having complied with Daniel's request, he immediately went home, and related the whole matter to his companions, beseeching them to join in prayer with him, that God would be pleased to reveal to him this great and important secret, whereby not only their lives, but also those of all the wise men in Babylon, might be saved. The intercession of Daniel and his companions was heard; and that very night he received, in a vision, not only the dream itself, but a full interpretation of it, in order that he might communicate the whole matter to the king.

Daniel was so transported with this signal instance of the Divine favour and regard, that he rose early in the morning, encouraged his companions, now brought to the very brink of despair, by assuring them, that they might dissipate their fears, and rest in security. When they had joined in their acknowledgments to the Almighty for his signal interposition in their behalf, Daniel went to Arioch, the captain of the guards, desiring him to introduce him to the king, with assurance that he should have full satisfaction as to the particulars and interpretation of his dream. Arioch, happy in this intelligence, and pleased with the thought of avoiding the execution of the king's decree, readily complied with Daniel's request, and conducted him to the palace.

When he was admitted to the king's presence, he modestly confessed, that he did not arrogate to himself more wisdom than the Chaldeans and Magi, though, upon their inability to discover his dream, he had undertaken to give him full information. He acknowledged that it was not through his own prescience, or his possessing an understanding superior to the rest, but purely through the Divine mercy and goodness, which interposed in a time of imminent danger, at his intercession, for his own life, and those of his nation, and manifested to him both the dream and the interpretation. He observed, that he had not been so solicitous for the safety of himself and his companions, as for the prevention of the deaths of so many worthy men, who had so severe a sentence pronounced against them, for not being able to do that which could not be accomplished but by a supernatural power. He then proceeded in words to the following purport:

"Your mind, O king, was agitated in your sleep, concerning the succession of the empire of the world on your demise. The dream had a tendency to solve that matter, and point out to you those who will rule when you are no more. You saw a large image, or statue, standing before you; the head was gold, the shoulders and arms silver, the belly and thighs brass, and the legs and feet iron. You then saw a stone broken off from a mountain; the fall on the image overthrew it, and broke it so small, that the dust of the gold, silver, brass, and iron, was as light as chaff, and carried away by a blast of wind to the furthestmost parts of the earth; the stone increasing to such a magnitude, that it lay like a mountain upon the face of the earth." (a)

(a) By the different emblems in the interpretation of this dream, was signified to Nebuchadnezzar the four grand empires

Daniel, having thus related the dream, proceeded thus to give the interpretation:

"The head of gold denotes yourself, and the kings of Babylon, your predecessors. The hands and shoulders portend that two kings shall subvert your empire, and afterwards their empire shall be subverted by another king coming from the west in armour of brass, and he is to be subdued, in process of time, by another in iron, which, in its nature, is stronger than gold, and not to be resisted."

The first prediction.

Daniel also gave an interpretation of the stone, which I shall pass over in this place, as I have undertaken to write of things past, and not of things to come. Those who are desirous of prying into future events, are referred to the Book of Daniel, as it stands upon sacred record.

Nebuchadnezzar was so astonished at this wonderful discovery of his dream, and the interpretation of it, that, after prostrating himself before Daniel, he appointed Divine honours to be done him: nor would this serve him without giving him the name of his god, Belteshazzar." He made him ruler of the whole province, and appointed several of this kindred to offices of dignity. This drew such an envy upon them as to endanger their lives, through a disgust the king took on the following occasion:

The king conferred great honours upon Daniel.

He caused an image of gold to be made sixty cubits in height, and six in breadth, and placed it in the great plain of Babylon. He summoned, upon the dedication of it, the great men and officers throughout all his dominions, making proclamation that, upon hearing the sound of the trumpet, they should all fall down and worship the image, upon pain of being cast into the fiery furnace.

Nebuchadnezzar sets up a golden image. Daniel iii.

Accordingly, upon the sound of the trumpet, all the people fell down and worshipped, Daniel and his kindred excepted, who refusing to do it, from a reverence to the laws of their country, were informed against, and cast into the fire; but, through a merciful Providence, their lives were preserved. The flame, as it were, suspended the very nature of its devouring quality in favour of the innocent, for they were not so much as scorched. This miraculous interposition of the Divine power and goodness, in their deliverance and justification, recommended them to the king's esteem in such a degree, that they were more honoured and caressed, if possible, than they had been before.

The wonderful preservation of Daniel's companions from the devouring flames. Dan. 3.

Soon after this singular circumstance in favour of the worshippers of the true God, who refused to bow down to idols, Nebuchadnezzar had another dream, as surprising as the former. It was, "That being expelled from the kingdom, he lived seven years amongst the beasts of the forest, and was afterwards restored to his former state and dignity." Upon this occasion, the king again sent for the Magi, and demanded of them the interpretation. But they were as incapable of expounding this dream, which he perfectly remembered, as they were of the former, which he had entirely forgotten. Recourse was therefore, from necessity, had to Daniel, who gave him the interpretation, and his prediction was confirmed by the event; for, after an interval of seven years solitude in the desert, during which no attempt was made to seize on his government, the Almighty was pleased to restore him to his regal authority.

A second dream.

Daniel interprets it.

Let me not incur censure for representing things in my writings minutely as I find them in ancient history; for I have obviated all cause for this censure, by a public declaration, at the commencement of this work, that it should be my study and endeavour to acquit myself as an impartial and faithful translator of the history from the Hebrew into the Greek, and to adhere precisely to the original, without addition or diminution.

Josephus vindicates himself from illiberal censure.

Nebuchadnezzar was a prince of an active disposition, and much more fortunate than any of his predecessors. He departed this life after he had reigned forty-three years.

Death of Nebuchadnezzar.

Berosus, in the third book of the Chaldean History, writes concerning him thus: "Nebuchadnezzar, the father, understanding that a certain great officer, "to

Testimony of Berosus concerning him.

of the world; namely, the Chaldean, Persian, Grecian, and Roman. The Assyrian or Chaldean is represented by gold, because

“to whom he had committed the government of Egypt, Cœlo-Syria, and Phœnicia, was fallen off from his allegiance, and not being in bodily condition himself to sustain the fatigues of a war in his own person, sent his son, Nebuchadnezzar, with part of his army, to reduce him to obedience. He went, found him out, fought, overcame him, and brought back the revolted provinces to their duty. His father, in the mean time, was taken off by a sickness at Babylon, in the twenty-first year of his reign. The young prince had no sooner intelligence of this event, than he applied himself to the settling of his affairs in Egypt, and the rest of the provinces; and recommended to some particular friends the charge of conveying his prisoners, Jews, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, to Babylon, with the army and baggage, while he himself, with a small retinue, took his way thither over the desert. The government was reserved for him in the mean time by the Chaldeans, and secured in his absence by the principal men till his return; so that, when he entered upon the government, he was established in the full possession of his paternal empire. His first care was to make a well-arranged distribution of his captives into colonies; and after that to adorn the temple of Belus, and other religious places, with the spoils taken in battle. He repaired and enlarged the ancient buildings of the city, and raised works upon the banks of the river, to prevent all approaches of an enemy. He erected three walls, or entrenchments, within the bounds of the city, and as many without, and they were all composed of brick. Having thus fortified the city, he ornamented the gates with a curious frontispiece; and built another palace, contiguous to that of his father, with all possible art and magnificence. The particulars of this stately edifice are too numerous for insertion in this place; therefore I shall only observe, as worthy of notice and admiration, that it was finished in fifteen days! In this building there were vast stones, supported upon arches, that appeared like mountains suspended in the air; and they were planted on the summit with several sorts of trees, in compliment to the queen, who, being a Median, was fondly desirous to see some artificial resemblance of the gardens and rarities of her own country.”

Magasthenes.

Diocles.
Philostratus

Magasthenes, in the fourth volume of his History of India, makes mention of these garden works, and represents this king, both for his enterprizes and his performances, as superior to Hercules himself, having subdued the greatest part of Lybia and Iberia. Diocles writes of this monarch in the second book of his Persian History; as does Philostratus, in his account of the Phœnicians and Indians, that this prince, in the days of Ithobal, king of Tyre, maintained a siege of thirteen years against that town. These are all the historians, within the compass of my knowledge, who have written concerning this king.

CHAP. XII.

Nebuchadnezzar succeeded by Evil-Merodach, who liberates Jehoiakim. Succession down to Belshazzar. Cyrus and Darius besiege him in Babylon. Daniel expounds a vision to him. Is caressed by Darius. His extraordinary deliverances and predictions.

Evil-Merodach succeeds his father, liberates and prefers Jehoiakim.
2 Kings 25.
Jer. 52.

ON the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the government of Babylon devolved to his son, Evil-Me-

ro-dach, who immediately released Jehoiakim, king of Jerusalem, from his confinement, honoured him with many presents, reposed in him a particular confidence, and made him chief governor of his palace at Babylon. His father, indeed, had ignobly violated his faith with Jehoiakim, in making him his prisoner, after having voluntarily delivered himself up, with his wife, children, and kindred, from the patriotic mode of saving his country. On the demise of Evil-Merodach, after a reign of eighteen years, he was succeeded by his son Niglissar, who, having reigned forty years, the government fell, by right hereditary, to his son Labofardochus, who retained it only nine months, after which it devolved on Belshazzar, called, by the Babylonians, Naboandel.

Cyrus, king of the Persians, and Darius, king of the Medes, made war upon this prince; and while they lay before Babylon, there appeared to Belshazzar a most extraordinary vision. As he was regaling himself in a spacious room, with his courtiers and concubines, he ordered the vessels of gold and silver, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought thither, and converted to the purposes of conviviality; though he had already a most magnificent service of plate, and they had never heretofore been put to any kind of use. To add to this instance of their criminality, when they became intoxicated, they added blasphemy to prophanation. In the midst of their mirth and jollity, the king was thrown into the utmost terror and consternation by the appearance of an hand, which wrote on the wall, in three words, the sentence of his condemnation. He immediately sent for the most expert of the Magi, to tell him the meaning of the words that were marked on the plaister: but when they were not able to make the least discovery, Belshazzar was under such agitation of mind, that he caused a proclamation to be made, that whoever could explain the writing, and give him the signification, should have, as a reward, a golden chain and purple vestment; nay, the third place of rule in his dominions. This proclamation induced the Magi to exert their utmost skill to find out the import of the writing; but they were as defective as they had been upon the former occasion.

While the king was labouring under a state of the most anxious and tormenting suspense, his grandmother told him, for his encouragement, “That there was a certain captive, who came from Judea, a Jew by birth, brought thither by Nebuchadnezzar, whose name was Daniel, famed for his sagacity in solving the most intricate matters that could possibly be propounded to him.” She added, that he had brought to light such things, and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar, as defeated the skill of the most learned in his kingdom when they were consulted. She therefore desired he would send for him, and enquire of him concerning the writing; giving him full encouragement, at the same time, to speak the truth, though it should make against him, on the means of solving his doubts, and exposing the ignorance and inability of pretenders.

Upon this advice Belshazzar caused Daniel to be sent for; professing, indeed, that he had heard of his extraordinary sagacity, and that he apprehended him to be the most capable person in the world to divine the truth of a matter inexplicable to all others. When Daniel was brought into the royal presence, the king put the question to him, declaring, that if he solved it, he should be rewarded with the presents,

Asia; but, from that time, it became a mixture of iron and clay. Its emperors proved most of them vicious and corrupt, either, by their tyranny, making themselves hateful to their subjects, or, by their follies and vices, contemptible. Lastly, that of the stone out of the mountain is the fifth monarchy, or the kingdom of the Messiah; which, against all the power and policy of the Roman empire, prevailed, not by an external force, but by the powerful preaching of the gospel, to the suppression and defeat of wickedness and impiety, idolatry and superstition: and it shall stand for ever, and never be destroyed. Dan. ii. 44, which can be said of no other kingdom than that of Jesus Christ, which, for those seventeen hundred years and upwards, has withstood the violence of persecutions, and all other contrivances formed against it, and has the sure promises of its Almighty Founder on its side, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Matt. xvi. 18.

and



The PROPHET DANIEL *in the* LION'S DEN.

and honours specified in the proclamation he had caused to be made throughout his dominions, and which would spread his fame throughout the world, when it should be known that he had acquired them by his wisdom.

Daniel modestly declined receiving the offers proposed, observing that wisdom was a Divine gift, and not to be corrupted by bribes, but, on the contrary, bestowing its benefits freely on those who seek them; for which cause he would proceed to explain the writing.

Exposition
of the hand
writing.

"The writing (said he) denotes that your death is at hand, as you have not taken warning from the judgments that befell your great ancestor, for his contempt of God, and neglect of the exercise of piety and virtue. You cannot but know that Nebuchadnezzar was banished human society, and sentenced to the life and condition of a beast; though it pleased the Almighty, on his contrition and supplication, to restore him to his former state as a man and a monarch, which signal instance of Divine mercy he adored and celebrated during the remainder of his life: but this example is so far from having a due influence on you, and those around you, that you are guilty of the most flagrant blasphemy, and glory in the profanation of the vessels dedicated to the most solemn services. By these impious courses you have drawn upon your head the Divine vengeance; and the intent of the writing is to demonstrate to you the consequence. *MENE*, which signifies *number*, intimates that the days both of your life and reign are numbered, or, that you have but a short time to live. *TEKEL*, which signifies *weight*, intimates that you have been weighed in the balance of Divine justice, and found wanting. *PHARES*, which signifies a *fragment*, intimates that your kingdom shall be divided, and given to the Medes and Persians."

Belshazzar, having heard this dreadful sentence pronounced by Daniel, could not but be struck with awe and confusion: nevertheless he fulfilled his promise, though he was the harbinger of most disastrous events, justly imputing the cause not to the prophet but his own impious courses, that had so highly excited the Divine indignation.

Babylon
taken by
Cyrus.

Soon after this both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, (a), king of Persia, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Belshazzar, who is said to have been the last king of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. Darius was sixty-two years of age at the subversion of the Babylonish empire, with the assistance of Cyrus, his kinsman, which Cyrus was the son of Astyages, though known among the Greeks by another name. He caused the prophet Daniel to accompany him to Media, where he treated him with singular tokens of esteem, and appointed him one of the three chief governors, that had three hundred and sixty more under them, according to the original institution of Darius. Indeed, the king of Media entertained so high an opinion of the ability and integrity of Daniel, that he consulted him upon all occasions as an oracle, nor would resolve upon any matter of importance without his advice.

Daniel
highly es-
teemed,
and pro-
fessed by
Darius.

His exalta-
tion excites
the envy of
the great,
Dan. 6.

But it was with Daniel as with the favorites of princes in general; the confidence and smiles of the king his master excited the envy of the courtiers around him. Daniel, however, was so well aware of their design, that he kept so strict a watch over his words and actions as to elude their keenest efforts. As he was above the love of money, he despised bribery, and even disdained to accept a gratuity for services performed. His enemies, however, contrived a plot to ensnare him in the following manner.

The gran-
diosity of
his service.

Observing that Daniel exercised prayers three times a day, they applied, in the name of his council and state officers, and with their advice and request, to

the king, intreating him to issue an edict, that whoever should presume to prefer any petition either to God or man for the space of thirty days, should be cast into the lions' den. The king being so short-sighted as not to see through the malevolence of this device, which, on due reflection, must have appeared to strike at the life of Daniel, consented to the request, promised a confirmation of it, and ordered the publication of the edict, as the act of himself and council. The penalty annexed to the transgression of the edict was so severe, that the people, in general, were terrified into compliance with it. But Daniel still persisted in his usual course of paying his adorations to the Almighty three times every day in the public view of the world, wholly regardless of the tenour of the edict. This pious resolution furnished his enemies with the opportunity of a pretence for accusation, of which they immediately availed themselves. They waited on the king, and gave him to understand, that Daniel was the only man who, in direct contempt of his royal proclamation, and contrary to the tenour and letter of the edict, had prayed to his God, and that not from a principle of piety, but a spirit of obstinacy, and defiance of his authority. Such was the inveteracy of their hatred, and such their apprehension that the king's personal regard for him would induce him to pass over the offence, that they solicited with an importunity, and urged him with clamour not to be resisted, for justice on the delinquent, and that, according to law, he might be cast into the lions' den.

Darius was compelled to yield to their pressing importunities; but gave Daniel to understand his hope and trust that a Divine miracle would be wrought to rescue so good a man from impending destruction. Daniel, in fine, was cast into the den; and a great stone was laid at the mouth, upon which the king put his own signet, and retired pensive to his palace. He passed that night without eating or sleeping; for the anxiety of his mind for the fate of Daniel would not suffer him to enjoy the comforts and refreshments of life. At the earliest morn he went to the den, where he found every thing as left the preceding day, and the royal signet untouched. He called upon Daniel by name, to satisfy himself respecting his fate. Daniel no sooner heard his voice than he exclaimed, "O king, live for ever!" At which instant the king ordered him to be taken out.

Daniel cast
into the
lions' den
for disobey-
ing the
king's com-
mand.

Miracu-
lously pre-
served.

But his enemies would not admit that his safety was the effect of a providential interposition, and attributed it solely to the lions be glutted with food. The king was so incensed at this instance of their rancour, that he commanded the lions to be sated with prey, and Daniel's accusers cast in amongst them; pertinently observing, that, as the same causes, on natural principles, would produce the same effects, the supernatural interference would appear, if they shared an expected, nay, a deserved fate. The lions instantly seized and tore them to pieces; so that they perished as victims to Divine as well as human justice.

His accusers
cast into the
den, and de-
stroyed in-
stantly.

Darius having thus executed justice on the enemies of Daniel, published a decree throughout his empire, commanding his people to acknowledge the God of Daniel to be the only true and Almighty God, and, at the same time, heaped honours upon the prophet, in preference to all his friends and favorites. Having, by his piety and moderation, procured an universal esteem, Daniel erected a stately fabric at Ecbatan, the capital of Media, a work as eminent for the strength as the beauty of its structure. This elegant building is still to be seen, and appears as firm as if it had not sustained the least impair from the shock of time. It is famous for being the royal monument of the kings of the Medes, Persians, and Parthians, to which use it is still applied; and the spot is committed to the custody of a Jewish priest to this day.

Darius pub-
licly ac-
knowledges
the true
God.

Daniel
builds a
tower at
Ecbatan.

(a) The manner in which this was done is related by Xenophon as follows: "That two deserters, named Gadatas and Gobryas, having assisted some of the Persian army to kill the guards, and seize upon the palace, they entered into the room where the king was, whom they found standing up in a posture of defence; but that they soon disarmed him, whereby

was fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah; "I will make drunk her princes and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men; and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not awake, saith the king whose name is the Lord of Hosts. See Jeremiah li. 57.

Highly fa-
voured of
God and
man.

There are other circumstances in the history of Daniel, which, from their extraordinary nature, are well worthy of observation. He was endowed with a singular gift of prophecy; acquired the highest degree of reputation, both with prince and people; and, at his death, left behind him a character that reflects immortal honour on his memory. We find, by his writings, that are still extant, and in daily use and reading, that he was highly favoured of God, who was pleased to reveal to him, not only the sum and substance of things to come, in common with other prophets, but the precise time of their accomplishment. And whereas other prophets, in general, foreboded calamitous events, and consequently incurred the odium of princes and people, it was his peculiar honour and happiness to conciliate their esteem, by being the harbinger of welcome tidings. The accuracy and veracity of his predictions will be abundantly evident to such as may be disposed to peruse his writings with candour, in proof of which we cite the following passage.

Vision of
the ram and
goat.
Daniel viii.

"It happened (says he) as I was taking the air with some of my companions at Susa, the metropolis of Persia, that we were suddenly surprized with an earthquake. My friends, in a fit of terror, deserted me. As I lay upon the ground, struck with horror and consternation at so awful an event, I perceived the touch, and heard the voice of a person, bidding me rise, and give due attention, as the revolutions that would befall my countrymen in future ages, would not to me be communicated. When I arose I saw a large ram, with several horns, and the last was higher than the rest. Turning my face towards the west, I saw a goat that passed through the air, encountered the ram, struck him down twice, and trampled him under his feet. After this there arose a large horn out of the forehead of the goat, and when that came to be broken, there sprang up four more, pointing towards the four quarters of the heavens." He also writes, "That, from one of them came forth a little horn, which, upon growing up, should wage war with the nation of the Jews, and destroy Jerusalem itself, suppress the ceremonies of the temple, and all sacrifices, for the space of 1296 days.

This was the vision which Daniel writes he saw at Susa, that was first shewn by a Divine revelation, and then interpreted after the following manner:

(a) St. Paul confuted many of the Epicurean doctrines when he was at Athens.

"No Providence th' sceptic will allow:

"Then let the ingrateful mortal tell me how

"By the ram was signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians. By the horns the kings who were to succeed to the government of those kingdoms. By the last horn the transcendency of the last king over all his predecessors, in riches and power. By the goat was signified some king of Greece, who should twice overthrow the Persians, and subdue their empire. By the great horn on the forehead of the goat was meant the first of their kings; and by the budding out of four horns more, pointing to the four winds, was to be understood the successors to those kings, and the partition of their dominions after the death of the first, though strangers to the blood; but that nevertheless they should reign for several years. And that in process of time, from among them should arise a king, who should make war upon the Jewish nation, suppress their laws, raze the temple, and put a stop to the exercise of Divine worship for the space of three years." This prophecy was fulfilled under Antiochus Epiphanes.

In the same manner this prophet foretold the desolation of our people by the victorious arms of the Roman empire. All these presages he received from Divine revelation, and transmitted them in writing to posterity, as a testimony upon record, of the exact correspondence of the prediction and the event.

These particulars may serve to establish a veneration for the writings of a man whom God was pleased to honour in so particular a manner. They likewise tend to refute the erroneous opinions of the Epicureans, who deny the superintendency of an overruling Providence, and assert the doctrines of chance and necessity, and that the whole sublunary system is the effect of contingencies, without any primary cause, not subject to the influence of any guide or director. (a) Upon this principle the world would resemble a ship tossed at the mercy of the winds and waves, without a pilot; or a chariot, without a driver, overthrown, through the fury of horses uncurbed, on crags or precipices. So that from the predictions of Daniel before mentioned, I think the ignorance and stupidity of those men will be evident, who dispute the superintendence of a Divine Providence, and assert the absurd doctrine of chance and fatality. To such opinions it will suffice to oppose the most authentic testimonies of the exact correspondence between presages and events, which could never have taken place without the intervention of a supernatural power.

"His tender infancy protection found,
"And how his childhood was with manhood crown'd;
"How from his youth he came to manly years,
"Through many dangers which he sees and fears?"

End of the TENTH BOOK.



ELAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK XI.

[Including a Period of Two Hundred and Ten Years.]

CHAP. I.

Restoration of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity by means of Cyrus, who, by his bountiful influence, promotes the rebuilding of the city and temple of Jerusalem.

Chron. 36. Ezra i.
IN the first year of the reign of Cyrus, king of the Persians, and the seventieth of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, the Almighty was pleased to commiserate their calamity, and, as he had foretold them, by Jeremiah, the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that, after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity for seventy years, they should be restored to their own country, see the temple rebuilt, and resume their former state of glory, so he vouchsafed to fulfill his promise in every instance. This was effected through the means of king Cyrus, who sent circular letters throughout all Asia to this purport.

Yrus. by Delama. 20. acknowledges God of Jews.
“Thus saith Cyrus, the king, I do fully believe that the Great God, of whose gift and bounty I hold my empire, is the very God whom the children of Israel worship; for I find honourable mention made of my name by his prophets of ancient date, as a person who, in time to come, should rebuild Jerusalem, and reinstate the people.”

Zealous rebuild. the temple of Jerusalem. xlii.
Cyrus, it seems, had read the prophecies of Isaiah, which bore date two hundred and ten years before he was born, wherein the prophet relates a revelation he had from the Almighty, “That he would raise up one Cyrus to be a king of many and powerful nations, who should re-establish the Hebrews in their native country.” This was foretold by Isaiah an hundred and forty years before the temple was destroyed. The king was so transported upon the reading of these divine predictions concerning himself, that he became earnestly desirous of promoting their accomplishment.

To this end he summoned all the leading men of

the Jews to Babylon, and informed them that such of them as were disposed to return to their country, should have passports and permission to rebuild the temple and city of Jerusalem, not doubting but that the Almighty would be propitious to the design. He promised that he would send orders to all his governors and officers, bordering upon Judæa, to furnish them with gold and silver for the fabric, and beasts for sacrifices.

Sends the Jews back to Jerusalem.

Encouraged by so generous a proposal, the most eminent of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with the priests and Levites, immediately hastened to Jerusalem. Many of them, however, remained in Babylon, unwilling to quit their possessions. Upon their arrival in Jerusalem, all the king's officers contributed largely towards the promotion of the great works; some in gold, others in silver, and others in cattle. Many attended the discharge of their vows, and the solemnity of oblations, as if they had already entered upon the business of rebuilding the city, and the exercise of their ancient discipline. Cyrus also sent back the holy vessels and utensils that Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple. These were delivered in charge to Mithridates, the king's treasurer, and by him deposited with Abassa, till the temple should be finished, when they were to be restored to the priests and rulers of the people for solemn uses and services. Cyrus then sent an epistle to the governors of Syria, couched in terms to the following import;

General contribution to support the work.

The sacred vessels sent back to Jerusalem.

Cyrus, the king, to Syfina, and Sarabasan, sendeth greeting.

“Be it known unto you that I have given leave to all the Jews, that are in my dominions, to return into their own country, and there to rebuild their capital city, with the holy temple at Jerusalem, in the same place where it stood before. I have likewise sent my treasurer, Mithridates, and Zerubabel, governor of Judæa, to superintend the building, and see it raised sixty cubits and upwards from the ground, and as many over; the walls to be three rows of polished stone, and one of the wood of the country, together with an altar

Epistle of Cyrus for rebuilding the city and temple of Jerusalem.

“for

"for sacrifices; and all this to be done at my sole charge. I have also appointed my treasurer, Mithridates, and Zerubbabel, my governor of Judæa, to cause all the utensils and vessels that Nebuchadnezzar carried away from the temple at Jerusalem, to be sent back and restored. Their number is as follows: fifteen golden ewers, and four hundred silver; fifty golden vessels, and four hundred silver; thirty golden chalices, and three hundred silver; thirty golden phials, and two thousand four hundred silver; with a thousand other large vessels, of divers forms, and for divers uses. It is my farther pleasure that they receive entirely to themselves all the profits and revenues that were formerly enjoyed by their predecessors; and that they have an allowance paid them of two hundred and five thousand five hundred drachmas, in consideration of beasts for sacrifice, wine, and oil; and two thousand five hundred measures of wheat, in lieu of fine flour; and all this to be raised upon the tribute of Samaria. The priests alone to offer up the sacrifices, according to the laws and ceremonies of Moses, and to pray daily for the king and the royal family, and for the welfare and happiness of the Persian empire. Let no man presume to do any thing contrary to the tenour of this my royal will and proclamation, on pain of forfeiting both life and possessions."

The number of the Jews that returned from Babylon under Cyrus.

This was the substance of the king's letter; and the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, upon this invitation and encouragement, amounted to forty-two thousand, four hundred, and sixty-two.

CHAPTER II.

On the death of Cyrus, his son, Cambyfes, is solicited to countermand the order for rebuilding the city and temple of Jerusalem.

The building of the temple is obstructed by the Samaritans.

WHEN the foundations of the temple were laying, and the Jews (a) were wholly bent on the advancement of the undertaking, the bordering nations, and especially the Chuthites, whom Salamanezer, king of Assyria, had formerly transplanted from Persia and Media into Samaria, after he had removed the Israelites into other habitations, applied to the governors, to whom the care of the undertaking was committed, importuning them most earnestly not to suffer the Jews to proceed upon the project of rebuilding the city and the temple. The commissioners were prevailed on, by the force of bribes, and fair promises, to slacken their diligence in the prosecution of their orders; and, during the course of this negligence and delay, Cyrus could not take cognizance of this, being engaged in a war with the Massagetes, in which he lost his life.

Esdra ii.

Upon the death of Cyrus, Cambyfes of course succeeded to the empire. He had an address presented him out of Syria and Phœnicia, and from the Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritans, signed by Rathymus, historiographer, Semelius, scribe, and the magistrates of Phœnicia and Syria. The tenour of it was to the following purport: "It is fit, O king, you should understand that the Jews, who were carried away to Babylon, are now returned to their former seats, and into our country, where they are busily employed in rebuilding a city that was most deservedly destroyed for seditious practices. They are setting up markets and places of commerce, repairing the walls, and raising up the temple. Know, therefore, that when these things are finished, they will neither pay taxes, or yield allegiance; for they are professed enemies to kings, and will not submit to serve, if once they have it in their power to command. We consider it as the indispensable duty of faithful subjects, to apprize you of the true state of the matter, before it is too late. We beseech you, therefore, to recur to the history of your predecessors, where you will find

(a) After the return from the captivity, the people, in general, came to be called Jews; because, though there were many Israelites among them, yet they chiefly consisted of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin: and though the edict of Cyrus gave

"the Jews, from generation to generation, to have been enemies to regal government; and that this very city was justly laid waste for the daring crime of rebellion. We beg leave to submit these matters to your royal consideration; and add, that, if you suffer them to proceed with the rebuilding of the city, and the finishing of the walls, you will find your communication cut off, with Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria."

CHAPTER III.

Cambyfes sends orders for putting a stop to the rebuilding of the city and temple. On his demise the Magi retain the government of Persia during one year, when Darius is chosen king.

CAMBYSES, who was of himself naturally averse to the Jews, stood in need of very little incentive to excite him to persecution. After reading, therefore, the remonstrance, and consulting the records of his ancestors, he gave answer to this effect:

"Cambyfes, the king, to Rathymus, historiographer, Semelius, scribe, and the rest of the inhabitants of Samaria and Phœnicia, greeting:

"Upon the reading your letter of address, I have caused the records of former times to be examined, according to your request, and have found your observations, respecting the city, consonant with truth and former experience. The Jews therein appear ever to have been a vindictive, turbulent people, naturally disposed to rebellion; and their kings, in the last extreme, vexatious and tyrannical in the imposition of taxes, as Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria, in particular, may bear witness against them. On these considerations it is my command that you exert your utmost power to prevent the rebuilding of the city and temple; for, in proportion to the increase of power amongst those people, will the spirit of sedition revive; and as they have revolted against former sovereigns, there is the greatest reason to apprehend they will as audaciously contend against the authority of the present government."

Rathymus and Semelius, having read this epistle mandatory, hastened with a considerable body of associates to Jerusalem, and pursuing the king's orders with the utmost rigour, an absolute stop was put to any further proceeding in the work of rebuilding the city and temple, so that it was discontinued for the space of nine years, that is, to the second year of Darius, king of Persia. Cambyfes, after he had reigned six years, and subdued Egypt, died at Damascus, on his return from that expedition. Upon his demise the government rested in the hands of the Magi for the term of a full year, when it was conferred, by the seven Satrapæ, or eminent families of the Persians, with common consent, to Darius, the son of Hyftaspes.

CHAPTER IV.

Darius promotes and accomplishes the work of rebuilding the city and temple, against all opposition.

KING Darius, before his exaltation to the throne of Persia, was well affected towards the Jews; and had made a solemn vow, that, if he ever attained to that dignity, he would send all the holy vessels that were in Babylon back again to the temple of Jerusalem. It happened about that time that Zerubbabel, who had been appointed governor of the captive Jews, came from Jerusalem to Darius. There subsisted between them an ancient friendship; so that he was admitted, with two other great officers, to a post of most important trust; an elevation that gratified his utmost ambition.

Darius, a short time after he had ascended the

permission to all to return when they pleased, yet the sacred writers take notice only of those who returned in a body from Babylon.

throne,

Darius makes a sumptuous feast.

throne, gave a splendid entertainment, not only to his own courtiers, but the princes and nobility of the Medes and Persians, the general officers of all India and Ethiopia, in fine, of an hundred and twenty-seven provinces. When the entertainment was over, the company retired to rest, as did also the king; but awaking after a short slumber, and finding himself indisposed for sleep, he fell into conversation on divers subjects with the officers of the presence, and told them, at length, that he had some questions to propose, and that to him who could give the most reasonable and satisfactory reply, he would grant the privilege of wearing purple, drinking out of a golden cup, riding in a chariot with a golden harness, possessing the next place to himself in the council, and be considered as one of the blood-royal. He then stated the questions as follow:

Proposes four problems for solution.

1. Is there any thing stronger than wine?
2. What can exceed the strength of kings?
3. What is superior to the power of women?
4. Can any thing surpass truth?

Having thus stated the questions, the king retired, after desiring the officers to weigh them in their minds, and give him their sentiments which amongst the four they thought the most powerful.

The next morning, having summoned the noble company to whom he had given the entertainment the preceding evening, and having seated himself in the place where he usually gave audience, he called upon the officers, severally and publicly, to report their sentiments on the questions proposed.

The strength of wine.

The first who spoke contended for the superior power of wine, and adduced the following argument: "It disturbs the understanding, reduces the greatest monarch to an equality with infancy, gives liberty to the slave, and makes the beggar equal to an emperor. It alleviates and enlivens the hearts of the miserable, relieves every want, gives confidence to the villain, and puts him above the fear of kings. It causes men to disregard their dearest friends, and assault them with as much fury as they would shew to their most deadly enemies. For these reasons I conceive the operation of wine to be most powerful."

The strength of kings.

The second officer argued in favour of the power of kings, in words to this effect: "It cannot be disputed that the Almighty has created man to be so far master over all sublunary things, as to apply them to whatever purposes his inclinations may direct. As all earthly creatures are subservient to man, so kings have authority over men themselves. The sovereigns of these lords of the creation must be allowed an indisputable superiority. Subjects willingly expose themselves to the most imminent dangers of war, and even contend with nature herself, in obedience to the command of a prince, who takes to himself the whole honour and profit of victory. The husbandman, with unremitting toil, cultivates the earth; and his first duty is to supply the king's store with the produce of his grounds. Thus, while the people are fighting and working for him, the sovereign indulges himself in all the luxuries of abundance, security, and ease. He sleeps surrounded by his guards, who dare not close their eyes while their master enjoys that repose; and no other concerns must interrupt that slavery of attendance to which they are indispensably bound. What power then can exceed that of the man to whom the public pays such implicit obedience?"

The strength of women.

After this declamation on the power of kings, Zerubbabel, the principal of the officers to whom the questions had been propounded, maintained the argument in favour of women and truth, and began with the first, as follows: "Neither the force of wine, nor the power of princes, who bind the multitude in a common bond of allegiance, can be denied: but women have incontestably the pre-eminence of these two. Before the king the mother of the king existed. Kings are the gifts of women: women also are the mothers and nurses of those by whom the vineyards are cultivated: they direct our domestic concerns, provide necessary and ornamental coverings for our bodies; and they are so absolutely necessary, that we can neither be

No. 14.

"brought into existence, or support life, without them. When a beautiful woman is before us, we disregard gold and silver, or esteem them only as being the means of obtaining possession of the beloved object. The charms of women compel us to abandon our country, relations, and dearest friends, and to attach ourselves wholly to them. When we have explored the sea and land for things most valuable and curious in nature, do we not congratulate ourselves in the opportunity of presenting our acquisitions to a beloved fair? frequently have I seen the king condescend to receive a blow from his concubine: nay, she has even taken the diadem from his head, and placed it on her own; and, dreading to give her offence, he has submitted to all her caprices, and yielded to her varying humours."

Having said thus much in favour of women to the great admiration of the noble company, Zerubbabel proceeded to the last point in question, which was that of truth. "Neither kings nor women can be put in competition with the power of truth. Admitting the amazing magnitude of the earth, the elevation of the heavens, the astonishing rapidity of the sun's motion, and that the whole is influenced only by Divine Providence, it must follow that the Almighty is just and true, against which nothing can ultimately prevail; for it supercedes every power that can enter the conception of man. Truth alone is perfect and immutable: the advantages we derive from it are not subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, but are pure, irreproachable, and eternal."

The strength of truth, and decision in its favour.

The whole company bestowed the most liberal acclamations on Zerubbabel, and universally acknowledged that he had proved truth to be the only blessing under the sun, not liable to change or diminution. The king, as a testimony of his entire satisfaction, assuring him he would perform his promise, adding, "That, in consideration of his superior understanding, he should enjoy the first place in his esteem, be next in honour to himself, and be adopted a branch of the royal family."

Zerubbabel gains the palm, is applauded by the company and honoured by the king.

Zerubbabel could not but avail himself of so fair an opportunity of reminding the king of a former vow he had made, which was, that, if ever he came to the throne, he would immediately undertake the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the holy temple, and order restitution to be made of all the sacred vessels and utensils that Nebuchadnezzar had taken from thence and carried to Babylon. He therefore thus addressed him: "Since, O king! you have done me the honour of assuring me of your royal favour and esteem, I have now only most humbly to request, that you will be pleased to discharge your vow." The king raised him cheerfully from his bended knees, embraced him, and dispatched mandates to his governors and great officers, to conduct Zerubbabel, and those that were to accompany him, to their journey's end, and to assist him in the rebuilding of the city and temple. He also sent letters, under the royal signet, to the rulers of Phœnicia and Syria, to provide carriages for transporting the cedar to Jerusalem, that was cut down in Libanus, and to give their utmost assistance to the main undertaking. He also gave them in charge to exempt the Jews, that should return out of this captivity, from the burthen of any public tax or duty, and to leave them in full liberty, both as to person and property, without restraint on the one, or tribute on the other. He likewise commanded the Edomites, Samaritans, and people of Coelo-Syria, to restore all those lands to the Jews that were formerly in their possession, and to contribute fifty talents towards erecting the temple, in such way and manner as might seem to them most expedient. Out of his own proper bounty he assigned to them whatever should be found necessary for sacerdotal habits and other articles, for the administration of every ceremony in due order and form. He likewise furnished them with organs to accompany the voices of the Levites; and allotted a certain portion of land for the maintenance of the officers and keepers both of the city and temple, by way of annual pension. In fine, he confirmed every former resolution of Cyrus concerning the restoration of the Jews, and the rebuilding the city and temple of Jerusalem.

Calls on Darius to perform his vow.

The king, by his mandates throughout his dominions, promotes the undertaking.

Further it by his own private bounty.

T t

When

Zerubbabel informs the Jews at Babylon of the liberality and bounty of Darius in their behalf.

The numbers of the tribes that went up from Babylon. 1 Esdras 5.

General assembly of the Jews at Jerusalem. They build an altar, and offer sacrifices.

When Zerubbabel had met with this gracious reception from the king, he no sooner left his presence, than he returned thanks to the God and giver of all good and perfect gifts, for that degree of understanding by which he had acquired both honour and esteem beyond the rest of his competitors, which he gratefully acknowledged to be the distinguished effects of his Divine bounty; and having concluded his thanksgiving with a prayer for the success of the undertaking, hastened to his countrymen, at Babylon, with the joyful news of their deliverance, and the liberal grants he had obtained from the king. Upon the report of these happy tidings, they immediately joined in an universal thanksgiving for the promise of restoration to their native country. After this solemnity they celebrated a festival of seven days continuance, and indicated every token of joy and transport that they could have possibly done if the day of their redemption had been even the first day of a new life.

The heads of the tribes made choice of those that were to go upon the expedition, providing horses and other beasts of burthen, as well as carriages for their wives and children, and taking with them those troops which Darius had appointed for a convoy. They passed the time of their journey cheerfully, exulting with vocal and instrumental music, and exhibiting every token of rapturous complacency. There was a select number called out from each of the tribes; but, as a particular nomination of them would not only be deemed prolix by the reader, but break in upon the order of my narrative, I shall only give an account of them in general. There were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, from twelve years old and upwards, four millions, six hundred and twenty-eight thousand. After these came four thousand and seventy Levites; and a promiscuous multitude of women and children, to the number of forty thousand, seven hundred and forty-two. Of the stock of the Levites there were an hundred and twenty-eight singers, an hundred and ten porters; and of others that served and assisted in the sanctuary, three hundred and twenty-two. There were also six hundred and fifty-two that called themselves Israelites, but could not prove extraction. There were others also who had taken wives, whose genealogy could not be traced either from the Levitical or sacerdotal records; and these were deemed unqualified for the holy function; to the number of five hundred and twenty-five. The train of servants that attended them was computed at seven thousand, three hundred and thirty-seven; singing men and women, two hundred and forty-five; camels four hundred; other beasts of carriage five hundred and twenty-five. The leader of this multitude was Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, of the tribe of Judah, and the race of David; and with him was Jesus, the son of Josedec, and Mardocheus and Serabreus, which two were chosen to the command, by the suffrages of the tribes, and contributed, at their own charge, an hundred pound of gold; and five thousand of silver, towards the expence of this expedition. This was the form and order of the procession of the priests and Levites; and that part of the people that went with them on their return from Babylon to Jerusalem, and the rest following after by degrees, till, in the end, they all went back to their own country.

In the seventh month, after their departure from Babylon, Zerubbabel, their leader, and Jesus, the high priest, sent messengers express throughout all the land, to summon a general assembly at Jerusalem. The people repaired thither with the greatest alacrity. Upon this occasion they erected an altar for sacrifice, according to the institution of Moses, and it was raised upon the same spot where it stood before. This proceeding highly offended the neighbouring nations, who had an utter aversion both to the people, their religion, and laws. They also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained. After that followed the daily oblations, and the sacrifice of the sabbaths, and of the new moons of all holy feasts. All those who had made any vow came likewise to perform it, from the first day of the seventh month.

They entered thereupon the rebuilding of the temple, and expended vast sums of money upon the artificers in general, both for materials and sustenance.

The Sidonians generously promoted the undertaking, bringing down cedar-planks in abundance from Libanus, and afterwards stowing them in boats, which they brought into the port of Joppa, as they had been first directed by Cyrus, and after him by Darius.

It was now the second month of the second year, after the return of the Jews, when the foundation of the temple being already laid, they began, on the first day of the second month, with the superstructure, committing the superintendence of it to the whole family of the Levites of twenty years of age and upwards; and likewise to Jesus, the high-priest, with his kindred; and to Zolimiel, the brother of Judea, and son of Aminadab, and to his sons. These exerted themselves with such unremitting assiduity in the discharge of their commissions, that the fabric went on beyond the most sanguine expectations.

When they were advanced thus far, the priests came and officiated in their vestments, with musical instruments; and the Levites, and sons of Asaph, sung some of the hymns of David to the glory of God, according to the first institution. But the priests and the Levites, and the elders of the families, who had seen the splendor and magnificence of the former temple, and reflected how inferior the present was in comparison with it, became disconsolate; while those who had never seen the former, and consequently could not be affected by the disproportion, contented themselves with the present state of things, and rejoiced at the arrival of so happy an event.

When the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of trumpets with a confused clamour, they flocked in great numbers to learn the cause of it, and finding it was occasioned by the return of the Jews from their captivity at Babylon, and that they were now at work upon the rebuilding of their temple, they immediately applied to Zerubbabel and Jesus, with the chief of the tribes; desiring that they might be admitted into the undertaking upon terms in common with the rest; observing that "They worshipped the same God, gloried in the same profession, and the love and practice of the same religion, from the days of Salamaneser, king of Assyria, who transplanted them out of Chuthia and Media into this land." The unanimous answer to the request was, that they could not possibly be admitted into any share of the undertaking, because formerly Cyrus, and after him Darius, had assigned the work to their particular conduct and care; but that they should have liberty, if they thought fit, to worship there without exception; and that it should be open to all people indiscriminately, who were disposed to worship the true God in the true manner.

The Chuthites (for so we call the Samaritans) were so incensed at this reply, that they incited the Syrians to remonstrate with the leading men, as they had done first under Cyrus, and then under Cambyles, in such manner as to cause a stop to be put to the undertaking, by slackening the diligence of those who were entrusted with the superintendence of it. In consequence of this proceeding, there went up, at this time, to Jerusalem, Sisinnus, governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sarabazanes, with some others, and demanded of some of the principal men by what authority this temple was to be built? And also, as it had rather the appearance of a castle than a temple, to what end the walls of the city were made so strong, and the gates so fortified. Zerubbabel and Jesus replied that they were the servants of the great God, to whose honour this temple was to be built, and to his service dedicated by the greatest, the happiest, and the wisest prince that ever set on a throne. That it stood firm for many ages, till, in the end, for the wickedness of their forefathers, the city, by Divine permission, was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and Chaldaea, the temple pillaged and laid in ashes, and the people carried away captive into Babylon. But that when Cyrus came to the government of Persia and Babylon, he commanded, by royal proclamation, the rebuilding of the temple, and restitution of all the vessels and donations that had been taken away by Nebuchadnezzar; which were delivered to Zerubbabel, and his treasurer, Mithridates, to be transported to Jerusalem, and laid up again in the temple there: that, by the command of the same king,

Great diligence used by the overseers in building the temple.

The Samaritans desire to be admitted to assist in the building of the temple.

They endeavour to obstruct the progress of the building.

The Samaritans demand of the Jews authority for their undertaking. The Jews reply.

Abaslar

Abassar was sent to that city, to endeavour to expedite the work, and accordingly was present at the laying the foundation; but that ever since that time, by one artifice or another, their enemies had found means to obstruct and retard it; and that, for the truth of these allegations, they might write to Darius, to the end, that, by consulting the public records, it might be known whether or not what they had asserted was a just representation of facts.

Sisinnes and his associates did not think it expedient to interrupt the proceeding without the knowledge of Darius himself, and therefore agreed to write to him immediately upon the subject. The Jews hereupon were very apprehensive that the king, upon this application, would countermand the order he had given; till Aggæus (a) (Haggai) and Zachariah, two prophets, among them at that time, bade them be of good cheer, and fear nothing from the Persians; for they were certainly informed of the Divine will and pleasure touching that important affair. The people were soled by the encouragement given them by the prophets, that they doubled their diligence, and wrought without the intermission of a single day.

When the Samaritans had written a letter of remonstrance to Darius, objecting to the fortifying of the city, and the erecting of a strong place, that had more the appearance of a citadel than a temple, and produced the epistle of Cambyſes, by which he had forbidden and obstructed it before, as a practice neither profitable nor safe for the public, he gave immediate orders, on the receipt of the letter, that the records should be searched, which being done, a decree was found to the following purport:

"In the first year of the reign of king Cyrus, it was ordained that the temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, the height of it to be sixty cubits, and the breadth of the same measure, and that an altar should be constructed within the edifice: that the walls should be formed by three ranges of polished marble, and one range of wood, the produce of the country; and the charge of it defrayed out of the king's treasury: that the sacred vessels, taken into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, be restored, and placed in such parts of the temple as they were formerly accustomed to be: that the superintendance of the work should be committed to Abassar, governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and his officers; with orders not appear at Jerusalem themselves, but to quit the place, and leave the building of the temple to the Jews, and the chief of their tribes: that they supply them out of the taxes upon the province, and furnish them, for their sacrifices, with oxen, lambs, kids, meal, wine, and whatever else the priests should desire, who were to put their prayers to the Almighty for the welfare and happiness of the king and his people: that whosoever should presume to act contrary to this mandate, be forthwith taken and hanged up, and his goods confiscated to the king's use."

On the discovery of this record, Darius ordered a copy of it to be immediately taken; which being done, he wrote to Sisinnes and his colleagues to this effect:

"King Darius to Sisinnes, governor, Sarabazanes, and the other magistrates, greeting.

"I hereby transmit you a copy of a letter extracted from the records of Cyrus, and it is my royal will and command that you strictly adhere to the directions contained therein."

Sisinnes and his colleagues, understanding the king's resolution, agreed to obey his commands in

(a) Concerning these prophets we refer the reader to those books in the Bible which bear their respective names. They are both thought to have been born at Babylon during the captivity, and both, with united zeal, encouraged the people to go on with the work of the temple. On the accession of Darius to the throne, Haggai, in particular, by reproaching the people for their indolence and insensibility, by telling them that they were careful enough to lodge themselves very commodiously, while the house of the Lord lay buried in its ruins, and by put-

every particular point; so that undertaking to assist the Jews, according to the tenor of the mandate, the business was carried on with such unanimity and assiduity, that the building was erected and finished within the space of seven years, according to the prophecies of Haggai and Zachariah, and at the command of kings Cyrus and Darius. In the ninth year of Darius, and the twenty-third day of the eleventh month, which we call Adar, and the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and Levites, together with the people of Israel, offered, in sacrifice, an hundred bulls, two hundred rams, five hundred lambs, and twelve goats, as sin-offerings for the twelve tribes, in acknowledgment for the blessing of their deliverance from captivity, and their restoration to their former state, and to God's holy worship in a new temple. The priests and Levites had their porters at every gate according to the law, the Jews having erected galleries round about the temple.

The feasts of unleavened bread was near approaching, and in the first month (by the Macedonians called Xanthicus, and by us Nisan) the people assembled from every quarter in the city, where they celebrated that festival with their wives and children, according to the law of their country, and the practice of their forefathers, with all possible solemnity. Upon the fourteenth day of the first month they held the passover, and kept festival for seven days afterwards, offering up sacrifices to God for restoring them to the possession and enjoyment of their native country, and their ancient laws and religion, and for disposing the heart of the king of Persia so favourably towards them. They spared no cost in the celebration of this festival; and having resumed their former power in Jerusalem, adopted an aristocratical form of government; for the sovereign power was lodged in the high-priest, till the Asmodean family, upon a change of affairs, converted it into a monarchy. Before the captivity, for the space of five hundred and thirty-two years, six months and ten days, from the time of Saul and David, they were governed by kings: before that, the administration of their political concerns was in the hands of rulers, called judges, and that form of government continued upwards of five hundred years after the time of Moses and Joshua. This was the state of the Jews on the restoration under Cyrus and Darius.

But the Samaritans, who were still most implacable enemies to the Jews, valuing themselves on the alliance they claimed to the Persians, and being a powerful and rich people, as well as of an haughty and malignant disposition, proved exceedingly vexatious, and exerted their utmost endeavours to annoy and perplex them. By the decree of Cyrus, which was confirmed by that of Darius, the tribute of Samaria had been assigned to the purpose of rebuilding the temple; but the work being now finished, the Samaritans pretended that the end of this assignment was ceased, and therefore refused making any contributions towards defraying the expences of the usual sacrifices.

The dissensions continuing, the senate and people of Jerusalem drew up a memorial of complaint, and deputed Zerubbabel, with four of his colleagues, to present it to Darius. The king of Persia, having duly attended to the subject matter of the memorial, returned them an answer, by the deputies, to the following effect:

"King Darius to Tangar and Sambaba, our governors in Samaria, Sadrack Bobelin, and the rest of the inhabitants, greeting.

"Whereas I am given to understand by Zerubbabel, Ananias, and Mardocheus, on the part of the Jews, that you stand accused of discouraging and

ting them in mind that the calamities of drought and famine (wherewith God had afflicted them since their return from their captivity) were owing to their neglect in not repairing the temple, he prevailed with them to set about the work in good earnest; so that, by virtue of these reproofs, and the encouragement they received from Darius after his accession to the throne of Persia, they brought the whole to a conclusion in a much shorter time than, in all probability, they would have otherwise done.

"interrupting

The temple is finished.

Dedicated. Esdras 7.

The Jews celebrate the passover, and hold a festival for seven days.

An aristocracy established among the Jews.

The Samaritans still inimical to the Jews.

An embassy from the Jews to king Darius.

Darius espouses their cause.

"interrupting and rebuilding of the temple, and refusing to bear your part in the charge of the sacrifices, which, by my command, you ought to have done: this is to will and require you, upon sight of this letter, forthwith to supply them out of my treasury, in Samaria, with whatever they shall want for the use of their sacrifices and worship, to the end that they may offer up daily prayers and oblations both for myself and for my people."

Death of Darius.

This letter put an effectual end to all contests between the Jews and Samaritans, the latter paying the tribute demanded for the service of the temple without farther opposition; and this is the last good office that Darius did the Jews, as he died soon after, universally lamented by his subjects.

CHAP. V.

Called in scripture Artaxerxes.

Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, is well disposed towards the Jews. Transactions and death of Esdras and Nehemiah.

Xerxes succeeds his father Darius on the throne of Persia.

ON the death of Darius, Xerxes, his son, succeeded to the government: a prince who inherited his father's piety and virtue, and confirmed all that his predecessors had done in favour of the Jews and their religion, being firmly attached to both.

Esdras intends to go to Jerusalem

Joachim, the son of Jehu, was at this time high-priest. But the name of the high-priest of the Jews, who resided at Babylon, was Esdras, a man of most exemplary piety and justice, and universally beloved and respected by the people. He was so well versed in the Mosaic law, as to stand high in the king's esteem on that account. Upon a resolution formed to go to Jerusalem, and take with him several of the Babylonian Jews, he desired such a letter from the king as might recommend him to the governors and lieutenants of Syria, which he accordingly obtained. It was couched in terms to the following effect:

Esdras 7. Obtains the sanction of Xerxes.

"Xerxes, the king, to Esdras, the priest, and reader of the holy laws of God, greeting:

"Whereas it is decreed by me, and my seven counsellors, that whatever Israelites within my dominions, with their priests and Levites, shall think fit to bear you company to Jerusalem, I have, out of my royal clemency, granted them free liberty to go to Judæa to worship, according to the laws of their country; and likewise to take along with them all the gold and silver, that your people throughout Babylon shall willingly contribute towards that service, for the purchase of sacrifices to offer upon the altar to your God, and for making such vessels of gold and silver, as you and your brethren shall judge meet. It is also my royal will and pleasure, that what is thus given you be dedicated to your God. If you should have occasion for any thing else, use your own discretion, and supply yourself out of the public treasure. To this end I have already written to the commissioners of Syria and Phœnicia, expressly commanding them to furnish whatever Esdras, the priest, and reader of the laws of God, shall desire, without any delay. In order to obtain the Divine blessing on myself and family, I desire to have an hundred measures of wheat dedicated to sacred services, according to the provision of the law. And I do strictly charge and require of the magistrates, that they exact nothing from the priests, Levites, holy singers, or others, attendants on the temple, nor lay any burthens upon them. And I do hereby give you, Esdras, full authority, according to the wisdom you have received from above, to constitute judges to execute justice to all the people throughout Syria and Phœnicia, who understand the law, and are conscientious in the discharge of their duty. At the same time do you instruct the ignorant, to the end that all transgressors against the laws of God may be punished according to their demerit; some with pecuniary fines, and others with death, according to the nature of the crimes, as upon due examination may appear. Farewell."

Upon the receipt of this letter, Esdras acknowledged the Divine goodness, ascribing to the inter-

position of Providence all the benefits conferred on the Jews through the instrumentality of the king. The people were summoned to a general meeting on this occasion at Babylon, where the letter was read, and a copy of it transcribed, and sent away to be communicated to all the Jews in Media; but Esdras reserved the original. When the Jews understood the piety of Xerxes towards God, and his affection for Esdras in particular, and their nation in general, they not only expressed infinite satisfaction, but hastened in great numbers with their effects to Babylon, with full purpose of returning to Jerusalem. But there was another sort of Israelites, who, being accustomed to the place, and settled in their habitations, chose rather to continue where they were. This is the reason wherefore there are but two tribes to be found in Asia and Europe under the Roman emperor. As to the other ten tribes, they are all planted beyond the Euphrates, and so prodigiously increased in number, as to be almost beyond computation.

The publication of this recommendatory testimonial brought over vast numbers of people to Esdras; not only priests and Levites, but temple-porters, singers, and other attendants appertaining thereunto. He appointed a rendezvous for such as were disposed to return from captivity into their own country at the Euphrates, where, after a three days fast, and offering up solemn vows and prayers for a prosperous voyage (Esdras having declined the guard of soldiers offered him from a reliance on the Divine protection) they began their journey on the twelfth day of the first month, in the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and arrived at Jerusalem in the fifth month of the same year, when Esdras immediately delivered out the money he brought to the priests who had the custody of the holy treasure. It amounted to six hundred and fifty talents of silver, an hundred talents of silver vessels, twenty talents of vessels of gold, and twelve talents of fine brass, that was deemed more precious than gold itself. These were the presents of the king and his counsellors, and of the Israelites that continued in Babylon.

When Esdras had acquitted himself of his trust, he offered up burnt-offerings, according to the laws; twelve bulls for the whole people of Israel, seventy-two sheep and lambs, and twelve goats for a sin-offering. He communicated also the king's letter to the governors of Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria, who held the Israelites in great honour, and readily supplied all their wants, when they found they could not dispense with the king's injunction. These matters were accomplished under the conduct of Esdras, who, doubtless, obtained the Divine favour and protection for his exemplary piety and virtue.

Soon after these happy events, a charge was exhibited to Esdras, that some of the priests and Levites had deviated from the law, and, of course, from their duty, in marrying into foreign families, and thereby polluting the sacerdotal race. Application was made to him at the same time, to support and assert the laws, lest the Divine vengeance should fall upon the whole body of the people for the iniquity of a few. Esdras, upon this complaint, rent his clothes, tore the hair from his head, and cast himself on the ground, despairing of effecting a reform, as the principal men were concerned in this abomination, and it would be in vain for him to lay an injunction on them to part with their wives and children.

Those who retained any sense of piety and humanity, both condoled with him and participated in his afflictions. In this state of despondency he fervently addressed the Almighty, expressing "His shame to look towards heaven, because of the sins that the people had committed, while they had forgotten what their forefathers had undergone on account of their wickedness." He besought "God, who had saved a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and restored them again to Jerusalem, and to their own land, and had disposed the hearts of the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them the sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet he might mercifully condescend to remit the punishment due to them."

After

Jechonias
counfels
Eldras.

His advice
is followed.

The captive
Jews con-
victed, and
admitted by
Eldras.

Eldras 9.
The people
are prevail-
ed on to put
away their
strange
wives.

The laws of
Moses read
to the mul-
titude.
Nehem. 8.

After Eldras thus expressed his grief for the transgression of his countrymen, and implored the Divine mercy and forgiveness, in the hearing of a promiscuous multitude, there came to him one Jechonias, a leading man in Jerusalem, with a public confession of the crime alledged against them, advising him, at the same time, to adjure all those who had married strange women, contrary to the law, to cast them out, together with their children, upon pain of the severest punishment, on refusal of submission. Eldras approved the counsel; and exacted an oath from the chief of the priests and Levites, and all the principal men of Israel, that they would put away their strange wives, with their children, according to the counsel of Jechonias. When this was over, he went from the temple to the chamber of Joanan, the son of Eliafhib, where he spent the whole day, without taking any sustenance, through an excess of grief and agitation of mind.

He next issued a proclamation, by which all those who were returned from captivity, were enjoined to meet at Jerusalem in the course of two or three days, on the penalty of excommunication, and confiscation to the holy treasury, in case of failure, either through neglect or contempt. Within three days the tribes of Judah and Benjamin assembled, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, called, by the Hebrews, Thebeth, and, by the Macedonians, Apellœus. When they had placed themselves in the upper part of the temple, the elders being present, Eldras arose, and told them, that, "Whereas they were guilty of an heinous crime, by marrying with strangers, in contempt of the express law of their country; there were no other means of obtaining the Divine forgiveness, and security from the Divine vengeance, than by putting away the strange women with whom they had so intermarried." They unanimously signified compliance with the requisition; but observed, that as their number was great, and the season rigorous, a matter of such importance would require mature deliberation. Upon this suggestion it was proposed, that a commission of enquiry might be issued out to a select number of leading men, who were innocent of the charge in question. The motion passed without a dissentient voice; and, upon the first day of the tenth month, they entered upon the inquiry, which fully employed them till the first day of the month following. Upon the scrutiny, they found numbers of the kindred of Jesus, the high-priest, as well as of other priests and Levites, and the rest of the Israelites, who, having a greater regard to the observance of the law than even to natural affection, immediately put away their wives, and the children born of them. After the solemnity of this abdication, they offered up rams, according to custom, for peace-offerings; so that it is deemed unnecessary to specify either their characters or names. Eldras, upon the whole, produced a general reformation; and established a precedent as an universal rule of conduct for future generations.

At the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, in the seventh month, when a great multitude of the Israelites were assembled in that part of the temple which looks towards the east, Eldras, at their request, read aloud to them the laws of Moses, repeating the same from morning to noon. This public reading tended much to the edification of the hearers, as they were not only thereby taught a line of conduct for present and future observance, but their reflection was directed to the calamities their forefathers had suffered for the violation of those very laws, to which their obedience would have secured to them permanent peace and happiness. Eldras, perceiving them melt into tears at this affecting consideration, advised them to refrain from inordinate sorrows, as incompatible with the present festive occasion, on which they should indulge themselves in innocent mirth; while they retained in their minds such sense of past misdemeanours as to prevent a future relapse. The people, encouraged by his candid and friendly advice, celebrated the feast with cheerful conviviality, and then returned to their own habitations; but not till they had paid most grateful acknowledgments to Eldras for the important reformation he had wrought in a point so essential to the laws and religion of their country. Having obtained an universal esteem by

No. 15.

this meritorious service, he lived with honour, and died full of years, and much regretted, at Jerusalem, where he was interred with a solemnity suitable to his sacred character. Joachim, the high-priest, died also about the same time, and was succeeded by his son Eliafhib.

Death of Eldras, and of Joachim, the high-priest.

There was amongst the Jewish captives a certain person whose name was Nehemiah. This person, who was cup-bearer to Xerxes, walking one day near Susa, the metropolis of Persia, overheard some travellers, that were entering the city after a long journey, conversing in the Hebrew language. This excited him to enquire whence they came. Upon their replying from Judæa, he put several questions to them respecting the state of the people and city of Jerusalem; when they gave for answer, that things, in general, were in a bad state, as their walls had been demolished; and the Jews had sustained the greatest injuries from the neighbouring nations, which annoyed them day and night, overrunning and laying waste their country, in so much that great numbers were led captive out of Jerusalem itself, and the roads in the day time were found strewn with dead bodies. Nehemiah burst into tears of commiseration for the calamities of his countrymen, and, in a suppliant posture, humbly enquired of the Almighty, "How long he would be pleased to disregard the miseries of the Hebrew nation, and suffer them to be made the prey and spoil of all men."

Nehemiah's concern for his country.

While he was thus deploring the wretched state of his country, word was brought him, that the king was about to sit down to supper; upon which he hastened, in much disorder and confusion, to attend the duties of his office as cup-bearer. The king, being more cheerful than common after supper, cast an eye upon Nehemiah, and observing his countenance dejected, demanded the cause. Having put up an ejaculatory prayer to heaven to give an energy to his words, he replied to this effect:

His lamentations for their miseries.

"How is it possible for me, O king, to appear otherwise than dejected, when the place of my nativity is laid waste; Jerusalem reduced to an heap of rubbish, the gates burnt, the tombs and monuments of my ancestors broken up, and the ashes of the venerable dead sacrilegiously profaned. Deign thou, O king, to grant the boon I humbly prefer, that I may have your royal permission to repair to Jerusalem to assist in the rebuilding of the walls, and in the remaining work of finishing the temple."

Petition to the king to go to Jerusalem.

The king granted his petition; and having promised him letters recommendatory to the governors of the several provinces through which he was to pass, with orders to treat him with due respect, and supply him with every necessary he might require, dismissed him with an injunction to cast off his melancholy, and proceed in the discharge of the duties of his office with his usual cheerfulness. Nehemiah, upon this gracious reception and assurance, resumed himself, and acknowledged the blessing of Providence, that had so remarkably interposed in his favour.

On the following day the king sent for him, and gave him letters of credit and recommendation to Sadæus, governor of Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria, with instructions to receive and assist him according to promise. He went first to Babylon, and from thence, with as many of his countrymen as voluntarily offered to bear him company, proceeded to Jerusalem, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes; and having first exhibited his credentials to the inspection of his private friends, he delivered them to Sadæus and his colleagues, according to the superscription. He then summoned a general assembly up to Jerusalem, and addressed them in the temple to the following purpose:

Nehemiah arrives at Jerusalem, and calls an assembly of the people.

"Ye must see and know, O men of Judea, that we ourselves are, at this day, under the superintending providence of the same Almighty and merciful Being, who brought about so many wonderful events, from a gracious regard to the piety and virtue of our forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. I am now to declare to you, that it is through favour of that Being that I have obtained permission of the king to enter on the rebuilding of your walls, and the finishing of the work of the temple."

Addresses them upon the important occasion

Darius espouses their cause.

"interrupting and rebuilding of the temple, and refusing to bear your part in the charge of the sacrifices, which, by my command, you ought to have done: this is to will and require you, upon sight of this letter, forthwith to supply them out of my treasury, in Samaria, with whatever they shall want for the use of their sacrifices and worship, to the end that they may offer up daily prayers and oblations both for myself and for my people."

Death of Darius.

This letter put an effectual end to all contests between the Jews and Samaritans, the latter paying the tribute demanded for the service of the temple without farther opposition; and this is the last good office that Darius did the Jews, as he died soon after, universally lamented by his subjects.

CHAP. V.

Called in scripture Artaxerxes.

Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, is well disposed towards the Jews. Transactions and death of Esdras and Nehemiah.

Xerxes succeeds his father Darius on the throne of Persia.

ON the death of Darius, Xerxes, his son, succeeded to the government: a prince who inherited his father's piety and virtue, and confirmed all that his predecessors had done in favour of the Jews and their religion, being firmly attached to both.

Esdras intends to go to Jerusalem

Joachim, the son of Jehu, was at this time high-priest. But the name of the high-priest of the Jews, who resided at Babylon, was Esdras, a man of most exemplary piety and justice, and universally beloved and respected by the people. He was so well versed in the Mosaic law, as to stand high in the king's esteem on that account. Upon a resolution formed to go to Jerusalem, and take with him several of the Babylonian Jews, he desired such a letter from the king as might recommend him to the governors and lieutenants of Syria, which he accordingly obtained. It was couched in terms to the following effect:

Esdras 7. Obtains the sanction of Xerxes.

"Xerxes, the king, to Esdras, the priest, and reader of the holy laws of God, greeting:

"Whereas it is decreed by me, and my seven counsellors, that whatever Israelites within my dominions, with their priests and Levites, shall think fit to bear you company to Jerusalem, I have, out of my royal clemency, granted them free liberty to go to Judæa to worship, according to the laws of their country; and likewise to take along with them all the gold and silver, that your people throughout Babylon shall willingly contribute towards that service, for the purchase of sacrifices to offer upon the altar to your God, and for making such vessels of gold and silver, as you and your brethren shall judge meet. It is also my royal will and pleasure, that what is thus given you be dedicated to your God. If you should have occasion for any thing else, use your own discretion, and supply yourself out of the public treasure. To this end I have already written to the commissioners of Syria and Phœnicia, expressly commanding them to furnish whatever Esdras, the priest, and reader of the laws of God, shall desire, without any delay. In order to obtain the Divine blessing on myself and family, I desire to have an hundred measures of wheat dedicated to sacred services, according to the provision of the law. And I do strictly charge and require of the magistrates, that they exact nothing from the priests, Levites, holy singers, or others, attendants on the temple, nor lay any burthens upon them. And I do hereby give you, Esdras, full authority, according to the wisdom you have received from above, to constitute judges to execute justice to all the people throughout Syria and Phœnicia, who understand the law, and are conscientious in the discharge of their duty. At the same time do you instruct the ignorant, to the end that all transgressors against the laws of God may be punished according to their demerit; some with pecuniary fines, and others with death, according to the nature of the crimes, as upon due examination may appear. Farewell."

Upon the receipt of this letter, Esdras acknowledged the Divine goodness, ascribing to the inter-

position of Providence all the benefits conferred on the Jews through the instrumentality of the king. The people were summoned to a general meeting on this occasion at Babylon, where the letter was read, and a copy of it transcribed, and sent away to be communicated to all the Jews in Media; but Esdras reserved the original. When the Jews understood the piety of Xerxes towards God, and his affection for Esdras in particular, and their nation in general, they not only expressed infinite satisfaction, but hastened in great numbers with their effects to Babylon, with full purpose of returning to Jerusalem. But there was another sort of Israelites, who, being accustomed to the place, and settled in their habitations, chose rather to continue where they were. This is the reason wherefore there are but two tribes to be found in Asia and Europe under the Roman emperor. As to the other ten tribes, they are all planted beyond the Euphrates, and so prodigiously increased in number, as to be almost beyond computation.

The publication of this recommendatory testimonial brought over vast numbers of people to Esdras; not only priests and Levites, but temple-porters, singers, and other attendants appertaining thereunto. He appointed a rendezvous for such as were disposed to return from captivity into their own country at the Euphrates, where, after a three days fast, and offering up solemn vows and prayers for a prosperous voyage (Esdras having declined the guard of soldiers offered him from a reliance on the Divine protection) they began their journey on the twelfth day of the first month, in the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and arrived at Jerusalem in the fifth month of the same year, when Esdras immediately delivered out the money he brought to the priests who had the custody of the holy treasure. It amounted to six hundred and fifty talents of silver, an hundred talents of silver vessels, twenty talents of vessels of gold, and twelve talents of fine brass, that was deemed more precious than gold itself. These were the presents of the king and his counsellors, and of the Israelites that continued in Babylon.

When Esdras had acquitted himself of his trust, he offered up burnt-offerings, according to the laws; twelve bulls for the whole people of Israel, seventy-two sheep and lambs, and twelve goats for a sin-offering. He communicated also the king's letter to the governors of Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria, who held the Israelites in great honour, and readily supplied all their wants, when they found they could not dispense with the king's injunction. These matters were accomplished under the conduct of Esdras, who, doubtless, obtained the Divine favour and protection for his exemplary piety and virtue.

Soon after these happy events, a charge was exhibited to Esdras, that some of the priests and Levites had deviated from the law, and, of course, from their duty, in marrying into foreign families, and thereby polluting the sacerdotal race. Application was made to him at the same time, to support and assert the laws, lest the Divine vengeance should fall upon the whole body of the people for the iniquity of a few. Esdras, upon this complaint, rent his clothes, tore the hair from his head, and cast himself on the ground, despairing of effecting a reform, as the principal men were concerned in this abomination, and it would be in vain for him to lay an injunction on them to part with their wives and children.

Those who retained any sense of piety and humanity, both condoled with him and participated in his afflictions. In this state of despondency he fervently addressed the Almighty, expressing "His shame to look towards heaven, because of the sins that the people had committed, while they had forgotten what their forefathers had undergone on account of their wickedness." He besought "God, who had saved a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and restored them again to Jerusalem, and to their own land, and had disposed the hearts of the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them the sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet he might mercifully condescend to remit the punishment due to them."

After

Jechonias
counsels
Eldras.

His advice
is followed.

The captive
Jews con-
sented, and
addressed by
Eldras.

Eldras 9.
The people
are prevail-
ed on to put
away their
strange
wives.

The laws of
Moses read
to the mul-
titude.
Nehem. 8.

After Eldras thus expressed his grief for the transgression of his countrymen, and implored the Divine mercy and forgiveness, in the hearing of a promiscuous multitude, there came to him one Jechonias, a leading man in Jerusalem, with a public confession of the crime alledged against them, advising him, at the same time, to adjure all those who had married strange women, contrary to the law, to cast them out, together with their children, upon pain of the severest punishment, on refusal of submission. Eldras approved the counsel; and exacted an oath from the chief of the priests and Levites, and all the principal men of Israel, that they would put away their strange wives, with their children, according to the counsel of Jechonias. When this was over, he went from the temple to the chamber of Joanan, the son of Eliashib, where he spent the whole day, without taking any sustenance, through an excess of grief and agitation of mind.

He next issued a proclamation, by which all those who were returned from captivity, were enjoined to meet at Jerusalem in the course of two or three days, on the penalty of excommunication, and confiscation to the holy treasury, in case of failure, either through neglect or contempt. Within three days the tribes of Judah and Benjamin assembled, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, called, by the Hebrews, Thebeth, and, by the Macedonians, Apellœus. When they had placed themselves in the upper part of the temple, the elders being present, Eldras arose, and told them, that, "Whereas they were guilty of an heinous crime, by marrying with strangers, in contempt of the express law of their country; there were no other means of obtaining the Divine forgiveness, and security from the Divine vengeance, than by putting away the strange women with whom they had so intermarried." They unanimously signified compliance with the requisition; but observed, that as their number was great, and the season rigorous, a matter of such importance would require mature deliberation. Upon this suggestion it was proposed, that a commission of enquiry might be issued out to a select number of leading men, who were innocent of the charge in question. The motion passed without a dissentient voice; and, upon the first day of the tenth month, they entered upon the inquisition, which fully employed them till the first day of the month following. Upon the scrutiny, they found numbers of the kindred of Jesus, the high-priest, as well as of other priests and Levites, and the rest of the Israelites, who, having a greater regard to the observance of the law than even to natural affection, immediately put away their wives, and the children born of them. After the solemnity of this abdication, they offered up rams, according to custom, for peace-offerings; so that it is deemed unnecessary to specify either their characters or names. Eldras, upon the whole, produced a general reformation; and established a precedent as an universal rule of conduct for future generations.

At the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, in the seventh month, when a great multitude of the Israelites were assembled in that part of the temple which looks towards the east, Eldras, at their request, read aloud to them the laws of Moses, repeating the same from morning to noon. This public reading tended much to the edification of the hearers, as they were not only thereby taught a line of conduct for present and future observance, but their reflection was directed to the calamities their forefathers had suffered for the violation of those very laws, to which their obedience would have secured to them permanent peace and happiness. Eldras, perceiving them melt into tears at this affecting consideration, advised them to refrain from inordinate sorrows, as incompatible with the present festive occasion, on which they should indulge themselves in innocent mirth; while they retained in their minds such sense of past misdemeanours as to prevent a future relapse. The people, encouraged by his candid and friendly advice, celebrated the feast with cheerful conviviality, and then returned to their own habitations; but not till they had paid most grateful acknowledgments to Eldras for the important reformation he had wrought in a point so essential to the laws and religion of their country. Having obtained an universal esteem by

No. 15.

this meritorious service, he lived with honour, and died full of years, and much regretted, at Jerusalem, where he was interred with a solemnity suitable to his sacred character. Joachim, the high-priest, died also about the same time, and was succeeded by his son Eliashib.

Death of Eldras, and of Joachim, the high-priest.

There was amongst the Jewish captives a certain person whose name was Nehemiah. This person, who was cup-bearer to Xerxes, walking one day near Susa, the metropolis of Persia, overheard some travellers, that were entering the city after a long journey, conversing in the Hebrew language. This excited him to enquire whence they came. Upon their replying from Judæa, he put several questions to them respecting the state of the people and city of Jerusalem; when they gave for answer, that things, in general, were in a bad state, as their walls had been demolished; and the Jews had sustained the greatest injuries from the neighbouring nations, which annoyed them day and night, overrunning and laying waste their country, insomuch that great numbers were led captive out of Jerusalem itself, and the roads in the day time were found strewed with dead bodies. Nehemiah burst into tears of commiseration for the calamities of his countrymen, and, in a suppliant posture, humbly enquired of the Almighty, "How long he would be pleased to disregard the miseries of the Hebrew nation, and suffer them to be made the prey and spoil of all men."

Nehemiah's concern for his country.

While he was thus deploring the wretched state of his country, word was brought him, that the king was about to sit down to supper; upon which he hastened, in much disorder and confusion, to attend the duties of his office as cup-bearer. The king, being more cheerful than common after supper, cast an eye upon Nehemiah, and observing his countenance dejected, demanded the cause. Having put up an ejaculatory prayer to heaven to give an energy to his words, he replied to this effect:

His lamentations for their miseries.

"How is it possible for me, O king, to appear otherwise than dejected, when the place of my nativity is laid waste; Jerusalem reduced to an heap of rubbish, the gates burnt, the tombs and monuments of my ancestors broken up, and the ashes of the venerable dead sacrilegiously profaned. Deign thou, O king, to grant the boon I humbly prefer, that I may have your royal permission to repair to Jerusalem to assist in the rebuilding of the walls, and in the remaining work of finishing the temple."

Petition to the king to go to Jerusalem.

The king granted his petition; and having promised him letters recommendatory to the governors of the several provinces through which he was to pass, with orders to treat him with due respect, and supply him with every necessary he might require, dismissed him with an injunction to cast off his melancholy, and proceed in the discharge of the duties of his office with his usual cheerfulness. Nehemiah, upon this gracious reception and assurance, returned himself, and acknowledged the blessing of Providence, that had so remarkably interposed in his favour.

On the following day the king sent for him, and gave him letters of credit and recommendation to Sadæus, governor of Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria, with instructions to receive and assist him according to promise. He went first to Babylon, and from thence, with as many of his countrymen as voluntarily offered to bear him company, proceeded to Jerusalem, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes; and having first exhibited his credentials to the inspection of his private friends, he delivered them to Sadæus and his colleagues, according to the superscription. He then summoned a general assembly up to Jerusalem, and addressed them in the temple to the following purport:

Nehemiah arrives at Jerusalem, and calls an assembly of the people.

"Ye must see and know, O men of Judea, that we ourselves are, at this day, under the superintending providence of the same Almighty and merciful Being, who brought about so many wonderful events, from a gracious regard to the piety and virtue of our forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. I am now to declare to you, that it is through favour of that Being that I have obtained permission of the king to enter on the rebuilding of your walls, and the finishing of the work of the temple,

Addresses them upon the important occasion

U u

"temple. But taking it for granted, that neighbouring nations are not only averse to, but determined to counteract you in the design, I commend it to you, in the first place, to rely solely on the power of the Almighty, who will certainly defeat all the efforts of your enemies; and next, that you exert yourselves in the prosecution of the work night and day, without intermission, while the season affords opportunity.

Nehemiah further the undertaking

Having delivered this address, he gave orders to the magistrates to survey the ground, take measure of the walls, and, from due computation, make an equal distribution of the work amongst the people, according to the proportions of the inhabitants in city, town, or village, promising, at the same time, the assistance of himself, and all that belonged to him, in the service, and then discharged the assembly.

The Israelites called Jews the first time.

The authority of Nehemiah had such an effect upon the people, that they applied themselves most assiduously to the undertaking. From this time the country was called Judea; and so termed from the tribe of Judah, that formerly possessed that quarter of the world.

The design is counteracted by enemies.

The report of this undertaking no sooner reached the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Samaritans, and the Cœlo-Syrians, than they determined to leave nothing unattempted, either by force or treachery, to counteract it. Accordingly they lay in ambush for the Jews up and down in every quarter, and took off many of them by surprize. They kept assassins in pay to attempt the life of Nehemiah; and alarmed the multitude with menaces of invasion to such a degree, that, through apprehension of impending danger, they were ready to desist from their work. But Nehemiah maintained his ground with undaunted resolution, and, under the security of a slender guard, prosecuted the work, without sense of weariness, or apprehension of danger. Nor was he anxious for his own safety merely in the provision of a guard for his person; but it arose from an assurance that if he should be cut off, the men would never finish the building. He therefore ordered that, in future, all the men should work with their swords by their sides, and their bucklers at a convenient distance, to have them in readiness. He also appointed trumpeters to be posted within five hundred paces of each other, to give the alarm upon any discovery of an enemy, that the people might have time to stand to their arms, without any danger of a surprize. He went round the city almost every night, and became so inured to labour, abstinence, and watching, that he surmounted all those difficulties, taking of food and sleep no more than was requisite to support nature. This was the course of his life for two years and three months; at the expiration of which the walls were finished, in the twenty-eighth year and ninth month of the reign of Xerxes.

The walls are finished in spite of all opposition.

Nehemiah takes measures to people the city.

Upon the perfecting of the work, Nehemiah, and the people, offered up sacrifice, and kept a festival for eight days; an event highly unwelcome and displeasing to the Syrians. Nehemiah, observing that the city was thin of inhabitants, persuaded all the priests and Levites, who lived contiguous, to take up their residence in town, promising to furnish them with houses at his own expence. He likewise ordered people in the country, who followed husbandry, to carry their tents into the city, for the maintenance of the priests and Levites, that they might not be diverted by any worldly concerns from attending the duties of their office. This was readily agreed to; and by these means the city became better peopled.

Death and character of Nehemiah.

After these and many other great and glorious actions, worthy of eternal honour, Nehemiah, in an advanced age, departed this life. He was a man of unfeigned piety, strict probity, and unfulled virtue; eminent for genuine philanthropy and patriotism, as appears from the whole of his transactions respecting the people and city of Jerusalem. This may suffice as a brief narrative of events during the reign of Xerxes.

C H A P. VI.

Cyrus, otherwise Artaxerxes, (called in scripture Ahastuerus), succeeds his father.

Xerxes is succeeded by his son Artaxerxes, under whose reign the nation of the Jews was in danger of being extirpated. Particulars concerning Esther, Mordecai, &c.

ON the death of Xerxes, the government descended to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes, in whose reign over the Persians, the whole

nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in great danger of being destroyed, as we shall shew in due time and place. It is necessary that we should previously attend to some particulars that related to the king himself, concerning his marriage with a woman of the blood royal of the Jews, and who is represented in the annals of history as the protectress of our nation.

When Artaxerxes had ascended the throne, and settled the government of an hundred and twenty-seven provinces, between India and Ethiopia, he made a most magnificent and sumptuous entertainment at Susa, in the third year of his reign, where he regaled his noble guests, in a manner becoming the dignity of so great a monarch, during the term of an hundred and fourscore days. After this he prepared another entertainment for several foreigners and their ambassadors, for seven successive days, which was conducted in the following manner. There was a tent erected, upon gold and silver pillars, covered with purple and finelinen, and sufficiently capable for the reception of some thousands of people. The wine was served in golden cups, ornamented with precious stones in such a manner, as at once to excite curiosity, and afford exquisite delight. Orders were given to the servants not to ply the guests with wine incessantly, after the Persian custom, but permit every man to drink at liberty; and proclamation was made throughout the king's dominions, that they should set a certain number of days apart for the celebration of a festival for the safety and prosperity of the kingdom.

Queen Vashti also had her apartments in the palace. She was so remarkably beautiful, that the king, desirous of shewing her to his guests, sent for her to come into the grand chamber, where they were convened. But as the laws of Persia do not allow wives to be seen by any besides their domestics, from a regard to that prohibition she refused to go to the king, not only once, but persisted in the denial, notwithstanding several orders brought her by the eunuchs to the same purpose. The king was so incensed at this obstinacy, that, after the festival was over, he sent for the commissioners that were expressly appointed for the interpretation of the Persian laws, to advise him in what manner he should punish the contumacy and obstinacy of his queen, complaining that she had not only once, but repeatedly disobeyed his commands. One of them, whose name was Muchæus, gave it as his opinion, "That it was not only an indignity offered to royal authority, but a precedent of dangerous consequence to all his subjects, since other women might thereby be encouraged to contemn and disobey their husbands; and that therefore so heinous an offence should be punished with a proportionable degree of severity; in fact, with nothing less than banishment from the king's presence for ever, by virtue of his royal will and pleasure, published by proclamation." The king was so divided between the love he bore the queen, on the one hand, and the regard he had for his dignity, on the other, that he remained some time in a state of most tormenting suspense. While he was in this anxiety of thought, his counsellors endeavoured to divert him from the resolution of making himself miserable for the unprofitable love of one woman, while he might make his choice from a collection of the first beauties through the several provinces of his dominions, and select her as a wife to whom, in a general view, he should find the warmest attachment.

The king, on second thought, approved the advice, and immediately dispatched commissioners throughout his dominions, to select the most celebrated beauties they could find, and bring them up to him. The commissioners were very diligent in the execution of their charge, and, amongst others, discovered a virgin in Babylon, whose name was Esther. Her parents being dead, she was brought up in the house of her uncle Mordecai, a man of rank amongst the Jews. This virgin so far excelled the rest, for the beauties and graces of her person, that she was an object of general attraction and admiration. She was committed to the care of one of the eunuchs, treated with all possible delicacy and respect, and presented with essences, perfumes, and all curiosities

Artaxerxes makes a splendid entertainment at Susa.

The pomp and order of the festival.

The queen disobeys the king's command.

He advises with his counsellors upon the occasion.

Is advised to divorce the queen.

Esther is appointed the queen.

Esther excels all the women in the kingdom.

of art used by the sex, as ornamental embellishments. Thus was Esther, together with four hundred virgins, treated, for the space of six months, in which, being prepared for the king's bed, they were individually and separately introduced by the eunuch to the king, who having received them into his arms, sent them by the same eunuch.

When Esther was presented, he was so transported with the charms of her person, the elegance of her deportment, and the allurements of her conversation, that he immediately resolved to take her to wife; and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated in the seventh year of his reign, and the twelfth month, which is called Adar, with the greatest pomp and magnificence. A most splendid entertainment was given upon the occasion to the great men of the Medes and Persians, and other nations, for the space of a whole month. When the queen entered the royal palace, the king placed the crown upon her head, and treated her in every respect worthy of her dignified situation, wholly regardless of her country or extraction. Her uncle Mordecai removed from Babylon to Susa; and would often enquire, at the gate of the royal palace, concerning the welfare of Esther, who was as dear to him as his own child.

The king, at this time, caused a law to be enacted, prohibiting any of his domestics from approaching him while he sat upon his royal throne, unless they were called or sent for, upon pain of losing their heads; and there were officers appointed to be in readiness to exact the penalty. In the mean time he had a golden sceptre in his hand; and when he was disposed to pardon any who had transgressed the law so enacted, he held that sceptre forth; and, upon their touching it, they were exempted from the penalty.

There was formed, some time after this, a conspiracy between Bigathar and Teresh, two attendant eunuchs, against the person of the king. Barnabazabuz, a servant to one of them, and a Jew by extraction, discovered their treacherous design to Mordecai, the king's uncle, and he, by means of Esther, to the king himself, who put the criminals to the question, and, upon conviction, delivered them both up to justice. The king gave Mordecai no other reward than that of appointing his service to be registered upon the record, and allowing him admittance to the palace, with the privilege of one of his domestics.

Haman, the son of Ammedath, an Amalekite, being now advanced by the king, and coming frequently to court, the Persians, as well as strangers, paid him the greatest reverence; indeed, it was the king's will and pleasure that it should be so. Mordecai was the only person that refused to do him the homage, that mode of respect being contrary to the practice of his country. This exasperated the haughty Amalekite to such a degree, that he asked him what countryman he was; and finding him to be a Jew, he broke out into a violent exclamation at the insolence of such a wretch, who, when all the nations, and the free-born Persians, made no hesitation at doing him the honour commanded by the king, he should presume to disobey. In this fit of rage he took the desperate resolution not only to be revenged on Mordecai, but to destroy the whole race of Jews in the dominions of Persia. He might, indeed, be farther induced to carry his design into execution, by recollecting that his ancestors, the Amalekites, had been formerly beaten out of the land, and exterminated by those people. To perpetrate his malicious design, he attended the king, according to usual custom, and took an opportunity of representing the Jews to him in the most odious and contemptible light, exclaiming against them as a vile generation, unfociable in their disposition, barbarous in their manners, devoted to superstitious laws and ceremonies, lurking up and down in every quarter of his dominions, and, upon the whole, discovering themselves, in every instance of word and deed, the common enemies of mankind. He begged leave, therefore, to observe, that such being their known character, it was inconsistent with the rules of policy to allow them any further toleration. He then submitted to the king's wisdom the propriety, nay the necessity, of extirpating them out of the Persian empire: and lest the loss of so many subjects should be thought to diminish the king's revenue, he proposed making up the defect out of his own private fortune.

The king was prevailed on, by the artful insinuations of this wicked and arrogant favourite, to submit the disposal of the Jews to his entire discretion, and, at the same time, dispense with his promise of making up the deficiency of the revenue, which was estimated, in the treasury account, at forty thousand talents of silver. Haman, thus authorized, immediately published an edict, in the king's name, and dispersed it throughout all his dominions, to this effect:

"The great king Artaxerxes to the hundred and twenty seven governors of the provinces between India and Ethiopia, greeting.

"Whereas it hath pleased God to give me the command of so many nations, and a dominion over the rest of the world as large as I myself desire: being resolved to do nothing that may be tyrannical or grievous towards my people, and to bear a gentle and easy rule over them, with an eye more especially to the preservation of their peace and liberties, and to settle them in a state of tranquillity and happiness not to be shaken: all this I have taken into mature deliberation; and being given to understand, by my trusty and well-beloved friend and counsellor Haman, a man of tried faith, prudence, and justice, and whom I esteem above all others, that there is a mixture of inhuman people among my subjects, who take upon them to govern by their own laws, and to prescribe ways to themselves, in contempt of public order and government; men, depraved both in their customs and their manners, and enemies not only to monarchy, but to the methods of our royal administration: This is therefore to will and require, that, upon notice, given you by Haman, (who is to me a father), of the persons intended by this my proclamation, you put all the said persons, men, women, and children, to the sword, without any commiseration or favour, in strict pursuance of my decree. And it is my further command, that you put this in execution on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of the present year, to make but one day's work of the destruction of all mine and your enemies, in order to the future peace and security of our lives."

A decree for the extirpation of the Jews. Esther. iii.

This edict was rapidly dispersed throughout the whole empire; and the people prepared themselves accordingly for the abolition of the Jews, on the day appointed; but the inhabitants of Susa, the place of the king's residence, were particularly strenuous for carrying it into execution. The king and his favourite, in the mean time, passed their hours in conviviality; while the few humane amongst the Persians shuddered at the idea of so horrid a massacre as that approaching.

When Mordecai was informed of the tenor and purport of this proclamation, he rent his garments, put on sackcloth, covered his head with ashes, and passed through the streets of the town, exclaiming against the flagrant iniquity of this horrid and barbarous design against the Jews. In this manner he proceeded till he came to the gate of the palace, where he was obliged to stop, no man being permitted to enter in such a garb. Mordecai's example was followed by all the Jews in the several cities within the Persian dominions, who, upon notice of the king's decree, were overwhelmed with despair.

Lamentation of Mordecai for the Jews. Esther. iv.

Intelligence of this reaching the queen, (who was a stranger to the decree being passed), she was greatly affected thereby, and sent a messenger to Mordecai, entreating him to lay aside that mournful habit, and resume the dress that was consistent with his situation. But he told the messenger he could not comply with the queen's request, till the cause of his melancholy appearance was removed. In consequence of this answer, the queen sent Hetach, one of the king's eunuchs, who was at that time in her presence, to learn the reason of Mordecai, wherefore he assumed such an appearance, and refused to put it off at her particular request. Mordecai then related the whole transactions in due form and order, setting forth that the king, at the instigation of Haman, had issued his royal proclamation, throughout all his dominions, for the extirpation of the Jews, and that Haman had offered

Esther asks why Mordecai laments.

Mordecai
presses
Esther to
undertake
the patri-
mony of the
Jews.

The queen
declines it
at first.

Mordecai
urges his re-
quest.

Esther, on
conditions,
undertakes
to intercede
with the
king.

General
fast amongst
the Jews.

Humilia-
tion of the
queen.

Esther 5.

Esther pre-
sents her-
self to the
king.

Is graciously
received.

ferred a vast sum of money, by way of compensation, to induce him to do it. He then gave Hetach a copy of the decree to deliver to the queen, imploring that she would make an humble application to the king, and intercede with him in their behalf, as the lives of the whole nation were now at stake. He represented the necessity of waving delay, as Haman was incessantly calumniating the Jews, and would continue to exasperate the king against them till he had gained his point.

This account was faithfully delivered by the eunuch to the queen, who immediately returned an answer to Mordecai, in which she excused herself from engaging in the affair, setting forth that an ordinance had been passed, inhibiting any person, whether man or woman, on pain of death, from approaching the king when seated on his throne of state, without being called to attend him, unless he would vouchsafe to hold forth his golden sceptre. When Mordecai heard this, he pressed the queen once again, by the same messenger, representing, that it was not her own personal safety that was in question, but the security of the whole race; and admonishing her by no means to neglect the least opportunity of performing an office incumbent on her by every relative tie, and every dictate of humanity. He further intimated his reliance on the Divine interposition in behalf of a people who were unjustly condemned to death by the vile artifices of an arrogant and ambitious man.

This message roused Esther, who immediately dispatched the eunuch to Mordecai with this order and promise, that he, and all the Jews in Susa, should fast for three days, as would herself and servants, and offer up their humble supplications to the Almighty, that he would be pleased to prosper her in so hazardous an undertaking; at the expiration of which she would not fail to address the king, though at the hazard of her life. Mordecai duly attended to the queen's instructions, and having circulated the same amongst the Jews, they strictly observed the fast, and humbly besought the Almighty to defeat the malicious designs of their enemies, to extend his mercy according as he was wont to penitent offenders, and finally deliver them from the destruction denounced against them. The whole multitude joined, indeed, in one common address, imploring the Almighty to vouchsafe them his protection, and avert that dreadful judgment from the Israelites that now hung over their heads. Queen Esther also humbled herself before God after the manner of her country, prostrating herself on the earth, assuming a mourning habit, abstaining from every sensual gratification for three days, and imploring the Divine interposition in her behalf, that the king might be disposed to attend to her intercession for a miserable and persecuted people, so that it might prevail, to the confusion of their enemies, and all their malicious designs upon her distressed countrymen.

After three days thus spent in fervent supplication for the Divine mercy and compassion, the queen put on her royal attire, and, with two attendants, bearing up her train, advanced towards the king, her face being covered with a blush expressive both of majesty and grace, though, at the same time, not without some indication of doubtful apprehension. The dazzling lustre of the king seated on his throne, and an imagination that his countenance expressed displeasure, so affected the gentle Esther, that she immediately fell into a swoon, and would have sunk to the ground, had she not been supported by her attendants. The king, alarmed at her situation, descended from his throne, embraced her in his arms, and, in tenderest phrase, consoled her with an assurance that no advantage should be taken of the law to her prejudice, though she came uncalled; that decree extending only to subjects, and consequently not to her, whom he esteemed as the partner of his empire. He then laid his golden sceptre gently on her neck, as a token of his affection, as well as confirmation of the assurance he had so lately given. These tender proofs of love and esteem brought her back to the use of her reason and speech, when she explained to the king the cause of her swoon, which arose from the impression of the awful appearance of his sacred person, and an apprehension that his countenance expressed displeasure. These words were uttered in such a tone of voice,

and accompanied by such a disposition of feature, as afforded a most lively representation of her sensibility, and thereby acted so compulsively on the king, that, in the most explicit terms, he bade her prefer her request, declaring he would grant it, even if it was one half of his kingdom.

Upon this declaration Esther told him, all she desired, at present, was that he would be pleased to come to a banquet with her that day, and that he would permit Haman to accompany him. Her suit was granted; they came together; and when the entertainment was nearly over, with which the king expressed the highest satisfaction, he again asked Esther what request she had to make, repeating his former promise, that whatever it should be, he would grant it, though it were half his kingdom. The queen, not thinking this a proper time to open the secret to the king, told him, that her desire, at present, was no more than that he would honour her the next day at a like entertainment, accompanied by Haman, when she would take the freedom to present her petition. The king was highly pleased with the proposal; but the distinguished honour conferred upon Haman, being invited to accompany the king to the queen's banquet, so increased his pride and ambition, that he expected nothing less than a respect and homage to be paid him as the second person in the kingdom. Nor were his expectations ill-founded, except in the person of Mordecai, who, as he passed him at the palace gate, on his return, neglected to pay him obedience. As soon as he got home, he recounted to his family, and particularly to his wife Zeresh, the many instances of esteem he had received, not only from the king, but likewise the queen, having been at a banquet provided by the latter, and that the next day he was to be present at a like invitation, accompanying the king as before.

He could not, however, forbear complaining of the affront and disrespect which Mordecai had put upon him; and advising with Zeresh, his wife, and his relations and friends, concerning the manner in which he should chastise his insolence, they proposed to him, as the best expedient, to order a gibbet to be erected fifty cubits high, and the very next morning go to the king, and obtain a grant for the execution of Mordecai upon it. This advice was perfectly agreeable to Haman, who, imagining the king would not refuse his request, gave orders for the gibbet to be immediately erected.

But that Omniscient Being who disposes of all events, was pleased to direct things in such a manner, as to frustrate the design of the proud and cruel Haman; for, when he went to court the next morning, he found matters turn out very different to what he expected. It happened that the king that morning awoke much sooner than usual, and not being able to compose himself again to sleep, in order to pass the time in some degree profitable, as well as entertaining, he ordered his secretary to bring the memorials and state papers, as well ancient as modern, and read their respective contents. The king found, upon the reading them, the name of a person who had great honours and possessions given him as a reward for a glorious and memorable action; also of another, who obtained the bounty of his prince for his fidelity. The secretary proceeded till he came to the passage which made mention of Mordecai's discovery of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs, Bigthar and Teresh, against his person; and when the king, upon enquiry, was given to understand, that the man, for so signal a service, had not received any reward, he seemed exceedingly angry, and commanded the secretary to stop at that record, and enquire of the centinels what hour it was. Answer being brought that it was break of day, he demanded to know who waited without, and being told Haman, ordered him to be called in, and, upon his entrance, thus addressed him: "From a persuasion of your loyal attachment to my person and government, I would ask of you what token of honour you would advise me to bestow on the man to whom I have the greatest obligation imaginable, and that conscientiously with the dignity of my royal character?" Haman, not doubting but his own interest was concerned in the solution of the question, presuming that he alone must be the person referred to, gave it as his opinion, that the

She invites
the king to
Haman to
banquet.

The great
five ana-
tion are
nity of the
man.

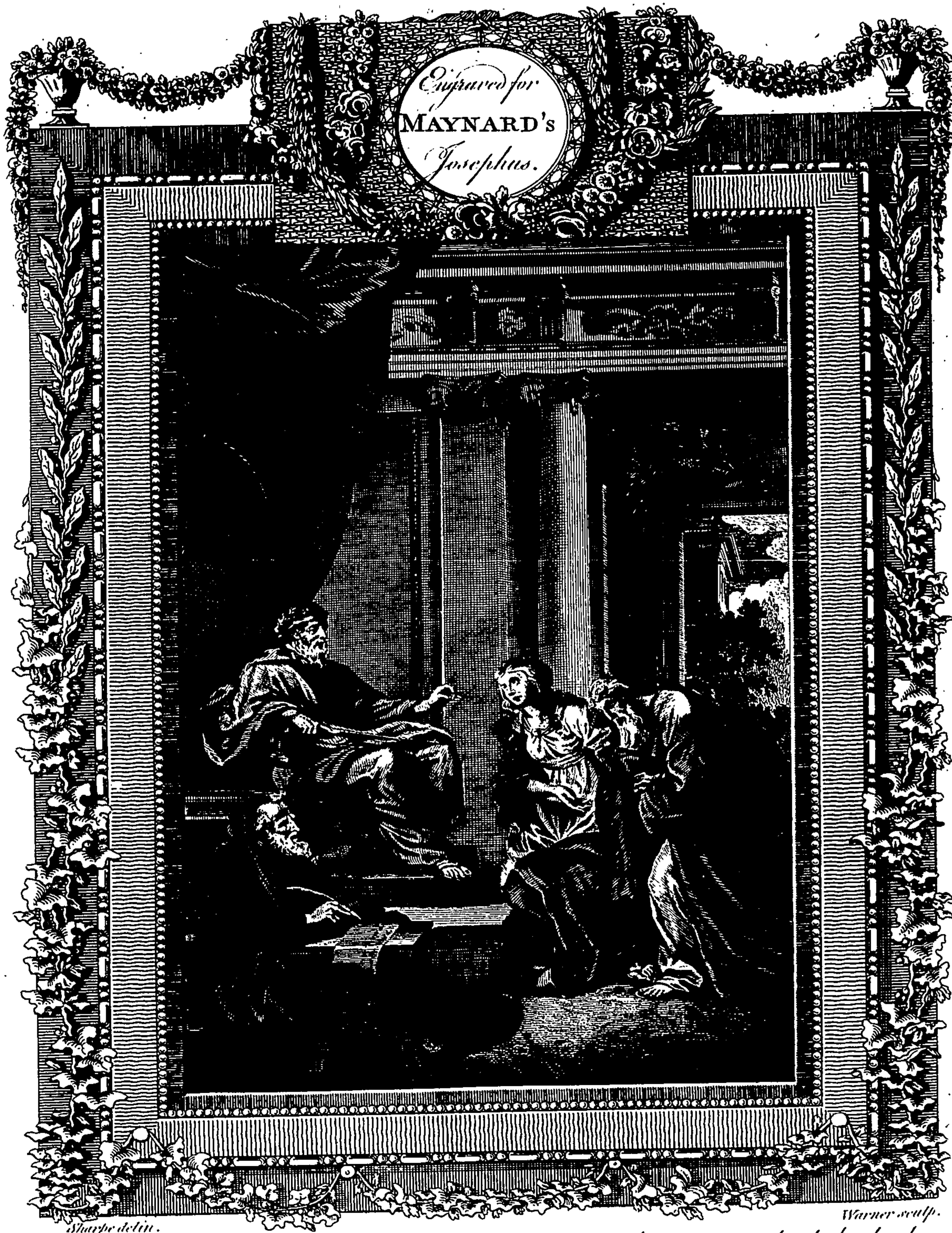
Haman e-
ders a gift
to be erect-
ed for the ex-
ecution of
Mordecai.

The state
records are
read to the
king.
Esther 6.

The story
of Mordecai
appears
therein.



QUEEN ESTHER *fainting before* KING ARTAXERXES



Sharpe delin.

Warner sculp.

King ARTAXERXES presenting to MORDECAI the RING which he had formerly entrusted with the treacherous Haman, as a token of his royal Favours.

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the king should clothe the man whom he desired to honour with his own royal apparel, mount him on his own horse, present him with a golden chain, and cause an herald to make proclamation throughout the city, "Thus shall be done to the man whom the king vouchsafes to honour."

No sooner had Haman delivered his opinion, than the king, quite contrary to his expectation, commanded him to take the horse, apparel, and chain, find out Mordecai, the Jew, array him in this attire, and when mounted, to march before him, making proclamation in quality of an officer; because, as the king's favourite, he was the fittest man to advise with, and to execute his own counsel. He concluded that Mordecai merited these honours, since to him he was indebted for his life.

This order cut the imperious Haman to the very heart, as it was so contrary to his expectation, his thoughts having been wholly employed on his own advancement. But the king's word was a law, and he knew there was no disputing it. Being, therefore, obliged to comply, he went with the horse, habit, and golden chain, in quest of Mordecai, and finding him at the palace gate, in his garb of humiliation, bade him divest himself of the sackcloth, and put on the purple. The Jew, ignorant of what had passed, imputed this parade of ceremony to mockery, and reproached Haman as an hard-hearted, intolent wretch, who delighted to sport with the miseries of mankind. But Haman reasoned with him on the matter, and at length convinced him that the king had commanded this honour to be done him, in recompence of the service he had rendered him, in detecting the conspiracy of the eunuchs, and thereby saving his life. Being thus satisfied, he put on the purple and the golden chain, mounted the king's horse, and paraded through the city, Haman making proclamation before him, "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king desireth to honour." Mordecai, after this, was ushered into the royal presence, while Haman departed to his own house, stung with vexation, disappointment, and despair, being assured, from the late transactions, that all his efforts to avenge himself on the Jews would prove fruitless, as the king had thus received Mordecai into his immediate favour and protection.

While Haman was relating these doleful tidings to his family, lamenting the disappointment and great mortification he had met with, in being forced to pay so signal an honour to his most hated enemy, the queen's eunuchs came to call him away to supper. One of them, whose name was Sabuchades, observing a gibbet erected in the court, asked one of the servants the meaning of it, and being told it was prepared for Mordecai, for whose execution Haman had obtained permission of the king, he rested apparently satisfied.

When the king and Haman were set down to the banquet, and highly pleased with their entertainment, the king asked Esther again what her request was, at the same time renewing his promise that he would not fail to grant it her, though it should extend to the half of his kingdom. The queen, availing herself of this opportunity, with blushing modesty, represented to the king, "That her petition was for the security of her own life, and the lives of her people, as there was a plot laid against them; for their general destruction. Had they (she observed) been made slaves, that calamity might have been tolerable; so that her suit was, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose, and avert the imminent extirpation of the whole race."

The king no sooner heard Esther's petition, than he asked, with great emotion, who it was that durst put such a design on foot? The queen, without prevarication, replied, that Haman was the author of that advice, and that it proceeded from the impulse of malice to the people. The king, rising up in a great passion, immediately left the apartment, and retired into

the garden, in order to give vent to his resentment. Haman, by this time finding the storm gathering, took the opportunity of the king's absence for supplicating the queen for his life, acknowledging his error, and prostrating himself on the bed (a) before her in the most humiliating manner. At this juncture the king returned, and seeing Haman in such a position, was more exasperated by that circumstance than all the rest, and reviled him as the basest of men, for so insolent an attempt on the honour of his queen. The eunuch then informed the king of the gibbet of fifty cubits in height, which, by order of Haman, was erected for the execution of Mordecai, as he was made to understand by one of his servants when he went to give him an invitation to the queen's banquet. The king immediately fixed a resolution of inflicting the same punishment upon Haman that he had prepared for Mordecai, and ordered him immediately to be executed upon the same gibbet.

I cannot pass over this extraordinary event without a comment on the infinite justice, wisdom, and power of the Almighty; not only in bringing Haman to deserved punishment, but causing him to fall by the very snare he had laid for the life of an innocent man, and thereby justly retaliating so execrable a design on the base inventor.

This was the end of the imperious Haman, who had so flagrantly perverted the king's peculiar favour and bounty. His body was delivered up to justice, and his wide estate given to the queen, who appointed Mordecai her steward. The queen had, by this time, made it known to the king, that Mordecai was her near relation; upon which he sent for him, and delivered him the ring with which Haman had been entrusted before. The possessions of Haman, which the king had granted to the queen, she transferred to Mordecai; and then presented a second petition to her royal consort, that he would be pleased to deliver the Jews from that apprehension for their lives which still prevailed, reminding him of the edict which Haman had dispersed, in his name, throughout the empire, and enforcing her request, by declaring that her own life depended upon the safety of her nation. The king gave her his royal word, that nothing should be done to the Jews without her knowledge. He farther granted her the liberty of drawing up any decree or mandate in his name, with assurance that the same should be signed, sealed, and dispersed, by his command, throughout his dominions; which, when confirmed by the royal signature, their authority would be unquestionable. Upon this he commanded the attendance of his secretaries, and enjoined them to draw up the following mandate in behalf of the Jews, to the magistrates of all the provinces that lie between India and Ethiopia, under the command of an hundred and twenty-seven governors.

"Artaxerxes, the great king, to our trusty governors and magistrates, greeting.

"Whereas it is too general a practice for men, whose fortune hath been greater than their merit, to insult both their inferiors and benefactors, and to extinguish, as far as lies in their power, all sense of gratitude and benevolence, and likewise to pervert the power vested in them, and this under such guises as they vainly imagine can elude the penetration of the Great Searcher of Hearts; nor is it any new matter for favourites, by misrepresentation of men and things, to gratify their private passions to the injury of their masters, and thus endanger the lives of honest men by their ill offices with the prince: this I declare, not only on the credit of historical report, but on perfect demonstration within my own knowledge. For the future, therefore, let no regard be paid to slanderous accusations, but let facts be carefully enquired

The king highly incensed at Haman.

Haman's design upon Mordecai retaliates upon himself.

Remark of Josephus.

Mordecai is honoured by the king. Esther viii.

The mandate of Artaxerxes for rescinding the former law against the Jews.

(a) In all the eastern nations, even to this day, the people lie on a couch while they eat; and Esther being at that time in the same position, Haman took the opportunity of prostrating himself before her, and, according to the custom of the Persians, embraced her feet. It cannot be imagined that Haman could, at such a time, attempt to violate the chastity of the queen; but the resentment of Artaxerxes was then so great,

that he had laid hold of this circumstance, in order to give a plausible colour to what he intended to do. In the Book of Esther it is said Haman's face was covered, which was consistent with the practice of the east, from the most early ages of time; for when a criminal was brought before a judge or his sovereign, to receive sentence, his face was always covered, lest the natural emotions of his grief should operate too strongly in his favour.

"into, and let full proof of the innocence or guilt of the party acquit or condemn.

"You are not unacquainted with Haman's not being a Persian, but an Amalekite by extraction, nor how affectionately I have treated, and what honour done this man, having called and regarded him as my father, and ordering my subjects to obey him next to myself. Now his pride had induced him to depart from his duty, and prompted him to think of succeeding to the government, by the destruction of Mordecai, to whom I owe my life; and even by the destruction of the queen; the end of his plot being to usurp my authority, when his plans against the lives of my friends had succeeded.

"And whereas the designs of this wicked man to destroy the Jews are notorious, I hereby certify that, far from finding them seditious, I approve of them as a people worshipping that God to whom I and my family owe the possession and support of our dominions.

"These letters are therefore to command that you do not exercise or put in force that severity on the Jews as commanded by Haman, whom, as a sacrifice to justice, I have caused to be executed on a gibbet before the gates of Susa.

"And I further command that copies of these letters be transmitted throughout my dominions, and that you afford them help against those who may oppress them.

"And as the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, that is to say, the month Adar, is fixed for the extirpation of these people, it is my royal will and pleasure, that you now fix on this time as the moment of their deliverance, assured that this proceeding will satisfy my friends, and afford a cautionary example to future traitors.

"Be it farther known to the parties herein concerned, in all our cities, towns, and villages, that military execution shall be the consequence of disobedience to the commands, of which all our subjects are to take notice, and the Jews shall be ready to avenge themselves on their enemies at the time appointed." Couriers were immediately sent express with these letters mandatory to all quarters.

Soon after the king had put the royal signet to this decree, Mordecai came out of the palace, dressed in the royal robe, gown, and chain; the sight of whom gave the highest satisfaction to the Jews, who thereby imagined themselves safe, and that Haman's decree against them was totally rescinded. The Jews likewise, who resided in the different parts of the kingdom, when they heard the contents of the king's last decree, were elated with joy; and some of the natives, thinking themselves in danger, underwent circumcision; supposing that might be a means of securing them, should the Jews become predominant; as they were greatly animated by the king's assigning them the same day for their revenge that had been designed for their execution, that is to say, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which the Hebrews call Adar, and the Macedonians Dystrus. Upon the obtaining of this mandate, the princes, governors, and magistrates, all paid a more than ordinary reverence to the Jews, through fear of the power of Mordecai.

When the decree was dispersed, the Jews put five hundred of their enemies to the sword at Susa, and the king shewed the queen the number of them; but no account was yet taken of those that were slain elsewhere. At the queen's special request, that the Jews might have one day's revenge more upon their enemies, and that the ten sons of Haman might be executed on the gibbet, the king appointed the day following for that purpose. So that they assembled in great numbers, and slew near three hundred more of their adversaries, without so much as touching any of their property. But, throughout the whole empire, the number of the slain, as accounted enemies, was computed at seventy-five thousand. This slaughter was on the thirteenth day of the month; and the next was celebrated as a festival by all the Jews through-

out the Persian dominions. These days are still observed with the same solemnity by the Jews, who make it a point, on their annual return, to regale and present each other with donations of various kinds. Mordecai, indeed, sent orders throughout the empire to all his countrymen, requiring them most strictly to observe those days of festival, and to transmit them to posterity, in order to perpetuate the memory of their signal deliverance from the massacre designed by the flagitious Haman, and the advantages which they gained in the result over their most inveterate enemies. For this cause those days are still observed by the Jews, who call them Phruræa, or Purim, that is to say, Feasts of Conversation. Mordecai retained his influence with the king, being the first person in administration, and equally respected by him and the queen. The affairs of the Jews continued to prosper under the auspices of Artaxerxes, whose name therefore stands with honour in our records, and as such will be handed down to future ages.

Days of Purim.

CHAP. VII.

John, the high-priest, slays his brother Jesus in the temple. Bagoses offers many injuries to the Jews.

ON the demise of Eliashib, the high-priest, his son Judas, by right hereditary, succeeded to the office, as did his son John, by the same right, at his decease. This said John was the cause of the violation and profanation of the temple afterwards, by Bagoses, commander in chief of the troops of another Artaxerxes, called Mnemon. Bagoses imposed a tribute on the Jews, obliging them to pay, out of the public treasure, fifty drachmas a day for every lamb they sacrificed before they entered upon their daily oblations (a). John, the high-priest, had a brother, whose name was Jesus, and Bagoses, the general, being much attached to him, had promised to exert his influence to advance him to the supreme sacerdotal office. Jesus, relying on the assurance and authority of Bagoses, had the audacity to enter into a contest with his brother John in the temple upon this subject, who was excited by his provocation to such a degree of rage, that, in his fury, he slew him.

Eliashib, the high-priest, is succeeded by Judas, and Judas by John.

Bagoses instigates Jesus to offend his brother John in the temple.

John slays Jesus.

The religion of the Jews could not possibly sustain a greater disgrace, than the commission of so heinous a crime in so sacred a place, by so sacred a character: indeed, as an aggravation of its enormity, there never was a similar instance among the Greeks, or even the Barbarians. The Almighty, however, did not suffer it to pass unpunished; for, on that very account, the people were enslaved, and the temple was profaned by the Persians. When Bagoses heard that the high-priest had spilt the blood of his brother in the very temple, he exclaimed with contempt and indignation against the Jews, as the most daring and abandoned wretches, in perpetrating the most heinous crime of murder, in a place of all others the most solemn and sacred. Being opposed in his attempt to enter the temple, he cried out, "Am I not purer in body than he who was slain within?" and with these words forced his way. Bagoses accordingly made use of this pretence for treating the Jews with the utmost severity and rigour, for the space of seven years.

The Jews are disgraced for their infidelity.

John, the high-priest, was succeeded, at his death, by his son Jaddus. This Jaddus had a brother, whose name was Manasses, to whom Sanballat, who was sent by Darius, the king of Persia, into Samaria, understanding Jerusalem to be a famous city, and that the kings of it had put the Syrians to many difficulties, frankly gave his daughter Nicasa in marriage, as a test and earnest of the friendship he wished to cultivate and maintain with the Jews. Sanballat was by birth a Chuthite, from whom the Samaritans derive their origin.

Upon the death of John, Jaddus succeeded to the pontificate.

government of Syria; and the person who succeeded Bagoses, in that province, no farther exacted it.

CHAP.

(a) The payment of this tax lasted no longer than seven years; for, on the death of Arsaces, the changes and revolutions, which then happened in the empire, made a change in the

Effects of the rescindatory mandate.

The Jews avenge themselves of their enemies.

Haman's ten sons hanged.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander the Great overthrows the Persians. Makes his entry into the city of Jerusalem; and, instead of destroying according to expectation, confers many benefits on the Jews.

ABOUT this time Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain, in the city of *Ægæa*, by *Pausanias*, the son of *Cerastes*, of the family of *Orestes*. He was succeeded on the throne of Macedon by his son *Alexander*, who crossing the *Hellepont*, obtained a signal victory over the army of *Darius* at the river *Granicus*; after which he subdued *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and passing his army through *Caria*, entered into *Pamphilia*, as is recorded in another place.

The elders of *Jerusalem* were at this time much concerned at the conduct of *Manasses*, the brother of *Jaddus*, the high-priest; who had taken to wife a strange woman. Indeed, their indignation arose to such a pitch, as to have been almost productive of an insurrection; for they deemed it a step towards the abolition of the laws of their country respecting marriages, and concluded, if they suffered it to pass unnoticed, it would, by degrees, become an established custom. Nor could they be unmindful that this was the very cause of their former captivity, and of all the calamities that ensued thereupon. They were too sensible that the transgression which drew down those heavy judgments upon them, was their intermarrying with strange women; and therefore they peremptorily demanded of *Manasses*, that he should either dismiss his wife, or never more approach the altar.

In consequence of this *Manasses* repaired to his father-in-law *Sanballat*, governor of *Samaria*, told him all that had passed at *Jerusalem*, and declared that though he passionately loved his daughter, yet he was unwilling, for her sake, to be deprived of the priesthood, which was a native honour, and in the highest esteem among the Jews. *Sanballat*, in order to ease the mind of his son-in-law upon this head, told him that if he would but continue his affection to his daughter, and keep her as his wife, he would undertake not only to secure him the exercise of his function, but advance him to the pontificate, and establish him as prince of the whole country. He further promised to build him a temple upon mount *Gerizim*, that overlooks *Samaria*; and the rest of the mountains, not inferior to that at *Jerusalem*; all which should be performed by the permission and power of *Darius*. *Manasses*, relying on these promises, remained with his father-in-law; the consequence of which was, that many of the priests, as well as laity, of *Jerusalem*, who had engaged in these prohibited marriages, resorted to *Samaria*, and put themselves under his protection. Their removal, indeed, was far from being against their worldly interest; for the governor, to encourage his ambitious son-in-law, furnished them with houses, land, stock, and money; a circumstance which afterwards occasioned great disorder in the Jewish state.

Darius, about this time, receiving intelligence that *Alexander* had passed the *Hellepont*, and obtained a complete victory over his generals at the river *Granicus*, to prevent his progress, immediately assembled his forces, with a resolution to give the Macedonians battle, lest they should over-run the whole of his territories, which they seemed inclined to do. He accordingly marched at the head of his troops beyond the *Euphrates*, and encamped on the side of mount *Taurus*, in *Cilicia*, determined to come to an engagement with the enemy in that quarter.

This was agreeable news to *Sanballat*, who, in full confidence of success, assured his son-in-law *Manasses*, that, on the king's return, he would ratify all he had promised, as he, and all the Asiatics, were fully persuaded, that *Darius* would obtain an effectual conquest over the Macedonians, who, with their handful of men, could never sustain the first shock. In this, however, he was fatally mistaken; for though the army of *Alexander* was, as represented, very inferior to that of *Darius*, the Persians were totally routed; a great part of their army was lost; the king's mother, wife, and children were taken prisoners; and he was obliged to save himself by a precipitate flight.

Alexander, encouraged by this success, marched

directly into *Syria*, took *Damascus* and *Sidon*, and laid siege to *Tyre*. From thence he wrote to the high-priest at *Jerusalem*, giving him to understand, that he expected the same assistance from them which they had formerly given to *Darius*, and that they should provide a market for the supply of his army, where he might have necessaries for his money; assuring them they should have no reason to repent of such their services. The high-priest returned for answer briefly this, that they had bound themselves by oath not to take up arms against *Darius*, and that he was determined to keep that oath inviolable during his life.

Alexander was much displeased with this answer; and though he determined to prosecute the siege of *Tyre* with the utmost vigour, he as firmly resolved, upon its surrender, to make an expedition against the Jewish high-priest, and, by his example, teach the world in general, how far oaths were to be preserved or broken. At length, after a siege of fatigue and danger, the Macedonians made themselves masters of *Tyre* by assault, and then proceeded to invest *Gaza*, a Persian garrison, under the command of a governor named *Babemeses*.

When *Sanballat* understood that *Alexander* lay before *Tyre*, he took that opportunity of going over to him with eight thousand men, whom he had assembled together out of his own province. The Macedonian here received him with great respect, desiring him to open his mind freely without the least restraint, as he was ready to grant any reasonable request he might make. This gave *Sanballat* a favourable opportunity of executing the design he had projected. He told *Alexander* he had a son-in-law, named *Manasses*, the brother of *Jaddus*, the high-priest of the Jews, who was following him with great numbers of people, to ask permission to erect a temple in that province for divine worship. He intimated, at the same time, how much *Alexander's* interest was concerned in this permission, as the Jews, who were very numerous, might, if he refused, be as troublesome to him, as they had heretofore been to the Syrians. *Alexander* readily granted *Sanballat's* request; upon which he immediately gave orders for erecting the temple on mount *Gerizim*; appointed *Manasses*, his son-in-law, to be high-priest; and ordered that his descendants, by his daughter, should succeed to that honour. The temple which *Sanballat* had obtained permission to build was soon completed, and *Manasses* appointed high-priest; but his father-in-law did not live long to see him enjoy that honour; for in about two months after he paid the debt of nature.

As soon as the victorious *Alexander* had subdued *Gaza*, he advanced at the head of his army towards *Jerusalem*, fully determined to punish the high-priest for non-compliance with his request. *Jaddus*, being apprized of *Alexander's* intention, and that he was marching with all haste to *Jerusalem*, was greatly alarmed; and knowing how incapable he was of making any resistance against so powerful an invader, ordered prayers and sacrifices to be offered up for the general safety and prosperity of the people. On the following night it was revealed to the high-priest in a dream, that he should adorn the city with garlands and flowers, open the gates, and let the people, who should be dressed in white, go out to meet *Alexander*, himself and the other priests preceding in their proper habits. When *Jaddus* awoke, he was so highly pleased with what had been revealed to him in his dream, that having in the morning told the citizens what had passed, he proceeded to make the necessary preparations for meeting the king.

As soon as *Jaddus* heard of the approach of *Alexander*, he, with the priests and people, left the city, in a solemn procession, and went to a place called *Sapha*, that is, *the place of prospect*, from its being so elevated as to command an uninterrupted view of the city and temple.

The army of *Alexander* made no doubt of a speedy conquest, and flattered themselves with reaping great advantages by plundering the city. But in this they soon found themselves mistaken, things taking a very different turn from what they expected. As soon as *Alexander* saw the people marching in procession, and clothed in white, the priests in silken robes, and the high-

Alexander pursues his conquest.

Requires the Jews to submit to him.

Invests and takes the city of Tyre.

Sanballat revolts from Darius to Alexander.

Obtains permission for building a temple at Gerizim.

Death of Sanballat.

Alexander goes against Jerusalem.

Jaddus prepares to meet Alexander.

Philip of Macedon slain, and succeeded by his son Alexander.

Manasses gives offence by marrying a strange woman.

Manasses is disposed to put away his wife.

Sanballat, by promises, endeavours to dissuade him, and prevails.

Conquest of Darius by Alexander.

Sanballat encourages Manasses in his resistance to the laws of his country.

Alexander's entry into Jerusalem.

His dream at Dion in Macedonia.

Alexander offers sacrifice in the temple of the Jews.

Bestows great favours on them.

high-priest in purple, embroidered with gold; wearing his mitre, and having on his forehead a golden plate, with the sacred name of the Deity inscribed on it, the majesty of the spectacle struck him with such reverential awe, that he advanced alone, paid homage to the inscription by falling on his knees, and saluted the high-priest himself. So unexpected a circumstance greatly surprized the Jews, who gathered in crowds about Alexander, and, with loud acclamations, proclaimed his praise. The king of Syria, and the great men of Persia, were likewise astonished at his behaviour on this occasion. One of them, named Parmenio, took the liberty to ask him in a familiar way, how it happened that he, who was adored almost by the whole earth, should now descend to bow to a priest of the Jews? The reply that Alexander made was this: "That he did not pay that adoration to him, but to the God whom he professed to serve. That while he was at Dion, in Macedonia, and deliberating with himself in what manner he should carry on the Asiatic war, and subdue the Persian empire, that very person, and in that very habit, appeared to him in a dream, encouraging him to enter boldly on the expedition, and not to doubt of success, because the Almighty would be his guide, and insure him a conquest: that therefore he made no doubt of gaining his point in all his undertakings to his utmost wish, as he made war under the direction of that Supreme Being, to whom, in the person of the high-priest, he paid adoration."

After this reply to Parmenio, the king embraced Jaddus; and the other priests escorting him into the city, he went up to the temple, and there offered sacrifice in form, according to order, paying also a singular veneration to the high-priest, who shewed him, when the ceremony was over, the book of the prophet Daniel, and, in it, the prediction of the overthrow of the Persian empire by a certain Grecian king, whom Alexander interpreted to be himself. Pleased with this reflection, he offered to grant the people any request they should desire of him by their high-priest. Jaddus made answer, that they desired only to enjoy their own country laws, and possess the same privileges as their brethren did in Media and Babylon, with an exemption from the seventh year's tribute, as, according to the Mosaic law, they neither ploughed or sowed at the stated returns of that period. Alexander readily complied with their request, and offered moreover, that if any of them should be disposed to take up arms in his service, they should be received into his army, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion as before. From this act of generosity and indulgence, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

Having thus settled matters at Jerusalem, Alexander marched with his army from place to place among the neighbouring cities, at all of which he was received by the people with great testimonies of friendship and submission. The Samaritans, whose capital at that time was Shechem, at the foot of mount Gerizim, and inhabited by Jewish deserters, hearing how kindly Alexander had treated the people of Jerusalem, resolved to take advantage of it by veering about, and returning to their former professions. It was a common practice with them to assert or deny their origin, as best suited their interest or convenience. When at any time they observed the affairs of the Jews in a prosperous state, they boasted that they were of their nation, and descended from Manasseh and Ephraim. But when they thought it was their interest to affirm the contrary, they would solemnly disclaim all affinity to them. Resolved, however, to profess themselves Jews on the present occasion, in order to answer their intended purposes, they went with great eagerness as far as the territories of Jerusalem to meet Alexander, whom they no sooner saw, than they expressed their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations. The king commending their zeal, these Samaritans (Shechemites) preferred their humble suit, that he would vouchsafe to honour their city and temple with his presence. Alexander told them, that the situation of affairs required his speedy departure; but that, on his return, he would not fail to comply with their desires. Upon their requesting that he would grant them an exemption from the seventh year's tribute, he asked them if they were Jews. They replied they were Hebrews, but that they were called Shechemites by the Sidonians. The question was then put explicitly, whether they were Jews or not? Upon their reply in the negative, they were dismissed with this answer: "The favour you ask I have granted to the Jews. When I return, and have better information, I shall indulge you in whatever may be thought reasonable." Alexander, however, took Sanballat's men with him into Egypt, allotting them a distribution of lands to live upon there, which they had afterwards in Thebes, where they were put into garrison.

After the death of Alexander, the empire was parted amongst his successors; but the temple on mount Gerizim remained untouched. If, at any time, the Jews at Jerusalem were found guilty of the violation of their laws, as in eating forbidden meats, breaking the sabbath, or any other crime of the like nature, they took sanctuary with the Shechemites, upon pretence that they were unjustly accused. About this time Jaddus, the high-priest, died, and was succeeded in the pontifical dignity by his son Onias. Such was the then state of Jerusalem.

Shechem the capital of the Samaritans.

The war, ing dispute of the Samaritans.

The empire parted on the death of Alexander.

Shechem the asylum of the irregular Jews.

End of the ELEVENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEW S.

BOOK XII.

[Including a Period of about One Hundred and Seventy Years.]

CHAP. I.

Ptolemy takes Jerusalem by surprize, and transplants many of the Jews to divers colonies in Egypt. Perpetual animosity between the Jews and Samaritans.

WHEN Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and settled the affairs of the Jews in the manner already described, he departed this life, and his empire was divided into distinct principalities. On this division, Antiochus took the sovereignty of Asia, Seleucus that of Babylon and the bordering countries, Lyfimachus governed the Hellespont, Cassander reigned over Macedon, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, succeeded his father in the government of Egypt. These respective princes, not satisfied with their different allotments, continued at war with each other for some years, in the course of which great numbers of lives were sacrificed, and many capital cities utterly destroyed. The whole track of Syria was abundantly sensible of the ravaging effects of this discontent, under the government of Ptolemy, otherwise called Soter, or Saviour; though never was character more reverse to such denomination.

Having a design upon Jerusalem, he took the advantage of storming it upon a sabbath-day, under colour of devotion, as if he would offer sacrifice, and then treacherously possessed himself of the city without any opposition, or the least apprehension of danger; for it being a day of rest, the Jews would not act on the defensive, which facilitated a conquest he applied to the most tyrannical and barbarous purposes. Agatharchides, of Cuidus, who recorded the acts of the successors of Alexander, reproaches us with superstition, as if through it we had lost our liberty and our country. His words are these:

"There are a people known by the name of Jews, who have their habitation in a strong and populous city, called Jerusalem. These men fell into the hands of Ptolemy, and subjected themselves to a cruel slavery, upon a fantastical scruple of conscience, that would not suffer them to

No. 15.

"take up arms against an oppressor in their own defence upon what they call their sabbath-day." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation.

Ptolemy carried away a great many captives out of the mountainous parts of Judea, from about Jerusalem, Samaria, and the mount Gerizim, whom he transported into Egypt, and settled there. As he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants, (and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassy to them, after he had vanquished Darius in battle), he disposed of them in strong holds, garrisons, and places of trust, upon their oath of fidelity to him and his successors, granting them also immunities and privileges in common with the Macedonians; so that, tempted by Ptolemy's liberality, on the one hand, and the pleasures and convenience of a fruitful country, on the other, there came over great numbers of Jews into Egypt from other parts.

But the Jews and Samaritans could never be reconciled upon the subject of their antient laws and constitutions; the one insisting that the temple at Jerusalem was the only holy place, and the Jews, on that account, not being allowed to send their sacrifices any where else; while the Samaritans as peremptorily and confidentially affirmed the same with respect to their temple at Gerizim. And this was the cause of much bloodshed.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, son of Ptolemy Soter, succeeds to the kingdom of Egypt, and causes the Jewish laws to be translated into Greek. Liberates many captives, and presents many gifts for the use of the temple.

ON the death of Ptolemy Soter, or the Saviour, Philadelphus, his son, succeeded of course to the kingdom of Egypt. He reigned thirty-nine years, and gave orders for translating the Mosaic laws into the Greek tongue. There were, at that time, captive Jews, in Egypt, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand, whom this Philadelphus commanded to be set at liberty, upon the following occasion:

Y y

Ptolemy shows favour to the Jews.

Contention between the Jews and Samaritans.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, second king of Egypt.

Demetrius Phalerus, librarian to the king.

occasion: Demetrius Phalerus, having the king's library under his care and custody, from a natural curiosity, determined, if possible, to procure a collection of all the books extant, and that upon any terms. This being his peculiar propensity, he bought up all the choice books he could hear of, and which he thought might be worthy a place in the king's study and good opinion. Upon the king's enquiry how many thousand volumes he thought he had collected, he replied, about two hundred thousand; but that he hoped, in a short time, to make them five hundred thousand, as he had certain information, that there was an incredible number of choice manuscripts among the Jews, concerning their laws, customs, and ceremonies, that were deserving not only of perusal, but the honour of a place in the royal library; but being written in their own language and characters, it would be a matter of great difficulty and trouble to translate them into Greek. He observed that though there might seem to be some resemblance and affinity between the language and writing of the one and the other, yet there were several niceties peculiar to each other: not that he introduced this remark to discourage the translating them out of the Hebrew, and depositing them in the royal library, as long as money could be found to defray the expence.

Ptolemy at the advice of his librarian endeavours to procure a translation of the Jewish laws into Greek.

The king highly commended the purpose of Demetrius concerning such a collection, and wrote to the high-priest of the Jews, to assist him in providing those copies. There was, amongst the attendants of the king, one Aristæus, a man whose modesty and candour recommended him to the confidence of his master. This Aristæus long and heartily desired to obtain the liberty of the Jews, and embracing this occasion as the most convenient opportunity of applying to the king on that subject, went first to Sosibius, Tasantinius, and Andraæas, three captains of the guards, to sound their inclinations; and finding them well affected towards his design, he intreated their concurrence in so humane an office. Upon this assurance, he modestly addressed himself to the king, in words to the following effect:

Address of Aristæus to Ptolemy, in behalf of the Jews.

"If I may presume, with all deference and humility, to submit my thoughts to your royal pleasure, respecting the laws of the Jews, you will permit me to observe, that I cannot see how it can be done, while so many of that nation are in bondage under your government, from whom you expect to derive so necessary an assistance. I presume it is an act worthy of your magnificence to deliver those unhappy people from their present state of misery, as I apprehend the same Divine Being, under whom you rule, is the author of their laws. We and they worship one and the same Creator, and adore the same Almighty Power, though we differ in name and title. Permit me, therefore, to intreat that, from a reverence to that Divine Being whom they love and worship with a zeal and affection beyond all other mortals, you will be pleased to restore these wretched exiles to their own country, that they may end their days in their own place. I interpose not, Sire, in their behalf, from a principle of partiality, but from a consciousness that the same God is the Creator of us all, and that such an act of clemency must be acceptable to the Father of all Mercies."

The king's great liberality.

The king, highly pleased with the liberality of this address, asked Aristæus how many thousands he thought there were who would crave this indulgence? Answer being made, about an hundred and twenty, and enforced, by observing, that it would be an action worthy of so great a monarch, to shew mercy to miserable captives, as an acknowledgment of the power he had derived from above, the king gave orders, that an hundred and twenty drachmas should be paid to the soldiers for every Jew they had in custody, on the next pay day, over and above their usual stipend. He also promised to grant the request of Aristæus in every particular point, and to ratify the whole by a public decree, comprehending not only those who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those also that, either before or since that time, had been taken into captivity. When it was represented to him, that their redemp-

tion would be attended with an expence amounting to at least four hundred talents, he solemnly declared it should be done, as will appear from the following decree, which is preserved as an instance of the magnanimity of this illustrious monarch.

Ptolemy's decree for setting the Jews at liberty.

"It is our royal will and pleasure that all the Jews whatever, who have been made captive by any of my father's forces upon their incurfions into Syria and Phœnicia, and those brought away, or sold into any part of my dominions, and all those likewise, that, either before or since that time, have been sold and enslaved, be all set free upon the payment of one hundred and twenty drachmas for every slave; the soldiers to receive this redemption-money, together with their pay, out of the treasury. I cannot suppose that my father either intended or approved of the forcing away so many thousands into captivity, or the ravaging of their country by the soldiery, for the mere sake of plunder, contrary to the great law of equity. Out of regard, therefore, to justice, and in commiseration of those who suffer under oppression, I do hereby expressly charge and command, that all the Jews, who are at this time in servitude, be immediately dismissed upon the payment of the sum aforesaid to their respective masters, in obedience to our own mandate, without fraud or collusion. It is also our royal will and pleasure, that this our proclamation be made public for three days successively after the receipt of it; and, in the mean time, that the aforesaid masters bring in a list of their slaves to such officers, and in such manner as shall be prescribed, and all this upon peril of confiscation, if any man shall be found to act contrary to the tenour of this our decree."

The king's excellent bounty to the Jews.

Upon a revival of this decree, it appeared to the king, that the provision for the liberty of the Jews, who were taken either before or after the time specified, was not expressed in such explicit terms, but it might be evaded; so that, from a motive of generosity, he superadded clauses of indulgence. Nay, such was his liberality, that he gave orders to the collectors of his tribute, and the officers of his treasury, to have the money ready for the ransom of the Jews; by which means, in the course of only seven days, the business was dispatched at the king's charge, amounting to four hundred and sixty talents; the masters insisting on the same rate for the discharge of children they had for the adult; though the king's edict extended no farther than to those who were brought away prisoners, without comprehending such as were born there.

He sent Demetrius to finish the translation.

Having thus far conducted the business, with a munificence that did him the highest honour, the king commanded Demetrius Phalerus to publish his purpose concerning the transcript of the Jewish records in due form and order; so that a copy of the petition of Demetrius was registered, as also of the letters written upon that occasion, together with an account of the donations and donors towards the work; so that from hence might appear both the excellency of the design and the execution. The petition was couched in terms to the following purport.

"Demetrius to the great King.

Petition of Demetrius to the king.

"Since it is your royal will and command, that I should contribute my utmost endeavours to supply what yet may be wanting towards the perfection of your library, and to find out what curious and useful books and copies may have hitherto escaped my search, this is humbly to inform you, that, after much study and recollection, I do not find any thing so conducive to that laudable purpose as the book of the Jewish legislation; but being written in Hebrew characters, and in an Hebrew idiom, it will be difficult for us to understand them. Besides, our present version is not so correct as it should be, through want of royal patronage. It will, therefore, I presume, be necessary to have them accurately translated, as a body from their Divine original, of the wisest and most perfect laws that are extant. For this cause it is, that, according to Hecataeus, of Abdera, we find in none

Remarks of
Ptolemy
in the Jew-
ish laws.

"none of the poets or historians any mention of those laws, or the administrators of them, the origin and institution of them being sacred, and not to be prophaned by unhallowed lips.
"You will, therefore, Sire, if you judge it meet, be pleased to write to the high-priest of the Jews, to send you out of every tribe six elders, whom he shall choose as men best skilled in the knowledge of their constitution; so that, by their assistance in the interposition and exposition of their writings, we may be able to produce something worthy of your royal approbation."

Letters
written to
the Jewish
high-priest,
accompanied
with mu-
lificent pre-
sents.

Upon this motion of Demetrius, the king gave directions for letters to be written to Eleazar, the high-priest of the Jews, agreeable thereunto, inserting in them the general release of all the captives in Egypt. These letters were accompanied with a present of fifty talents of gold, together with precious stones of immense value, to be submitted to the disposal of lapidaries, and converted, with the addition of an hundred talents, to the use of sacrifices, and other sacred services of the temple. I cannot pass over, in silence, the magnificence of the whole proceeding; but shall previously present the reader with a copy of the letter, written to Eleazar, prefixing an account of the manner by which he attained to that dignity.

Upon the demise of Onias, the high-priest, his son, Simeon, succeeded to that office. He was a man of singular piety towards God, and exemplary benevolence towards mankind, inasmuch that he obtained the honourable appellation of "*Simeon the Just*." This excellent man did not long hold the pontifical dignity; and leaving, at his death, an infant son, he was of course succeeded by his brother Eleazar, to whom Ptolemy wrote the following letter.

"King Ptolemy to Eleazar, the high-priest, sendeth greeting.

The epistle
of king
Ptolemy to
Eleazar, the
high-priest.

"Whereas there were great numbers of Jews in my dominions, that were brought hither captive by the Persians, while they were in power; and whereas these were honoured by my father, in reposing confidence in them, vesting them with places under his government, and particularly appointing them to garrisons, as a check upon the Egyptians, with extraordinary pensions for their services; be it known unto you, that as from the time of my succession to the throne, I have ever retained an affection for your people, I have lately manifested the same, in setting at liberty above one hundred thousand of them, and paying the charge of their ransom out of my own coffers. Some of them I have employed in a military, and others in a civil capacity, according to their respective character and abilities, deeming it a service acceptable to that Supreme Being to whom I owe both my existence and my crown. From a desire of shewing my regard for the Jews throughout the habitable earth, I have proposed to procure a translation of your laws into the Greek, to be deposited in my library. In order to accomplish this design, you will do well to select out of your several tribes six elders from each tribe, well skilled in the laws, and send them to assist in this translation, as I think, if it is well executed, it will redound to my immortal honour. The persons I depute to treat with you on this affair, are Andræas, an officer of my body guards, and Aristæus, my most faithful counsellor. I have charged them with a present of an hundred talents of silver, as first fruits dedicated to the sacred services of the temple. Your answer to this epistle will be highly acceptable."

Eleazar complied with the king's request, and wrote him in return to the following effect.

"Eleazar, the high-priest, to king Ptolemy, greeting.

Eleazar's
answer.

"If you, your queen Arsinoë, and your illustrious family are well, it is highly grateful to the Jews. We acknowledge the receipt of your most gracious letter, which was read in full assembly, and afforded infinite joy and satisfaction, not only as an instance of your clemency towards a distressed people,

but your piety and reverence for the worship of the great God. We have received, by the hands of Andræas and Aristæus, (persons highly worthy of esteem and honour), twenty golden cups, thirty of silver, five goblets, and a table, to be dedicated to the service of the altar, together with an hundred talents towards the charge of sacrifices, and other ceremonies of the temple. We have represented these circumstances to our brethren in the most affectionate terms of respect and gratitude; and we are all so sensible of the obligations you have been pleased to lay upon us, that you may depend on our most implicit obedience to your commands, as a due acknowledgment of your gracious condescension. Pursuant to a just sense of our duty, we have recommended to God, in our public prayers, the protection of your royal person, sister, and children, together with all that are near and dear to you, wishing peace and prosperity to yourself and people; and beseeching the Almighty that the work you have now in hand of compiling a collection of our laws, may be of as much satisfaction and advantage to you as your heart can desire. To promote this desirable end, I have sent you six elders out of every tribe, with the law, to attend your pleasure; relying on your piety and justice for their remittance to us after the transcription, and recommending you to the providential care of the Almighty."

Such was the answer of Eleazar, the high-priest, to king Ptolemy's letter; upon which occasion the names of the seventy-two elders were subjoined; but it is deemed unnecessary to enumerate them. But the magnificence and curiosity of the donations for the service of the temple cannot be omitted without doing great injustice to the king's piety and bounty, considering with what liberality he promoted the work, the encouragement and countenance he gave to the prosecution of it, and the great attention he paid to those who were employed in it. In these particulars, therefore, I am bound in duty to be more minute; not as a branch of the history, but a memorial of the king's magnanimity, that will stand upon record to his eternal honour. To begin with a description of the table.

Seventy-
two elders
to interpret
the law, &c.

With respect to the dimensions, the king sent artificers to measure the former table at Jerusalem, and see whether the place would not contain a larger. They informed him he might make it as large as he pleased, upon which he proposed at first to have it made five times as large as the other. But reflecting that so great a bulk would render it unwieldy for daily use, and have the appearance of ostentation rather than service, he came to a resolution, that it should not exceed the former table in size, but in the elegance and variety of its materials. The king had a competent knowledge of human nature, and the reason of things, and great presence of mind, devising expedients, and forming inventions; so that he commonly planned his own designs, and prescribed to the workmen the rules of proportion. With respect to this table in particular, he gave orders that it should be two cubits and an half in length, and one and an half in height, all of solid gold; and round about it a border of an hand's breadth, set out on three sides with curious carving of flower work, and other agreeable figures, which being triangular, every angle had the same disposition of sculptures, and the same form presented itself when turned about without any variation. This table, in fine, was curiously wrought all over, but especially that part which was most in view, with an intermixture of precious stones, looped together by golden buckles, at equal distances from each other. The outside of it was set with other rich stones of an oval cut, and embossed work of twigs and branches surrounding it. There were also various sorts of fruit wrought together under the figure of a crown, as bunches of grapes, ears of corn, all in their proper and natural positions, and expressed by stones set in gold, bearing the native colour of what they represented. Under this crown was another row of ovals, which, for the matter, the order, and ornament, was so like the former, and so exactly uniform from top to bottom, that one part could not be distinguished from another. There was drawn also upon this latter, the resemblance of a meander,

Description
of the gold-
en table.

the crown, the crown of which was marked with stones of such a kind that sparkled like stars, as rubies, emeralds, and whatever else was most precious and excellent in the kind. Along this meander were divers pieces of sculpture in boughs and knots, that, in some degree, resembled the figure of a lozenge; and they were so enlivened by a regular disposition of crystal and amber for the advantage of the view, that it exhibited all together one of the most finished spectacles that can be imagined. The cornices of the feet resembled the first budding of lilies, the stem upright, with the leaves and tendrils winding under the table. The basis was an hand's breadth over, garnished with rubies, and a border round about it, two hands distant betwixt the feet that rested upon it. The graving work of these feet was incomparable, being the fancy of a foliage of the vine and the ivy, finished so exquisitely to the life, that it was difficult to distinguish the artificial from the natural; for, upon the least breath of air, the leaves would move and play, as if they had been the produce of nature. This table consisted of three parts, put together with such skill that there were no joints to be discerned; and the thickness of it was half a cubit. This great prince, by the magnificence of his present, the value of the materials, and the exquisite curiosity of the whole work, demonstrated that though it was abated in size and proportion from the first design, it was abundantly supplied by a most munificent expence in ornament and art.

The golden cup.

There was also a large pair of golden cups, wrought half way up the bowls in form of a scollop, and inlaid with all sorts of precious stones, ranged into the resemblance of a meander of a cubit over, with elegant figures of twigs, branching out in a kind of net-work up to the brim, and garnished with jewels also. The borders were set out with an intermixture of lilies, flowers, vines, grapes, and the like around the lips of the vessel. This was the form of these goblets, which contained each between three and four gallons. The silver pieces were so radiant, that they exceeded in brightness the clearest crystal.

The King contributes to the perfection of the work.

Besides these, the king furnished thirty golden vessels more, richly decorated with precious stones, and overshadowed, in the parts which were not filled up, with vine and ivy leaves in curious sculpture. Nor was the excellence of these curious pieces to be wholly ascribed to the design and execution of the artificer, who took a commendable pride in contributing to the perfection of the work, making it his business to superintend the matters themselves in their several performances, which rendered them more intent, as they saw the king had the design at heart, than they otherwise would have been.

The King holds conference with the elders.

Upon the delivery of these donations, and the dedication of them to the use and service of the holy temple at Jerusalem, Eleazar treated the king's commissioners with all due honours, and dismissed them with presents and good wishes to their master. When the king received intelligence of their arrival at Alexandria, and that they had brought the elders with them, he sent for his two ambassadors, Andræas and Aristæus, from whom he received Eleazar's letter, and derived particular satisfaction as to many important questions. His mind was so intent upon an immediate conference with the elders of the tribes, that no person had access to him even on the most urgent affairs; though, contrary to his custom of giving private audience once in five days, and public once a month.

Marked the perfectness of the work.

Having thus secured himself from the importunity of these casual interruptions, he only waited the arrival of Eleazar's deputies, who attended him soon after with presents from the high-priest, and with certain manuscripts of the Jewish laws, written upon parchment in letters of gold. Upon the king's asking for the books, they were produced, to his great admiration at their exquisite workmanship; for the leaves were put together with such art, that there was no discerning where one skin was joined to another. The king expressed his regard for the persons who brought him that curiosity, a greater for the person who lent it him, but the greatest of all for the author of those laws that were now brought him. The deputies, and their attendants, gave him, with one heart and voice, in their joint prayers and acclamations, such striking instances of their zeal for his ser-

vice, that he could not refrain from tears of joy and sincerity of their respect.

The writings were then put into the hands of the officers, who were to take them in charge; and the king embracing the deputies, told them he would first confer with them on the business they came upon, and then take their persons into his peculiar care; as he looked upon the day of their arrival to remarkably auspicious, that he determined to have it observed during his life, as an annual festival in commemoration of so great a blessing. It happened, indeed, to be upon the very day of his naval victory over Antigonus.

The care of entertaining and providing for strangers was properly the province of Nicanor, who appointed Dorotheus under him in this, as in other cases, to see that nothing might be wanting. For his own honour, and the accommodation of the strangers, the king commanded that they should be served after the manner of their country; and such instructions were given, with respect to the elders, that they might not be disgusted with novelty. The conduct of this business was committed to Dorotheus, as a person versed in the customs of the Jews. There were placed two seats, one on the king's right-hand, the other on his left, by his own order, for the accommodation of the deputies. When the guests were seated in due form, the king commanded Dorotheus to serve them in the same manner as he had done their countrymen upon a former occasion; so that the Egyptian priests and officers, who attended the king's table, were all dismissed; and one of their own deputies and priests named Elisa, was called upon by the king to give thanks. After the solemnity of a benediction, and fervent prayer for the prosperity of the king and his people, to the infinite satisfaction of all present, the company cheerfully partook of the entertainment, during which the king took occasion to start several philosophical questions, in order to sound the abilities of the deputies. Their answers were so pertinent, that the king was highly delighted with their conversation, insomuch that the festival continued for the space of twelve days. Those who may be desirous of knowing the particular points that were discussed, are referred to a book written by Aristæus upon the very occasion.

Menedemus the philosopher.

The conversation of the deputies had a great effect not only upon the king, but Menedemus, the philosopher, who was brought over to acknowledge an over-ruling Providence, and gave up the controversy on that subject in their favour. The king, in token of a due sense of the edification he had derived from their learned disquisitions, and particularly respecting the art of government, ordered them a gratuity of three talents each, after which they were conducted to their apartments.

At the expiration of three days, Demetrius escorted them over a causeway of several furlongs, and a bridge of communication betwixt the island and the continent. From thence he proceeded to the northward, and settled them in a mansion by the sea side, quietly and commodiously situated for study and contemplation. Having thus disposed them in a manner most convenient for the promotion of the undertaking, he requested their immediate attention to it, wished them success, and took his departure.

They prosecuted their studies with unremitting assiduity, from earliest morn till the ninth hour of the day, which was a time of relaxation, when they were served by Dorotheus, at the king's order, with the choicest delicacies from his own table, over and above their ordinary allowance. They came to court every morning, and saluted the king, and thence betook themselves to their business, having first washed their hands with sea-water.

The version of the law was finished within the compass of seventy-two days, when Dorotheus called all the Jews together into the place where it was translated, and, in the presence of the interpreters, read over the laws, the whole assembly unanimously approving the translation, and applauding Demetrius for proposing a work of such essential benefit to the community. He desired also that it might be read by the eminent men of the nation; after which the high-priest, the elders, and magistrates of the people, propounded, that, since the translation was so happily executed, its authority might be ratified, and the

text

text remain unalterable for ever. They were unanimous with respect to the proposal, but came to this resolution, that the work be subject to a further examination and revise; and that if any superfluity or omission should be discovered; upon mature deliberation, it should be laid before them and corrected; and it was judged expedient that it should so stand valid for ever.

Revised and confirmed.

Ptolemy expresses his satisfaction.

Judgment inflicted on Theopompus, the historian.

Also on Theocritus, the tragic poet.

The king's bounty on the dismissal of the interpreters.

The king was charmed with having gained his point, and succeeded in an undertaking so conducive to the public interest. When it was read to him, he was transported with wonder at the wisdom of the law-giver, and expressed his astonishment to Demetrius, that neither of the poets or historians should make mention of so incomparable a system. Demetrius replied, that their origin being so manifestly divine, and the subject of them so venerable, none had been hardy enough to attempt a description, especially when reflection brought to mind the heavy judgments inflicted on several people for their temerity in prophaning them. He cited the case of Theopompus, who, as a plagiarist, having published texts of holy writ, affirming himself to have been the author, was struck with lunacy for the space of thirty days; but that, in the interval of his phrenzy, being conscious of his guilt, and imploring the Divine pardon, he was, upon repentance and amendment, restored to his right mind, though not without a revelation in his sleep, that it was his audacity in confounding sacred things with prophane, that brought the lunacy upon him. Thus it was also with Theocritus, the tragic poet, who having, in a certain dramatic representation, introduced some passages of sacred scripture, was struck blind; but, upon confession and repentance of his crime, restored again to his sight.

The king, upon the receipt of the books from Demetrius, paid adoration to the Divine Author, and gave strict command for preserving them safe and entire, desiring the interpreters to visit him as frequently as they could make it convenient, assuring them it would be his highest pleasure, upon all occasions, to promote their honour and interest. He observed, that their present dismissal was indispensable: but that if ever hereafter they should be disposed to return, they should meet with such reception as was due to the characters of wise and good men, and becoming the dignity of an opulent and powerful prince. He then bestowed on each of them three rich suits of raiment, two talents of gold, the value of one talent in cups, and couches to sit and eat upon. He also sent by them, as presents to Eleazar, the high-priest, ten beds with silver feet, and suits of furniture properly adapted; a chalice of thirty talents, ten purple robes, a crown of inestimable value, and an hundred pieces of fine linen; besides cups and goblets of divers sorts, and two golden vessels expressly dedicated to the service of the temple. In a letter to the high-priest he desired him if any of the deputies should be disposed to pay him a visit, he would give them permission, as he highly esteemed the conversation of learned men, and took a pleasure in rewarding literary merit. Thus, to his immortal honour, did Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, towards the Jews.

CHAP. III.

The kings of Asia favourable to the Jews. Antiochus the Great particularly espouses their interest and honour.

Privileges granted to the Jews by Seleucus Nicator.

THE Jews were held in great honour and esteem by the princes of Asia, both for their fidelity and skill in martial operations; insomuch that Seleucus Nicator gave them the privileges of freemen in all the cities he built throughout Asia and the Lower Syria; nay, in the metropolis of Antioch itself, declaring it his royal will and pleasure, that they should enjoy the same rights and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, of which they are possessed to this very day. For instance, the Jews being interdicted the use of foreign oil, the officers, who had the superintendence of that commodity, were obliged, by government, to allow them so much money in lieu of it. In the course of the following war the people of Antioch insisted on the abrogation of that custom;

No. 16.

but Mutianus, who was then governor of the province of Syria, would not admit of it.

In the reign of Vespasian, and his son Titus, the people of Alexandria contended for the disfranchisement of the Jews; but such were the honour and justice of the Romans, and especially of those two magnanimous princes, that they could not obtain it. They certainly did not want pretence for revenge upon a people who had so resolutely opposed them throughout the course of a troublesome war; but they still held their rights and privileges to be sacred, and therefore nobly refused to gratify either their own passions, or yield to the importunity of two great nations, in suffering a vindictive act of injustice. In their generous breasts the recollection of their ancient merit preponderated the sense of their late misdemeanours. Nor could they be influenced by interested views to violate their honour; observing, that those who had taken up arms against the Romans, had suffered sufficiently by the calamities of war, without any other forfeiture; and that to punish those who had not offended, would be equally repugnant to justice and common sense.

Extreme generosity of Vespasian, and his son Titus, towards the Jews.

It is also evident, from the testimony of history, that Marcus Agrippa was favourably disposed towards the Jews: for when the Ionians, from a principle of animosity against those people, besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens, which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, whom the Grecians surnamed "the God," had bestowed upon them, and requested that, if the Jews were to be joint partakers with them in the same privileges, they might be obliged to worship the same gods as they worshipped, these Ionians, when the question was brought to trial, could not obtain their suit, nor prevail against the Jews, whose cause was ably defended by Nicolaus, of Damascus, who caused judgment to be given in favour of the right they claimed to the free exercise and enjoyment of their own laws and customs. Agrippa pronounced definitively, that he could not agree to any innovation in that point. Those who would wish to have full information respecting this matter, may read the whole story at large, in the 123d and 124th books of the history of this Nicolaus. Indeed, the determination of Agrippa does not appear so much a matter of wonder, as at that time our nation was not at war with the Romans; while the candour and generosity of Vespasian and Titus are astonishing beyond expression; nor can their names be mentioned but with infinite honour, as men who, amidst the outrages of a fierce and bloody war, could not be transported beyond the bounds of humanity and moderation.

Marcus Agrippa favours the Jews.

Nicolaus, of Damascus, espouses their cause, with success.

Encomium of Josephus on the character of the Roman emperors Vespasian and Titus.

Under the reign of Antiochus the Great, Asia, Judæa, and Cælo-Syria, were perpetually harrassed: for Antiochus at that time being in actual hostility with Ptolemy Philopates, and his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, whoever were conquerors, the Jews, betwixt the prosperous and adverse fortune of Antiochus, were sure to be sufferers, like a ship in a storm exposed to the fury of the billows on either side. Antiochus, however, prevailed in the end, and took possession of Judæa.

The Jews are harrassed during the war of Antiochus.

In process of time, after the death of Philopates, his son sent a formidable army into Cælo-Syria, under the command of Scopas, his general, who took several of their cities, and reduced Judæa by force; but Antiochus, in a short time, obtained a signal victory over Scopas at the head of the river Jordan, and recovered the places in Cælo-Syria and Samaria of which the enemy had taken possession. The Jews, upon this success, delivered themselves up, received the army into their city, (Jerusalem), provided plentifully for the elephants, and valiantly assisted in the attack of the castle, where Scopas had left a body of men in garrison. Antiochus, deeming it reasonable to gratify the Jews with some honourable token of the sense he retained of their good will and services upon this occasion, wrote to the generals of his army and leading men, giving testimony of their meritorious conduct, and informing them of the rewards he intended to bestow on them. Copies of the epistles will follow what we shall produce concerning the testimony of Polybius, of Magalopolis, in the sixteenth book of his history, where he thus writes: "Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, made an expedition, in the winter season, into the heart of the country,

The Jews deliver themselves up to Antiochus.

Testimony of Polybius the historian

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"and subdued the nation of the Jews." He writes in the same book, that, "When Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, the victor took possession of Bithynia, Samaria, Gadela, Gadara, and Abila; after which the Jews of Jerusalem, and of the glorious temple there, went over to him." He adds, "That he should say more on the subject, but that he reserved it for another opportunity." Having thus cited the testimony of Polybius, we return to the epistle of Antiochus.

"King Antiochus to Ptolemy, greeting:

Epistle of Antiochus the Great to Ptolemy in favour of the Jews.

"Whereas we have received several demonstrations of the good disposition of the Jews towards us and our service, from the time of our first coming into their country, in the respect of their elders and magistrates in attending us on the way, and the splendid reception of our person and army into the city, as well as making such ample provision both for our horses and elephants; these good offices duly considered, we hold ourselves bound in duty to acknowledge, by bestowing on them some marks of our favour and esteem, contributing towards the reparation of their demolished city, and recalling their captive countrymen to their former habitations. In order to effect these necessary purposes, we have, in the first place, assigned twenty thousand pieces of silver towards the charge of their sacrifices, wine, oil, and frankincense; and for fine flour, according to the custom of the place, one thousand four hundred and sixty measures of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five measures of salt. And it is our will and pleasure that all this be executed and made good according to order. It is our further will and pleasure, that whatever may be wanting towards the repairs of the temple, porch, or galleries, be supplied either from Judaea, Libanus, or elsewhere, without any tax or duty. And we do likewise grant the same immunity for all other materials that shall be applied to the use of the holy temple, with permission moreover of an universal liberty to live and govern themselves according to their own customs and laws. And we do hereby respectively discharge their elders, priests, scribes, and singing-men, of poll-taxes, royal duties, and all other tributes whatsoever. And, as a further encouragement to the speedy re-peopling of this city, we do, by our royal authority, grant unto all the present inhabitants of the same, and to such others as shall come over to take up their residence there, at any time betwixt this and the month Hyperberetæus next ensuing, an exemption from all public impositions, for the space of three years to come; and likewise from that time forward, an abatement of all taxes, in consideration of their part of damages and sufferings. And finally, whereas great numbers of these people have been carried away captives, and remain to this day in bondage, we do farther command that they be forthwith let at liberty, with restitution of what hath been taken from them."

This generous declaration in favour of the people was followed by an edict in honour of the temple, which he caused to be published throughout his dominions. It was to this purport: "It shall not be lawful for any foreigner to enter the temple, but with consent of the Jews, and without being purified and qualified beforehand for his admittance. No man shall presume to bring into the city either the flesh of horses, mules, or asses, or of panthers, foxes, hares, or any creatures that the Jews are forbidden to eat. Nor shall their skins be brought, nor one of these animals be bred in the city. Let them only use such as their forefathers, according to Divine appointment, applied to the purpose of sacrifices. He that transgresses any of these orders shall be fined, for every such offence, three thousand drachmas, to be paid by the offender to the priests for their use and benefit."

The king took another occasion of bearing testimony to our piety and allegiance. Upon the breaking out of a commotion in Phrygia and Lydia, Zeuxes, the commander in chief of his forces, being at the head of an army in the upland provinces, he commanded him to send away from Babylon a num-

ber of Jews into Phrygia, and gave him his instructions in a letter to this effect:

"The king Antiochus to Zeuxes, his friend and general, greeting:

"Whereas I am given to understand that seditious practices prevail in Phrygia and Lydia, and it behoves me therefore to be upon my guard: I am now to acquaint you that I am advised by my council to take two thousand Jewish families out of Babylon and Mesopotamia, and to transport them into Phrygia with their goods, and whatever property they may possess, and there to place them in strong holds and garrisons, being thoroughly satisfied of their zeal and allegiance, not only from the principles of their religion, but proofs of their fidelity to my ancestors. Wherefore it is my will and pleasure, notwithstanding all the difficulties with which it may be attended, that they be forthwith transplanted, giving them all assurances that they shall enjoy the liberty of their own laws and customs. Upon their arrival there, you are to assign them lands and possessions, with all sorts of conveniences for building, planting, and tillage, with an exemption from all taxes and contributions out of the profits for ten years to come. In the mean time, till they may be able to support themselves out of the fruits of their own industry, you are to allow them a competent provision of wheat for the maintenance of themselves and their families; by which kind treatment they will be encouraged to act more cheerfully in our service. You are finally to take care that they be not exposed to any sort of molestation or trouble. And so we bid you farewell."

King Antiochus's epistle to Zeuxes, his general, in behalf of the Jews.

These testimonials are produced to shew the esteem and friendship Antiochus the Great bore to the Jews, as well as commemorate actions noble in their nature, and consequently most worthy of imitation.

Soon after this transaction, a league of friendship and alliance was entered into between this king and Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, upon a marriage with his daughter Cleopatra, who had yielded up to him, by way of dowry, Coelo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judaea, and Samaria. The revenue was in partition between the two kings, and farmed out to some of the principal men in the respective provinces, who superintended the collections, and paid their proportions into the king's treasury according to contract.

Antiochus gives his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy.

At this juncture the Samaritans were in a flourishing state and condition, and greatly harassed the Jews by vexatious incursions, carrying many of them away captives; and these ravages were chiefly committed during the time of the high-priest Onias: for after the death of Eleazar, his uncle Manasses succeeded; and after his death Onias, the son of Simon the Just, which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as before observed. This Onias was poor in soul, weak in intellects, and covetous in disposition; so that by refusing to pay the customary tribute which his ancestors had done, he incensed Ptolemy Euergetes, the father of Philopates, to such a degree, that he sent ambassadors expressly to Jerusalem, with a menace to demand the payment, upon peril of having an army quartered upon their country at discretion, and a new plantation of soldiers settled there, if they did not immediately comply. The Jews were greatly alarmed at the purport of this embassy; but Onias was so fondly avaritious, that with him no menaces could have any effect.

The Jews are distressed by the Samaritans.

Onias, the high priest, offends the king of Egypt, by refusing to pay tribute.

CHAP. IV.

Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the high-priest, intercedes for his uncle with king Ptolemy, and advances himself and family. His death.

THERE were at that time one Joseph, a man who had acquired great reputation among the people of Jerusalem for his prudence and justice. He was the son of Tobias, by the sister of Onias, the high-priest. Being informed by his mother, while he was at Phicola, the place of his birth, of the menacing message delivered by the ambassador, he hastened to Jerusalem, and reproved Onias for not attending to the safety and welfare of his countrymen, as well as exposing

Decree of Antiochus in honour of the Jewish temple.

Joseph ex-
postulates
with Onias,
but without
effect.

exposing the nation to imminent danger, by refusing to pay the tribute-money according to the custom of his predecessors. He reminded him that, for that very important purpose, he had received the authority he held, and been appointed high-priest. But that if his heart was so clogged by avarice, that he would sacrifice his country and friends, rather than refund a part of what was committed to his trust, he advised him to make a dutiful application to the king, and endeavour to persuade him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Onias replied, that he was not so much attached to his office, considered either in a civil or sacerdotal capacity, but that he would resign both, if he might be permitted, rather than apply to the king upon so disagreeable a concern, which he therefore desired to wave, as wholly averse to his inclination.

Determined
to go on an
ambassy to
Ptolemy.

Joseph then asked him if he would permit him to go upon the commission, as an ambassador, in behalf of the nation? Having obtained his hearty concurrence, Joseph went up to the temple, and calling the multitude together, exhorted them not to be alarmed by terrifying apprehensions from the remissness of his uncle Onias, as he would attend the king in their name, and exert his utmost endeavours to effect a reconciliation of the point in dispute. The whole multitude gave him thanks for the proposal, and left the business entirely to his direction. Upon this he went to the king's commissioner, and having entertained him splendidly for several days, and made him valuable presents, dismissed him to his master, with an assurance that he would speedily follow him. He became more and more anxious for this expedition, not only from the invitation and engagement of the king's commissioner, but the promise he had given to use his influence with his master, by which he made no doubt that the young adventurer would gain his point. Indeed he was so captivated with the grace of Joseph's person, the elegance of his deportment, and the gravity of his manners, that, upon his return to Egypt, he represented the sordid temper of Onias, and the agreeable disposition of Joseph, in such terms to his master, as greatly prepossessed both him and his queen in favour of the latter before they saw him. Joseph sent to his friends for money for his equipage, which, in clothes, horses, carriages, plate, and other necessities, amounted to twenty thousand drachmas, and, being properly equipped, set out for Alexandria. He happened, in his way, to fall in company with a train of the rulers and principal men of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, who were going to the king to treat with him concerning the farming of the revenue, according to annual custom. These grandees treated Joseph with a jocular severity, and made him and his retinue the subjects of their derision: nevertheless, he prosecuted his journey.

The com-
missioner
prepossesses
Ptolemy in
his favour.

He goes for
Alexandria.

Finding, upon his arrival at Alexandria, that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he immediately set out for that place, in the way to which he had the good fortune to meet the king, the queen, and Athenion, his particular confidant, on their return to Alexandria. This Athenion was the person who was deputed with the embassy to Jerusalem, and there so honourably treated by Joseph. He therefore no sooner saw him, than he gave the king to understand, that he was the young man in whose commendation he had spoken so highly on his return from Jerusalem. Ptolemy then saluted him, took him into his carriage, and mentioned how ill he had been treated by Onias, the high-priest. Joseph respectfully answered, "Sire, an old man is a second time a child: impute nothing to Onias but what his age will excuse. As for us, who have youth, and the power of our faculties, we will give proof of our loyal attachment." The king was so pleased with this candid as well as dutiful reply, that, induced thereby to conceive the highest opinion of the ability and discretion of the speaker, he gave orders, on their arrival at Alexandria, that he should be lodged in the palace, and entertained every day at his own table. This singular token of respect excited the envy of the Syrians, when they observed the honours that were paid to Joseph at Alexandria.

Interview of
Joseph and
king Ptole-
my.

Joseph is
treated with
singular re-
spect and
honour at
Alexandria.

The day of auction being now arrived, when the several branches of the revenue were to be put up, the Syrian and Phœnician noblemen, whom Joseph

had seen on his way to Alexandria, endeavoured to undervalue them, offering no more than eight thousand talents for all the duties of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria. Joseph censured the contractors, for offering a composition so inferior to the real value of the revenues, and proposed doubling it himself, over and above the forfeitures which these publicans had reserved for themselves. The king was so highly pleased with this proposal for the improvement of his revenue, that he asked Joseph what security he could give? Joseph told him, his securities were undoubted. The king ordered him to name them; and upon his answering, that he doubted not but his majesty and the queen would be mutually bound for his justice and honour, the king, from the high opinion he entertained of him, immediately appointed him receiver-general of all those provinces; a circumstance which greatly mortified those whole intentions were to have purchased the farming of the revenue at an under-value.

An auction
for the taxes

Joseph ap-
pointed far-
mer-general
of the reve-
nues.

Joseph, on his appointment to this high office, desired a guard of two thousand soldiers to support him in collecting the duty, in case of opposition; and thereupon, having borrowed five hundred talents of the king's friends in Alexandria, he proceeded towards Syria to execute his office. On his arrival at a place called Askalon, and demanding the king's tribute, the people not only refused payment, but insulted him in the most outrageous manner; upon which he punished twenty of the ringleaders, by bringing them to exemplary justice, raised a thousand talents out of their forfeited estates, and sent the treasure to the king, with an account of his proceedings. Ptolemy was so satisfied with the discretion of his conduct, that he left the whole business to him; and this recent example of severity upon the people of Askalon had such an effect on the rest of the Syrians, that they set open their gates in all places to Joseph, and paid their taxes without scruple.

Punish the
people of As-
kalon, in
Syria, for re-
fusing pay-
ment.

The inhabitants of Scythopolis followed the precedent of those of Askalon, in an obstinate refusal of their customary imposts, and in contempt of the king's officers and authority; so that Joseph was under a necessity of dealing with the ringleaders there as he had done with the former upon the same occasion, confiscating their estates, and applying the forfeiture to the king's use, and the support of government. He sent valuable presents to the king, queen, and their principal adherents, by which means he conciliated many powerful friends.

The people
of Scytho-
polis punish-
ed in the
same man-
ner as the
former.

In this situation did Joseph continue for the space of twenty-two years, and became the father of seven sons by one wife; and he had one other son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whom he took to wife on the following occasion:

Travelling to Alexandria with his brother, accompanied by his daughter, who, being marriageable, he took thither, in order to give her in wedlock to some Jew of quality. As he was at supper with the king, he became passionately enamoured with a beautiful maid that danced there for the entertainment of the royal guests. He made his brother the only confidant of the secret, desiring him, as he could not, by the Jewish law, marry a stranger, to be subservient to his desire of obtaining a private interview with the object of his affection. His brother seemed cordially to accede to the proposal, and arraying his daughter in suitable attire, conveyed her to Joseph's bed. Joseph, being disordered by the fumes of the regale, passed the first night with his brother's daughter, without discovering the error. This abuse was practised on him repeatedly, till Joseph, becoming more and more enamoured of his fair, though unknown, partner, complained to his brother of his hard fate, in being prohibited, by the law and religion of his country, from marrying the woman he most ardently loved. Solymius told him he need not perplex himself with so disagreeable an apprehension, as he might lawfully marry the object of his affection. He then discovered to him the whole affair, telling him, that, instead of the admired dancer, he had conveyed his own daughter to his bed, thinking it less criminal to sustain an indignity, in the person of his daughter, than suffer his brother to be guilty of so heinous and dishonourable an offence, as that of join-
ing

Joseph falls
in love with
a beautiful
woman at
Alexandria.

Circum-
stances pre-
ceding the
birth of
Hyrcanus.

ing himself to a strange woman, in violation of one of the most sacred laws. The great surprize of this discovery, and the singular instance of the regard Solymius had shewn for the preservation of his religion and honour, had so prevailing an effect on the mind of Joseph, that he immediately married his daughter, and of her was born Hyrcanus, as before observed.

Hyrcanus is born, and in early life discovers singular talents.

Hyrcanus devises a most artful expedient.

This Hyrcanus, at the age of thirteen years, gave such proofs of superior genius, as well as superior virtue, that he became, as is too natural, the envy of all his brethren, from gaining an ascendancy over the minds of all to whom he had an opportunity of discovering his amiable qualifications. Joseph, in order to make an experiment of the ability and disposition of his several sons, sent them to such masters as had acquired the greatest reputation for instructing of youth; but the seven elder, through dulness or sloth, returned without making the least proficiency in useful or ornamental knowledge. He sent out last his youngest son, Hyrcanus, upon a seven day's journey into the desert, with 300 yoke of oxen, bidding him plow and sow there, having first privately taken away the lines that should join the yoke and plough together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and wanted the necessary tackle, he was advised by the husbandmen to send home to his father for it; but being averse to losing his time, he projected a plan worthy of the most experienced age. He caused ten yoke of the oxen to be slain, and dividing the carcases amongst the husbandmen and servants, cut their hides into thongs, made the necessary tackle of the same, ploughed and sowed the land according to his father's appointment, and then returned home. His father was highly pleased with this instance of his sagacity, and shewed him such peculiar tokens of affection and favour, as excited the envy and hatred of his brethren.

About this time Joseph received intelligence that Ptolemy's queen, Cleopatra, was delivered of a son, to the joy of the subjects in general. As upon this occasion it might be required of him, amongst other great officers of state, to congratulate the king and queen, he determined, as a journey from Jerusalem to Alexandria would be too fatiguing to him in his advanced years, to send one of his sons in his stead. To try how they stood affected to this expedition, he called them together, and severally asked them which would chuse to engage in the business? The eldest positively refused; another apologized, by saying, he was totally unacquainted with the customs and ceremonies of a court; in short, the rest declined the undertaking, on some pretence or other, till at length it was resolved, as well with the approbation of Joseph, as the rest of his sons, that Hyrcanus should be sent, who, though the youngest, was; from his superior and distinguished abilities, the best qualified for such a negotiation.

Hyrcanus appointed to congratulate Ptolemy on the birth of a son, in lieu of his father.

This matter being adjusted, Joseph asked his son, what he thought would be sufficient to defray the expenses of his embassy, and purchase the necessary presents for the king and queen. Hyrcanus told him ten talents; and recommended that, instead of sending the presents from Judæa, they should be purchased at Alexandria, for which purpose he might write to his agent there, to furnish him with what was requisite. Joseph complied with his son's request, and gave him letters of credit upon Arion, the person in Alexandria to whom he remitted the money collected in Syria, to be deposited in the royal treasury, which, at that time, did not amount to less than three thousand talents.

He makes an exorbitant demand on Arion his father's agent.

As soon as he arrived at Alexandria, Hyrcanus went to Arion, produced his letters of credit, and demanded, instead of ten, a thousand talents. Surprized at so great a demand, Arion refused compliance, saying, "What! do you want to waste it in luxury? Your father's fortune was made by industry, and you would do well to follow his example. I will give you only ten talents, and those I will see expended in the presents you are to make."

This abrupt reply highly offended Hyrcanus, who, for some time, expostulated with him; but finding him continue absolute in not complying with his demand, he, by his superiority of power, in consequence of his father's authority, had him committed to

prison. The wife of Arion, who was on good terms with the queen, informed her of the treatment her husband had received from Hyrcanus, and the queen related the particulars of the whole to the king. In consequence of this, the king sent him a message, expressing his astonishment at his conduct, and ordering him immediately to attend, and clear himself of the charge alledged against him. Hyrcanus desired the messenger to inform his master, that as, by the Jewish law, no man was permitted to eat of the flesh of any thing that was sacrificed that had not been first in the temple, and offered sacrifice himself, so, in his case, he dare not presume to wait upon the king, till he had first presented the oblations, with which his father had entrusted him, in testimony of his gratitude and duty; and that, with regard to punishing a refractory servant, he thought himself justified, as the ill example of an inferior might at length effect the king himself; and where authority was despised, the precedent might be dangerous.

On his compliance has him a prisoner.

Vindication of Hyrcanus to the king.

He obtains the thousand talents of Arion.

When the king received this answer, instead of being offended with Hyrcanus, he highly applauded him for the dignity of his sentiments; and Arion, finding he had no reason to expect favour or protection from the king, compounded for his liberty by paying him the thousand talents he had demanded. Three days after Hyrcanus went to court to pay his respects to the king and queen, where he had the honour, from the singular regard they retained for his father, to be admitted to the royal table. As soon as Hyrcanus had received the money of Arion, he contracted privately with certain merchants for an hundred of the most comely boys, and the like number of beautiful girls, at the price of a talent a head. Being invited after this to a magnificent entertainment given by the king, together with other persons of the first rank, the officers who had the conduct of the ceremony, and the arrangement of the guests, assigned Hyrcanus, on account of his youth, the lowest place at the table. That part of the company which sat next him looking upon him with contempt, resolved to shew their disrespect by laying their bones before him, and setting on Tryphon, the king's jester, to taunt him with ridicule. This the jester attempted to do, by desiring the king, with an impertinent sneer, to notice the circumstance, saying, at the same time, that as the son had scraped the bones before him, so had the father picked the bones of all Syria. The king could not but smile at the drollery of the conceit, and asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so many bones piled before him. "Sire, (replied he, looking stedfastly on the company), dogs eat bones as well as meat; but men put the bones aside." This facetious answer highly pleased the king; and, instead of the laugh being thrown on Hyrcanus, it fell on Tryphon, and the company that affected to treat him with contempt and mockery.

Is treated by the king's guests with raillery.

His present.

The next day Hyrcanus founded the servants of the great men, who came on the errand of congratulation on the birth of the prince, as to the sum their masters intended to present. Some said twelve talents, some more, and others less; while Hyrcanus, from design, affected to be uneasy, upon pretence that he could not come up to their proportion, as he could advance no more than five. This artful pretence of poverty was highly pleasing to the servants, who failed not to tell their masters of it; so that those grandees exulted in the thought how contemptible the youth would appear in the king's eye, by the smallness of his present. But they were soon mistaken; for, on the day appointed for the ceremony of their oblations, the largest gift was twenty talents, except that made by Hyrcanus, who presented the hundred boys to the king, and the hundred girls to the queen, and with each of them a talent for another present over and above. This was so unexpected and excessive a munificence, that it struck the king and company with astonishment; but Hyrcanus gave many, exclusive of this, to the king's ministers and officers, in order to avoid the danger he apprehended from those who were suborned to injure, nay, to destroy him.

The king's present of his present to the king and queen.

This distinguished liberality of Hyrcanus so wrought on the queen, that he became the greatest favourite at court, and was desired to prefer his request, with assurance of obtaining it. Of this generous offer he made no other use than to solicit the king for letters of

of recommendation to his father and brethren. The king took an honourable leave of him, bestowed on him presents worthy the acceptance of a prince, and, with commendatory letters to his father, brethren, and his own governors and officers, dismissed him with every token of respect.

When his brethren heard of the magnificent reception he had met with from the king and queen, and how much his character was aggrandized by this embassy, they entered into a combination to go out of the town, meet him on his return, and take away his life, and this with the privacy of his father, who was greatly disgusted at the enormous expence of his late presents, and therefore, in reality, very little anxious for his preservation: though he dissembled the matter, through fear of the king.

It came, however, to this issue, that the brothers met and assaulted him on his return; but, through a valiant resistance on the part of himself and suite, they lost a considerable number of their train: two of the brethren were slain on the spot, and the rest escaped to their father at Jerusalem. Hyrcanus then proceeded to the city; but meeting with a very cool reception there, and being apprehensive of danger, he crossed the river Jordan for his security, and there spent the remainder of his life in collecting the king's duties from the barbarians.

This was in the reign of Seleucus, king of Asia, otherwise called Soter, or the Saracen, being the son of Antiochus the Great. About this time died Joseph, the father of Hyrcanus; a man of eminent piety and magnanimity, and inflexibly attached to the interest of his country, which he essentially promoted in the most important concerns. He executed the office of receiver general of the public imports in Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria, for the space of twenty-two years, and acquitted himself with the utmost probity. His uncle Onias died about the same time, and left the priesthood to his son Simon, who was succeeded by Onias, to whom Arius, king of Lacedæmon, sent an embassy on the following terms.

CHAP. V.

Arius, king of Lacedæmon, cultivates the friendship of the Jews. Last memorable act of Hyrcanus, who falls by his own hands.

"Arius, king of the Lacedæmonians, to Onias, high-priest, sendeth greeting:

"WHEREAS there is come to our hand an ancient manuscript, setting forth that both the Jews and Lacedæmonians are of one stock, as derived from the stock of Abraham; it is, therefore, but just and reasonable for brethren, so nearly allied, to do all good offices one towards another. This, then, is to offer you the command of any thing within our power to serve you, as we shall look upon your concerns as our own, and that we are united in one common interest. You receive this epistle from our trusty subject and servant Demoteles, written on a quarto page, and sealed with the figure of an eagle holding a dragon in the claws." This was the purport of the epistle, in which the Lacedæmonians claimed kindred with the Jews.

Upon the death of Joseph, mutiny and sedition prevailed amongst the people, by means of a contest between Hyrcanus and his surviving brothers about the paternal estate. The multitude was divided; but the high-priest, and majority of the people, took the part of the brothers; so that Hyrcanus, not thinking it safe to return to Jerusalem, kept his retreat beyond the Jordan, where he was harassed by a perpetual war with the Arabians, many of whom he slew, and carried away others into captivity.

In this retreat Hyrcanus caused to be erected a strong castle, the walls of which were of white stone, with the figures of divers kinds of animals, of an extraordinary size and proportion, curiously carved on them. The castle was encompassed by a deep ditch or fifth pond; and vaults, of several furlongs in length, were cut through a mountain opposite to it; but, for the sake of security, they were only wide enough, at the mouth, for one man to enter at a time. Within the castle were lodging, dining rooms, and other

No. 16.

places of entertainment, with stately buildings, courts, gardens, and fountains. To this place, thus completely finished, he gave the name of Tyre. It is situated upon the borders of Arabia and Judæa, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of the Essebonites. Hyrcanus held the government of those parts for seven years, that is, during the whole time that Seleucus reigned in Syria. Upon his demise, he was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes. Ptolemy, who was also called Epiphanes, died about the same time, and left behind him two sons in their minority: the name of the elder was Philometor; that of the younger Phylcon. Antiochus was, at that time, a very powerful prince, and had a most powerful army, inasmuch that Hyrcanus, dreading his vengeance for his inroads upon the Arabians, laid violent hands upon himself, and Antiochus took possession of his goods and territories.

CHAP. VI.

Factions prevail among the Jews concerning the high-priesthood. Antiochus makes an inroad into Egypt, but is intimidated by the Romans.

ONIAS, the high-priest, dying about this time, Antiochus Epiphanes advanced to that office his brother Jesus, in the minority of his son then living, concerning whom we shall speak hereafter. This Jesus soon after incurring the king's displeasure, he deposed him from the pontificate, and transferred it to Onias, the younger brother. There were three sons of Simon, who all attained to the dignity of the high-priesthood, as we have already set forth. This Jesus took upon himself the name of Jason, as did Onias that of Menelaus.

In this fluctuating state of the pontificate, one brother raised a party against the other, and the people thereupon divided. The sons of Tobias espoused the interest of the new high-priest, Menelaus; but the majority of the people declared in favour of Jason, and, by superior power, so overcame their opponents, that Menelaus, and his adherents, the sons of Tobias, withdrew to Antioch, declaring they would be no longer bound by the laws and institutions of their country, but profess the religion of their king, and the Grecian laws and customs, desiring liberty, at the same time, to erect a gymnasium, or place for public exercises, in Jerusalem. Having obtained this licence, they devised means so to change their bodily appearance, that there was no visible difference between them and the Greeks. In a word, they totally abolished the religion, laws, customs, and manners, of their own country, and assumed a profession and practice of other nations.

Antiochus, finding matters in general in a prosperous situation at home, was induced to try an expedition against Egypt, partly from an ambitious view of reducing the country, and partly from a presumption of the inability of the sons of Ptolemy to conduct a war of such importance. Thus resolved, he marched with a mighty army to Pelusium, where he circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by craft, and got footing into Egypt. He then advanced to Memphis, and other places adjacent, which having reduced, he proceeded to Alexandria, with a design at once of subduing both king and city. But, upon the peremptory command of the Romans, who threatened him if he continued to persevere, with the severest chastisement, he desisted from his design, relinquished his conquests, and took his departure from that country. I now deem it necessary to expatiate on the acts of this Antiochus, and fully set forth the manner of his taking Jerusalem and the temple, as they are subjects worthy of record.

CHAP. VII.

The city of Jerusalem taken, and the temple rifled by Antiochus. Cruelties inflicted on the Jews, numbers of whom apostatize. The Samaritans adopt the customs and religion of the Greeks.

ANTIOCHUS, after his precipitate retreat from Egypt, through terror of the menaces of the Romans, marched his army to Jerusalem, and entered

He gives it the name of Tyre.

Hyrcanus puts a period to his existence.

On the death of Onias, Jesus, or Jason, succeeds to the pontificate.

Fluctuating state of the high-priesthood.

Factions prevail amongst the people.

Apostacy of Menelaus and his faction.

Expedition of Antiochus into Egypt.

After some inroads into the country, he withdraws his army, through fear of the Romans.

Expedition of Antiochus against Jerusalem.

A a a

tered the city in the hundred and forty-third year from the time that the kingdom of Syria fell into the hands of Seleucus. He made himself master of the city without striking a blow, the gates being set open to him by a party he had formed in the town, where, having exercised the greatest cruelties, and put numbers to the sword, without distinction of friend or foe, he carried away an immense booty to Antioch.

This calamity happened in the second year after the taking of the city, in the hundred and forty-fifth year from the first Seleucus, the twenty-fifth day of the month, which we call Chasleu, the Macedonians Appellæus, and in the hundred and fifty third olympiad. Such was the savage ferocity of the army of Antiochus, that they spared not even those who opened the gates, and thereby paved their admission to the temple, and, through treachery to their country, laid open their dearest possessions to the most rapacious plunderers.

The temple, in short, was entirely rifled, all the holy vessels and utensils taken away, with the golden candlesticks, the golden altar, and the table of shewbread. The curtains, and the embroidery of silks, fine linen, nay, the secret places, where they concealed an immense mass of treasure, were all laid open and exposed, inasmuch, that not a relic remained of this prodigious store of wealth. To consummate the misery of this wretched people, their daily sacrifices were forbidden, the city levelled with the ground, its inhabitants partly slain, and partly led away captives, together with their wives and children, to the number of ten thousand, their walls demolished, and their stately edifices consumed by fire. They erected in the city a tower, that overlooked the temple, into which, when they had fortified it, they put a garrison of Macedonians, but not without a mixture of execrable apostate Jews, who were more inimical to the citizens than their most inveterate foreign enemies.

They erected an idol altar in the temple, and sacrificed swine upon it, in palpable violation of the sacred laws and institutions of the Jews. Those who refused to renounce the worship of the true God, and pay adoration to idols, were subject to the greatest barbarities; and, throughout all the cities and towns of Judæa, they erected temples and altars for the daily sacrifice of swine. They laid a heavy penalty on those Jews who circumcised their children, retaining officers and informers, either to prosecute them for disobeying their injunctions, or extort from them obedience, by terror and threatening.

Awed by the dreadful apprehensions of the most horrid cruelties, the greater part of the Jews complied with the king's commands. Some there were, indeed; amongst them, of such inflexible piety and virtue, that they stood firm against the trials of the severest tortures, and even of death itself, rather than depart from the religion and laws of their country; having their bodies lacerated with whips, and then crucified alive, with their wives, and so many of their children as were circumcised, hanging about their necks, according to the king's command. The holy scriptures were destroyed wherever they were found, and it was made death for any person even to mention them.

When the Samaritans found the Jews reduced to so miserable a state of distress, they disclaimed all kindred with them, extolling the temple of Gerizim as the temple of God; so that they wavered according as their interest led them, as before observed. At this crisis they pretended to be of the race of the Medes and Persians, and that they would entirely detach themselves from so wretched a people as the Jews. To this effect they dispatched an address to Antiochus, couched in terms to the following import.

"To king Antiochus Epiphanes, the illustrious prince, memorial of the Sidonians, inhabitants of Shechem.

"That the ancestors of your memorialists, lying under the affliction of many grievous plagues in their own country, were partly wrought on by that calamity, and partly prevailed on by the superstition of ancient custom, to join in the religious observance of a certain festival which the Jews call the sabbath, and in the erecting of a temple upon

"mount Gerizim, where sacrifices were offered to a god without a name. Now, since you have been pleased to order this wicked people to be punished according to their deserts, and to appoint officers, who, upon a supposition that we are all of the same stock, are thereby induced to involve us with the Jews in the same crime; and whereas we derive our origin from the Sidonians, as we can make appear by the public records, which are extant to this day; it is our humble request, that, out of your clemency and goodness, you would issue such order to Apollonius, our governor, and to Nicanor, his deputy, that they may not in future be molested, upon suspicion of any correspondence or confederacy with the Jews, to whom we are as much strangers in our manners as in our extraction. And we do further pray, that the temple that hath hitherto stood without any dedication at all, may, from this time forward, be called the temple of Jupiter of Greece, to the end that we may live in greater security and freedom, as to our own private concerns, and the advancement of your service and revenue."

In answer to this memorial of the Samaritans, king Antiochus thus wrote.

"King Antiochus to Nicanor.

"Having received a memorial from the Sidonians at Shechem, which we have annexed to this letter, this gives you to understand, that it appeareth unto us, and to our council, upon the information of the bearers hereof, that the Sidonians are in no instance guilty of the crimes charged upon them by the Jews, but, on the contrary, entirely govern themselves by the customs and manners of the Greeks: it is, therefore, our royal will and pleasure, that they be no farther molested concerning this matter. With respect to the temple, it is our will likewise, that, from this time forward, it be known and distinguished by the name of the temple of Jupiter of Greece. We have written to the same effect also to our governor Apollonius. Dated in the forty-sixth year, and the eleventh day of the month of Hecantombæon.

C H A P. VIII.

The zeal and resolution of Matthias and his sons for the religion of their country. Dying address of Matthias.

THERE dwelt at this time in Modin, a village of Judæa, one Matthias, a priest, of the family of Joarib, and a native of Jerusalem. This Matthias was the son of John, the son of Simon, and Simon the son of Armonæus. Matthias had five sons; Joannan, who was called Gaddis; Simon, who was called Thassi; Judas, who was called Maccabæus; Jonathan, who was called Apphus; and Eleazar, who was called Auran. Matthias would frequently condole with his sons on the deplorable state of the Jewish nation, the desolating their city, the pillaging and prophanation of their temple, with numberless other calamities. They would often animate each other with this suggestion, that it would be more glorious to fall a sacrifice to the laws and religion of their country, than linger out a wretched life of the most abject servility. When the king's officers arrived in the village to enforce the execution of their master's commands, they began with Matthias as a person of authority, and one who might be a leading example to the rest. They pointed out to him the danger of disobedience, with the advantages and rewards that would attend compliance, and, upon those terms, warmly enjoined him, in the king's name, to worship as he was commanded. These injunctions he not only refused to obey, but moreover assured them, that, if every individual within their master's dominions would obey him in that particular command, he was determined not to submit, and it would be his constant advice to his sons never to abandon the laws and religion of their country.

Matthias had no sooner acquainted the officers with his resolution, but one of the Jews proceeded to sacrifice according to the manner prescribed. But Matthias

He slays the people, and pillages the city.

Date of these adverse events.

General pillage of the temple.

Accumulated miseries of the Jews.

Apostate Jews most implacable enemies.

Influence of horrid barbarities.

The Samaritans wavering and perfidious.

Memorial of the Samaritans to Antiochus.

1 Mac.

Theophilus
Modin



(JUDAS MACCABÆUS defeats the SAMARIAN ARMY,
(and kills Apollonius their General.)

Matthias
and his sons
were appointed
to the of-
fice.

thias, and his sons, were so incensed at the indignity of this offence, that, in a rage, they slew not only the apostate Jew, but the king's officer, Apelles, as he was compelling the people to that abominable worship. They also overthrew the idol altar; Matthias exclaiming to the people around him, "As many of you as have any regard for your religion or honour, follow me." Upon this the father and sons withdrew into the wilderness, leaving their goods and effects behind them. Many of the people, animated by so generous an example, fled with their wives and children into the same desert, where they lived some time in caves. When the king's officers received intelligence of this desertion, they drew the forces out of the citadel of Jerusalem, and marched after the Jews into the wilderness.

Massacre of
the Jews on
the sabbath
day.

Upon overtaking them, they first expostulated with them mildly, recommending them to act with more moderation and compliance, and not lay the soldiers under the disagreeable necessity of proceeding to a military execution. But when they found that neither the harshest menaces, or the mildest persuasions, could prevail, they pitched on the sabbath day for the attack, and accordingly burnt and destroyed them in their caves without any resistance: for such was the reverence in which the Jews held that sacred day, and the zeal they maintained for the observance of their laws, that they chose rather to perish than prophane it. The number of men, women, and children, that were suffocated under ground, amounted to about a thousand; but great numbers made their escape, and enlisted under the banner of Matthias. This zealous defender of the religion and laws of his country pointed out to them the legality and necessity of opposing an hostile attack on the sabbath, as well as any other day, as such mere scruple would end in their total destruction; for their enemies, availing themselves of that superstition, would certainly fall upon them at a time when they were sure they should meet with no resistance. This argument had a most convincing effect: they were all fully satisfied of the lawfulness of taking up arms upon the sabbath in cases of necessity; and the practice, in such cases, continues to this day.

Matthias
obtains
the victory
of resistance
on the sabbath
day.

Matthias, in process of time, acquired such influence, and raised such numerous and powerful adherents, that he overthrew their idol altars, and slew all apostates, who violated the laws, wherever he could find them. He commanded circumcision, that had been forbidden, to be restored, and put to flight the king's officers who were appointed to suppress that ancient practice: many of them, indeed, had dispersed through fear of his vindictive power.

Matthias
only offers
resistance
on the sabbath
day.

Having thus nobly asserted the laws and religion of his country, and removed every obstacle to the observance of their rites and ceremonies, during the course of a full year, Matthias fell into a disemper, which he apprehending to be mortal, called for his sons, and addressed them to the following purport:

Matthias
addresses
his sons.

"My dear sons, as my life is verging to a period, I am now to charge you, as you tender my blessing, before I go hence, that you maintain, with unshaken resolution, the cause your father has asserted before you with dauntless perseverance. Remember my dying injunction, and fail not to execute it. Exert your uttermost ability in the support of the rights and laws of your country, and the restoration of a nation ready to fall a sacrifice to idolatry. Shun all connection with those who, either through fear or interest, have basely betrayed it. Approve yourselves worthy of such a father, and, in contempt of force and extremest danger, expose your lives, and yield them up with cheerfulness, if occasion should require, in defence of your country; bearing in mind that such resignation is acceptable to God, who, as the reward of your pious resolution, will restore to your country its former glorious privileges, and uncorrupted religion and laws. Our bodies, indeed, are mortal; but great and noble actions will immortalize our memory. To this glory I aspire; that is, the glory which, by your illustrious achievements, you will acquire in after ages. Preserve unanimity amongst yourselves, and yield to the judgment of each other in those points wherein you respectively excel. As for example: as Simon possesses quick penetration

"and discernment, I would recommend him as your counsel. Maccabæus, being of a warlike disposition, should be appointed general, as best qualified for the vindication of his country's cause, and the total overthrow of his enemies. Encourage and protect men of piety and virtue, and let these be the motives of your own conduct, and then fear nothing."

CHAP. IX.

Judas Maccabæus succeeds his father Matthias in the command.

WHEN Matthias had given this exhortation to his sons, he addressed his prayers to the Almighty for a blessing on their joint endeavours towards the redemption of their countrymen, and the recovery of their ancient rights and privileges. He departed this life soon after, and was interred with due pomp and solemnity. When the funeral obsequies were over, his son Judas, called Maccabæus, was vested with the public administration of affairs, in the hundred and forty-sixth year after Seleucus the first. He was so well supported by his brothers, that he expelled the enemy from their country, put the transgressors of its laws to the sword, and purged it from all the abominable pollutions with which it had abounded.

On the death of Matthias, Judas succeeds to the command, and acquits himself with honour.

CHAP. X.

Judas overthrows the forces of Apollonius and Seron, and slays the generals with his own hand.

THE news of this turn of affairs, in consequence of the valiant exertion of Judas, the son and successor of Matthias, in the military command, being made known to the Syrian court, Antiochus sent orders to Apollonius, his governor in Samaria, to raise what forces he could, and march immediately against the enemy. Apollonius obeyed the king's orders; but his attempt, happily for the Jews, proved not only fruitless, but destructive. Judas, apprized of his intentions, got his friends together, and prepared them in the best manner he could for battle, encouraging them to persevere in the opposition they were about to make, not only for the security of their own lives, but for the preservation of their descendants, and, above all, for their religion and laws.

1 Mac. 3.

Animated by this advice, the forces under Judas marched with great expedition to meet those under Apollonius; the consequence of which was, that a desperate engagement ensued, in which, by the distinguished intrepidity of the Jews, the Samaritan army was soon routed, great numbers slain, and the rest put to flight. The brave Judas, finding Apollonius detached from his army, engaged him in single combat, and, by his prowess, soon dispatched him, took away his sword in triumph, and, as a memento of this signal victory, generally made use of it in future encounters.

Judas defeats the army of the Syrians, and slays their general in single combat.

The news of this defeat soon reached Seron, governor of Coelo Syria, who, in consequence thereof, and the farther information he had received, that reinforcements were daily going over to Judas upon his late success, collected his forces, determined to come to immediate action, holding himself bound in honour to chastize mutineers, and bring rebels to obedience. To this end, with what men he could muster of his own, and the additional force of a rabble of fugitive Jews, he marched on as far as Bethrun, a village in Judæa, where he pitched his camp. In the mean time Judas made the necessary preparations to engage him; but finding his soldiers rather dismayed, from the superior number of the enemy, he endeavoured to dissipate their fears, by addressing them in words to this effect:

"Fellow soldiers, depend not on yourselves, but on the arm of Omnipotence, for victory. Repose not confidence in man, but in the Almighty God. This truth is confirmed by the history of our ancestors, who, with small numbers, have routed thousands, in defence of their religion, laws, and families."

Animates his soldiers.

"families. Truth shall prevail, and innocence remain invincible."

Judas slays Seron, and routs his army.

Having thus spoken, he led his men into the battle, which they maintained with such courage and resolution, that Seron, general of the Syrians, being slain by Judas, and his army totally routed, the scattered troops betook themselves to flight, as the only means of safety. The number of the enemy that fell in the battle was about eight hundred, and the rest made their escape towards the sea-side.

CHAP. XI.

Judas defeats Lyfias and Gorgias. Proceeds to Jerusalem, purifies the temple, and chastises the Philistines.

Antiochus prepares for an expedition into Judæa.

WHEN Antiochus heard of these disasters, he was so enraged, that he vowed revenge on the Jews; to obtain which, he raised a powerful army from amongst his own people, and, with the addition of some Greek mercenaries, determined to invade Judæa early in the next spring. Finding, however, upon mustering his men, that his revenues fell very short of defraying the expenses of so great an army (his tributes being much diminished by the frequent revolts and commotions in his own dominions) he thought it most prudent for himself first to go into Persia, and there endeavour to raise a supply of money to assist him in the prosecution of his design.

Leaves Lyfias to prosecute the war against the Jews, upon his going into Persia.

But, before he went on this expedition, he constituted Lyfias, an officer of approved fidelity, governor of all the country betwixt Egypt and the Euphrates, leaving him in charge of his son Antiochus, until his return. He also gave him particular orders, upon the reduction of Judæa, and the sale of all the inhabitants for slaves, to destroy the city, and extirpate the nation. Having adjusted these matters, he set out for Persia, and passing the Euphrates, advanced into the higher countries.

Lyfias raises an army to encounter Judas.

Lyfias, the better to execute his commission, took to his assistance three eminent commanders, Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, Gorgias, and Nicanor, whom he put at the head of 40,000 foot, and 7000 horse, with orders to march forthwith into Judæa. They advanced as far as Emmaus (a), and there encamped upon the plain, where there came over to them great numbers of auxiliaries from Syria, and other neighbouring countries, with abundance of fugitive Jews, and several merchants with manacles and fetters for the slaves they intended to purchase, being assured, in their minds, that the Jews would be totally defeated.

Though the enemy had raised a most formidable army, Judas exhorted his men to be of good courage, place their hope of victory in the Almighty, and make supplication to him, clothed in sackcloth, according to the custom of their country when in imminent danger, imploring mercy, favour, and protection. His next business was to arrange his men according to ancient order of battle, in regiments, troops, and companies, and dismiss such as were newly married, or had lately gained possessions, lest, by those considerations, they should be intimidated or interrupted in the discharge of their duty. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, in order to animate them to persevere in the undertaking, he addressed them in a speech to this purport.

Animating speech of Judas to his soldiers.

"My fellow soldiers and companions, we shall never again have such an opportunity of shewing our bravery in the defence of our country, and the contempt of all dangers, as we have now before us; for, upon the issue of to-morrow's combat, depends not only our liberty, but all the comforts and advantages that attend it; and over and above the blessings of such a freedom, our very religion lies at stake with it too, nor can we secure the one but by preserving the other. Bethink yourselves well, therefore, what it is you are to contend for, and you will find it to be no less than the sum and

substance of the greatest happiness you ever enjoyed, that is to say, the peaceable possession of your antient laws, rights, and discipline. Now, whether you will rather chuse to perish with infamy, and involve the miserable remainder of your countrymen in the same ruin, or venture one generous effort for the redemption of yourselves and your friends, is the point in question. Death is the same thing to the coward that it is to the man of valour, and as certain to one as the other; but there is a wide difference between them in point of honour and everlasting fame. The gallant man, who falls in vindication of his religious laws and country, dies to be perpetuated with honour; the pusillanimous coward, at his exit, is consigned to infamy. Take these considerations into your thoughts, and make this use of the meditation. You have nothing to trust to but the providence of God, and your own concurring resolutions; and, at the worst, while we contend for victory, we can never fail of glory."

This speech had the desired effect; the people unanimously declaring they would part with the last drop of their blood in defence of their religion and country.

Judas, soon after this, receiving intelligence that Gorgias was detached from the combined army, with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and some fugitive Jews, in order to surprize his camp by night, resolved to anticipate him, and countermine his plot by another of the like kind. In order to this, he called for supper, caused several fires to be left in the camp, and then marched at night towards Emmaus, where the enemy lay. Gorgias, in the mean time, finding the Jewish camp deserted, and presuming that their army had fled through fear to hide themselves in the mountains, imagined he had nothing to do but to go in quest of them. About day-break Judas reached the enemy's camp with only three thousand men, and those too ill-armed. Finding the enemy accoutred at all points, and their camp in good order, he told his people, for their encouragement, that they should not fear to attack them, even if they were entirely destitute of weapons, so long as they were certain of God's favour and protection, which would support them under all difficulties: with these words he ordered the charge to be sounded, and his men rushing in upon the enemy at the same instant, threw them into such surprize, that, after putting to the sword those that resisted, the rest betook themselves to flight, and the Jews pursued them as far as Gadara, and to the plains of Idumæa, or Azotus, and Jamina. The number of the slain was about three thousand.

But Judas would not suffer his people to take the spoil, as the troops of Gorgias were yet entire, which, when they had routed, he told them they might take possession of the booty at leisure. While he was uttering these words, the troops of Gorgias, discovering, from an eminence, the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, the havock that had been made in their tents, and their camp covered with sin oak, they took it for granted that the Jews were still embodied, and in condition to attack them. This occasioned so general a consternation, that they immediately fled, and dispersed themselves in different quarters. The victory being thus gained, without a blow, Judas suffered his men to proceed to the pillage of the field, where they found gold and silver, rich habits of purple and scarlet, and a booty of every kind in great abundance. With this they marched off triumphing, singing, and giving thanks to God, the blessed author of that victory, which proved both an earnest and a foundation of their future freedom.

The great success of Judas so mortified Lyfias, that, to redeem his credit, he brought into the field, the year following, an army of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all select men, and with this powerful body he entered into Judæa, by the way of the mountains, and encamped at a place called Beth-

(a) This village lay to the west of Jerusalem, and was honoured with Our Saviour's presence after his resurrection. See Luke xxiv. 13. It contained many hot baths, from whence it

received its name, (the word Emmaus, which comes from the Hebrew Chamath, signifying *baths of hot water*); and these were very beneficial to those who had occasion to use them.

is again de-
feated.

Judas re-
turns to Je-
rusalem.

Poses the
temple.

One of the
refugees
and returns
to the
city.

Refugees
return.

the festival
lights.

the festival
lights.

the festival
lights.

surrounding. Judas, undismayed by the superior number of the enemy, advanced against them with only ten thousand men, and having offered up a short and fervent prayer for success, he attacked the enemy with such resolution, that, upon the first check, he forced their lines, and killed upwards of five thousand men upon the spot. The army of Lysias was so irritated at this disaster, that they told their commander they were determined either to conquer or die; but Lysias, considering this only as a mark of despair, instead of continuing the battle, sounded a retreat, and, with his forces, withdrew to Antioch, where he posted himself, by the help of mercenaries, and other additional reinforcements, to be ready for the first opportunity of a revenge upon the Jews.

Animated by these repeated successes, Judas, after encouraging his adherents to rely on the continued protection of the Almighty, proposed marching to Jerusalem, and attempting once more to possess themselves of that ancient city, to offer up sacrifices and purge the temple, so that they might again restore the worship of the God of Israel. When they came thither, and found the gates destroyed, the temple abandoned, and the courts overspread with weeds, they could not refrain from weeping at the deplorable situation of the place. The two great works he first entered upon, were the assault of the citadel, and the purging of the temple. The former he committed to his officers and soldiers, and reserved the care of the other to himself. He therefore immediately set people to purge it from those profanations with which, for some time, it had been defiled. This being done in due form, he furnished it with utensils, vessels, a candlestick, a table, and an altar of incense, all of pure gold. He likewise made new doors to it, and put up veils and hangings on the walls. The altar, which had been profaned by sacrifices and burnt offerings to idols, was also demolished and removed, and a new one, of unhewn stone, according to the Mosaic precept, placed in its stead.

Upon the twenty-fifth day of the month Casleu, they set lighted tapers in the candlesticks, offered incense upon the altar, laid the shew-bread upon the table, and proceeded to their oblations of burnt offerings. It so fell out, that this happened precisely upon the same day three years after the profanation of the temple by the cruel and abandoned Antiochus; the temple having been now deserted full three years. The desolation happened in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred and fifty third Olympiad. It was dedicated a-new on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad, as the prophet Daniel had expressly foretold four hundred and eighty years before this desolation came to pass.

Judas continued this festival eight days, with sacrifices, rejoicing and feasting, while the air resounded with thanksgivings and praises from the people, who, during the whole time, were indulged in all reasonable gratifications. The people, in fine, were so transported at the unexpected blessing of finding themselves restored to the religion and laws of their forefathers, that an anniversary was appointed of eight days solemnity to be strictly observed by their posterity ever after, which we have constantly celebrated from that time to this, under the title of the Festival of Lights, in allusion to that light which Providence was pleased to bestow on the children of Israel.

Judas, in the mean time, rebuilt the walls of the city, and fortified them with strong towers to keep off an enemy, settling a garrison in Bethsura, and putting the place into a state and posture of defence.

The neighbouring nations were so irritated at the growing power and confidence of the Jews, that they set their instruments at work by fraud and treachery to circumvent them, destroying many of them when they were off their guard. Judas, however, used the best means to prevent or disappoint their incursions. He fell at this time upon Acrahan, where he slew great numbers of the Edomites, the posterity of Esau, making himself master also of a great booty. He blocked up the sons of Baan, likewise their chief, in the strong places they were possessed of, and where they lay in wait to make sallies on the Jews: he took

the places by assault, killed the defendants, and laid the forts in ashes. Having subdued these people, he carried his victorious arms against the Ammonites, who had then a numerous army under the command of Timotheus. These he also overcame, took the city of Jazar, carried away the wives and children of the inhabitants captive, and, after pillaging the city, set it on fire, and so returned to Judaea. The neighbouring nations no sooner heard of his return, than they availed themselves of his absence, and gathering together at Galaad, made an attempt on the adjacent Jews, who, being forced to take refuge in the fortress of Dathema, gave intimation to Judas, that Timotheus had a design to attack them, and requested assistance. While Judas was reading this intelligence, several messengers came from Galilee with remonstrances and complaints, that the people of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon, and other bordering nations, were all joined in a confederacy against him.

The Jews
solicit the
assistance of
Judas.

CHAP. XII.

The exploits of Simon, the brother of Judas, in Galilee. Conquest of Judas and Jonathan over the Ammonites. The Jews, with their families and effects, transported out of Galaad into Judaea. Joseph and Azarias disobey orders, and are defeated by Gorgias.

JUDAS, desirous of relieving his distressed countrymen in both places, sent his brother Simon, with three thousand chosen men, to succour the Jews at Galilee, and, with eight thousand more, marched, with his other brother, Jonathan, to Galaad, leaving the rest of the army under the command of Joseph and Azarias, as his lieutenants-general, with orders to avoid any enterprize, but stand wholly on the defensive till his return.

1 Mac. 5.
Judas sends
Simon to
Galilee.

Simon, on his arrival at Galilee, engaged the enemy and defeated them, giving them chase to the very gates of Ptolemais, and killing about three thousand in the pursuit. His army took their spoils, and the Jews they had made captive, with their baggage, and returned to Jerusalem.

Simon suc-
ceeds in his
expedition.

At the same time Judas, and his brother Jonathan, after three days march beyond Jordan, in the wilderness, were amicably received by the Nabathites, who gave them intelligence of the extreme distress and danger of many of their friends and countrymen, who were shut up in the towns and castles of Galaad, advising them to hasten, with all possible expedition, by way of the desert, to their relief. In their way to this expedition they took the town of Barasa, putting to the sword such as were able to bear arms, and burning the city to the ground. Though night came on, Judas prosecuted his march to a castle, wherein he had intelligence the Jews were besieged. Upon his arrival in the morning, he found the enemy hard at work, with their machines and scaling ladders, to force the place; whereupon he distributed his troops into three divisions, animated his men to behave themselves resolutely for the relief of their countrymen, and, upon sound of trumpet, charged the enemy in the rear. When the army of Timotheus heard that Judas Maccabæus had the command of this action, a person of whose valour and conduct they had already had dreadful experience, they took such a panic at the very name, that they immediately fled. But Judas followed them, and slew about eight thousand in the pursuit. Turning aside they took a town of the barbarians, called Mallam, where they put all the males to death, and destroyed the city by fire. From thence he went and overthrew Casphan, Bosar, and other places in that country.

Timotheus
is put to
flight by Ju-
das.

Soon after this Timotheus raised a formidable army, and, amongst other auxiliaries, had a band of Arabians. They crossed the river, and encamped near Raphon, where he exhorted his people to behave like men, and, at all events, prevent the Jews from crossing the river, as the whole depended upon that; for, by gaining the pass, they would certainly carry the day. When Judas understood that Timotheus was prepared, and determined to give him battle, he passed the river immediately with his army, gave the onset, put the enemy to the rout upon the first encounter, killed those that resisted, and scattered the rest, who casting away their arms, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Some of them, for sanctuary, fled to the temple of Carnaim, hoping

Timotheus
renews the
war.

Is again put
to flight by
Judas.

hoping that the place might protect them; but Judas took the town by force, burnt the temple, and destroyed the inhabitants by fire and sword.

Judas calls the captive Jews together to carry them to their own country.

Judas besieges and takes the city of Ephron.

Returns with his army to Judea.

Joseph and Azarias wage war contrary to order, and are defeated.

Having surmounted these difficulties, he gathered together all the Jews that were in the country of Galaad, with their wives, children, and the substance that belonged to them, in order to transport them to Judæa. The city of Ephron, lying so directly in his way that there was no avoiding it, without going a considerable space about, he sent a friendly message to the inhabitants for permission to pass with his army through the town. But the gates being shut, and the avenues cut off, the inhabitants, in plain terms, refused him a passage. Upon this repulse he animated his men, and put them in a position for an attack upon the town, immediately invested it, and, in a day and night, made himself master of it, laid it in ashes, putting all the males that were found in it to the sword. After passing the river Jordan, they advanced to a great plain near Bethsan, called, by the Greeks, Scythopolis, and from thence returned to Judæa, the people rejoicing on their way home in hymns and triumphal songs, and offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for the safety of the army; as they had not so much as lost one Jew in all these encounters.

When Judas, and his brother Jonathan, arrived at Jerusalem, they received a very disagreeable piece of intelligence, which arose from the misconduct of Joseph and Azarias, who were left in command in the absence of Simon, that was sent into Galilee against the people of Ptolemais. Hearing of the successes of Judas in Galaad, these commanders, animated thereby, contrary to orders given, in a fit of emulation, formed an ill-projected expedition against Jamnia; but Gorgias, who commanded in that quarter for the king of Syria, and who had under him a very considerable army, attacked them so forcibly, that their troops were thrown into the utmost disorder, two thousand were slain on the spot, and the rest pursued to the very borders of Judæa. This calamity was in consequence of their disobeying the order of their general, who had privately enjoined them not to engage the enemy upon any terms till his return. The result proved the propriety of the instructions given, from which if they departed, Judas, from his sagacity, knew they would justly suffer.

The valiant brothers prosecuted the war against the Edomites with the utmost vigour, annoying them in every part. They took Hebron by force, demolished its fortifications, laid the enemy's country waste, then proceeded to Marissa, and thence to Azotus, both of which they over-ran and pillaged; and, loaded with the honours and spoils of victory, returned triumphant to Jerusalem.

Judas, after many valiant exploits, returns to Jerusalem.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus Epiphanes dies in great torture of body and mind, acknowledging the justice of his punishment.

2 Mac 9.

Antiochus is repulsed from the siege of Elymais.

Pursued by the enemy to Babylon.

Dies in torture of mind and body, acknowledging the justice of his punishment.

ANTIOCHUS, in his progress through the upper parts of Persia, hearing there was a very opulent city called Elymais, with a most magnificent temple in it dedicated to Diana, in which were deposited divers valuable donations, and the very shields and breast-plates of Alexander the Great, was tempted thereby to lay siege to it: but the inhabitants, regardless of his power or design, made a noble resistance, and frustrated his towering expectation: nor did they merely repel him from the walls, but pursued him so closely on his retreat, that they cut off great part of the rear, and drove him before them like a fugitive for protection into Babylon. While he was lamenting this disappointment, tidings arrived of the defeat of his other troops, to whom he had committed the conduct of the war against the Jews, and of the daily increase of their number and power. At length one calamity following another, brought on him such insupportable anguish of mind, as was attended with a most nauseous and excruciating bodily distemper, till, finding his dissolution approaching, he called his friends around him, and told them the cause and quality of it. "I am thus justly, though severely, punished (said he) for the miseries I brought on the Jewish nation, for the sacrilegious rifling and profaning of their temple, and for a heinous con-

"tempt of the Almighty God." With these words expired the wicked and cruel Antiochus Epiphanes.

I cannot, upon this occasion, but take notice of a perversion of Polybius, of Megalopolis, (otherwise an historian of credit), in affirming that this judgment befell Antiochus for his design of rifling the temple of Diana, which was a sacrilege only in will, but never came to act. But if Polybius was of opinion that he deserved this punishment only for the design, he might much more reasonably have imputed it to the sacrilege of which he was actually guilty upon the holy temple of Jerusalem. But let facts speak for themselves. Truth and justice need no comment.

Josephus relates another error of Polybius.

CHAP. XIV.

Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, and proclaimed by Lysias. Judas invests the citadel at Jerusalem. The armies of the Jews and Syrians engage. Bravery and death of Eleazar. Antiochus violates his faith on the surrender of Bethsura.

ANTIOCHUS, a short time before his death, sent for Philip, a confidential friend, and committed the regency into his hand, delivering up to him, at the same time, the crown, the royal robes and signet, with charge to preserve them for his son Antiochus, then in his minority, with the strictest injunction to attend to his education. The death, however, of Antiochus was no sooner made known to the public, than Lysias proclaimed his son Antiochus king, under the name of Eupator; for Lysias, at that time, had the tuition of the young prince.

2 Mac. 6. Antiochus appoints Philip governor and guardian of his son.

The Macedonians, who were at that time garrisoned in the citadel of Jerusalem, together with some Jewish runagates, greatly annoyed the Jews as they went up to worship at the temple, which they could do with ease, as the castle was upon an eminence, and of course commanded it. Judas therefore determined to reduce that fort for the common security of the nation, in their attendance upon their religious solemnities. To this end he caused machines and engines to be framed for battery, and the casting up of works. While this was in agitation, several of the runagates, with others as nefarious as themselves, repaired to Antiochus, and to him represented the wretched condition to which they were reduced by men of their own tribe, for their obedience to the king's command, in opposition to their own law, and that they were now in imminent danger of falling into the hands of Judas, without immediate relief.

Judas determines on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem.

Is accused by rebels to Eupator.

The young prince, inflamed by this artifice, immediately gave orders to his officers to levy all the mercenaries they could raise, over and above the choicest forces they could select from his own subjects. His orders were executed with such alacrity, that, in a short time, they mustered a hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and thirty-two elephants. With this formidable army, under the command of Lysias, as general, the king marched out of Antioch, advanced to Idumæa, and thence to Bethsura, a well fortified place, both by nature and art. He sat down before the fort, and, to little effect, spent much time; for the besieged, betwixt sallies and stratagems, found means to burn or frustrate all engines of battery that were brought against it.

A formidable army raised against him.

Antiochus invests Bethsura.

Judas, upon this intelligence of the approach of Antiochus, raised the siege from before the citadel, and marched the ready way to meet him, pitching his camp upon the very entrance into the straits of Bethzachariah, about seventy furlongs from the enemy. Antiochus, upon this, quitted the siege of Bethsura, and encamped within distance of engaging Judas, appointing his army, at earliest dawn, to put themselves upon the march in order of battle: but the place being too narrow for the elephants to pass in front, they marched in a defile, with a thousand foot, and five hundred horse, upon the guard of every elephant. Each had a kind of tower or castle on the back, charged with archers. The rest of the troops mounted the hills on both sides, under the command of such officers as the king could best confide in. From this ascent they gave the attack, and that with so horrid a shout and clamour, that the

Judas advances to engage him.

Antiochus prepares for action.

the vallies all rang with the eccho; so that, with the hideous outcry, and the dazzling flashes of the golden and brazen bucklers, nothing could be more terrific in appearance and found. But the gallant Judas stood undismayed by empty pomp and noise, and, when they came to action, received them with such dauntless intrepidity, about six hundred fell upon the first onset. While they were thus engaged, Eleazar, otherwise called Auranes, the brother of Judas, taking notice of one elephant that was caparioned with richer trappings than the rest, with noble ardour made his way to that beast, supposing that the king himself was mounted upon it. Having hewn down his opponents on each hand, and forced the rest to clear his passage, he crept under the belly of the elephant, smote and slew him, perishing himself under the enormous weight of the beast upon his fall. He died, however, in the glorious prospect of victory, and encompassed with dead bodies of his slaughtered foes.

Extraordi-
nary valour
and death of
Eleazar.

The Jews
retreat, and
reinvent the
citadel of
Jerusalem.

Bethsura
surrendered
upon terms,
which the
king vio-
lates.

He besieges
the temple,
which is
bravely de-
fended.

The Jews
distressed
for want of
bread.

The king
and Lysias
are disposed
to quit the
siege.

He is en-
dured to
and the
recreation
the army.

Judas, finding himself greatly overpowered by numbers, drew off his army to the siege of the citadel at Jerusalem; while Antiochus sent part of his army to set down before Bethsura, and with the remainder proceeded to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Bethsura were so daunted by the appearance of these troops, and so disheartened through want of provisions, that they found themselves under a necessity of delivering up the place. This they accordingly did, upon articles most solemnly ratified, that no violence or molestation whatever should be offered them. But the king preserved his faith no farther than the sparing of their lives; for they were all turned naked out of the town, and a garrison of his own was placed in their stead. The temple, it must be recorded to their honour, made a most obstinate resistance, as all the effects of their machines and engines were still eluded by counter-workings and stratagems. Their greatest distress was want of bread; for having already expended their last year's store, and this event happening to fall upon the seventh year, in which, by the Jewish law, they could neither plow or sow, great numbers of the Jews went out of the town purely for want of provision, insomuch that there was not a competent number to defend the place.

The king, and his general Lysias, receiving intelligence at this time, that Philip was endeavouring to obtain the government, and was marching towards them at the head of an army out of Persia, they came to a private determination to quit the siege, and advance immediately against him. To effect this purpose, without the knowledge, even of the first officers in command, the king recommended to Lysias, to sound the opinion and disposition of the soldiers in general, respecting the continuance of the siege, representing the strength of the place, the dearth of provision, and the indispensable necessity of the king's departure, and, from these considerations, inferring the expediency of coming to some terms, and particularly the condition of allowing them the free exercise of their particular religion, laws, and customs, which being granted as the grand cause of all their rebellions, the king might return whenever he pleased. This Lysias had in charge to communicate to the army, and the soldiers in general approved of the proposal.

CHAP. XV.

Antiochus Eupator violates the league he made with the Jews. Onias, the high-priest, put to death. Philip vanquished by Antiochus.

Mac. 6.

Mac. 6.
his
want
the
1.

MATTERS being thus concerted, Antiochus sent an herald to Judas, with an offer of peace, and free exercise of their religion and laws, which being accepted they left the temple, and the accommodation between them was ratified by oath. But when Antiochus, upon taking possession of it, found the strength of the fortifications belonging to the temple, without any regard to his oath, he ordered his soldiers to demolish the walls, and lay them level with the ground. This being accordingly executed, he returned to Antioch, taking with him Onias, otherwise called Menelaus. Lysias had represented to the king the absolute necessity of taking off Me-

nelaus, if he would wish to conduce to the quiet of the Jews and his own peace; because it was at the instigation of this very Menelaus that his father forced the Jews to the transgressions of the religion and laws of their country; so that he was, of course, the author and promoter of all the evils that had befallen him. Influenced by the council of Lysias, the king sent Menelaus to Berhœa, in Syria, where he caused him to be put to death, after he had held the pontificate during the space of ten years. Onias, or Menelaus, was an infamous character, who, to secure the office of the high-priesthood to himself, had caused a general defection amongst the Jews from the religion and laws of their country. He was succeeded by Alcimus, who was also called Jacymus, a man as depraved in principle as his predecessor.

Menelaus is
put to death

When Antiochus found that Philip had usurped the government, he immediately attacked him with all his forces, and, in a short time, totally routed his army, slew great numbers of his men, took him prisoner, and ordered him to be put to death. But the son of the high-priest Onias, being left an infant on the death of his father, and finding that the king had conferred the dignity of the pontificate, at the instance of Lysias, on Alcimus, who had no relation to the sacerdotal family, he made application to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, by whom he was most graciously received, as well as by his queen Cleopatra, who bestowed on him a place of considerable trust in Heliopolis, where he erected a temple after the model of that at Jerusalem.

Antiochus
vanquishes
Philip, and
causes him
to be put to
death.

CHAP. XVI.

Demetrius claims the crown of Syria, and orders Antiochus Eupator and Lysias to be put to death. On the complaint of Alcimus, sends an army against the Jews. Cruelties of Alcimus.

ABOUT this time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, having fled from Rome, possessed himself of Tripolis, a city in Syria, took the crown upon him, and, with as many mercenaries as he could gather together, invaded the country, where he was received by the people with open arms. As a farther instance of their affection to his interest, they seized on the persons of Antiochus and Lysias, and brought them in custody prisoners to him, upon which Demetrius commanded them both to be put to death; Antiochus having reigned over Syria two years. He had in his party a great number of apostate Jews, who had been banished for notorious crimes, with Alcimus, the high-priest, at the head of them. These all joined in one common accusation against the whole people of the Jews, but more especially against Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, whom they charged not only with the destruction of as many of the king's friends as fell into their hands, but the very ejection of themselves out of the country. They therefore made it their request to Demetrius, that he would send certain particular persons, in whom he could confide, to examine into the truth of what they had alledged against Judas and his adherents.

1 Mac. 7.
Demetrius
seizes on the
kingdom of
Syria.

Antiochus
and Lysias
put to death

Alcimus
and his party
accuse
Judas to
Demetrius.

In consequence of this representation, Demetrius, who, from the situation of Alcimus, was readily induced to give credit to all he said, was so exasperated, that he immediately ordered Bacchides, a very powerful man, and governor of Mesopotamia, to march with an army into Judæa, and having confirmed Alcimus in the priesthood, joined him in the same commission against the Jews. With this army Bacchides left Antioch, and marched directly into Judæa, where he gave Judas and his brethren a solemn invitation to come to a better understanding with him; but the design was under colour of a friendly and peaceable disposition to draw them into a toil, and so surprize them. Judas, however, upon his coming, attended with such an army, and in the posture of an enemy rather than a friend, kept upon his guard, without giving any credit to his pretensions: but there were some credulous people that went over to him, in confidence that their countryman and tribesman would do them no violence, especially as they received a solemn oath from both to that purport; but in this confidence they were fatally deceived; for no sooner had they got them into their power, than they caused them instantly to be put to death, thereby violating the

D. metrius
sends Bac-
chides
against the
Jews.

Bacchides
endeavours
to trepan
the Jews.

Cruelties of
Bacchides.

the promise they had made for their safety; which barbarous perfidy served as a warning to the rest not to come near them.

He returns
to Demetrius.

Bacchides, after this, removed his army from Jerusalem, and went to Bethzeth, where he found several deserters, and other disaffected people, all of whom he put to the sword. This being done, he commanded all the Jews, in his absence, to obey Alcimus; and, leaving part of his army with him for the security of the province, he returned himself with the rest to king Demetrius at Antioch.

Alcimus
inimical and
barbarous
to the Jews.

In this situation the views of Alcimus were directed fully to secure himself in the pontificate, to effect which he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people by the popular arts of fair words and condescending behaviour. This so far answered his purpose, that he soon doubled the number of forces that had been left him by Bacchides; but they consisted chiefly of renegadoes, who destroyed all the Jews who were friends to Judas, wherever they found them.

Judas in-
tends to re-
taliate.

As soon as Judas understood the cruelties exercised by the people under the command of Alcimus, against his brethren in Judæa, he marched from Jerusalem in order to give him battle; but Alcimus finding himself unequal to the contest, retired hastily to Demetrius at Antioch, whom he still farther irritated against Judas, setting forth the great mischief he had already done, and the further danger to be apprehended from him, unless a proper force was sent to check his proceedings. He added, that so long as Judas and his brethren were permitted to live, they would never suffer his authority to take place, nor could any lasting peace be established in that part of the country.

Alcimus ac-
cuses Judas
before De-
metrius.

CHAP. XVII.

Demetrius and his adherents practise the most malevolent acts against Judas without success. Judas nobly perseveres in vindicating the cause of his countrymen. Miserable death of Alcimus. He is succeeded in the pontificate by Judas, who forms an alliance with the Romans.

Nicanor is
sent by De-
metrius
against the
Jews.

IN consequence of this representation of Alcimus, touching the growing power and influence of Judas, Demetrius became apprehensive of the danger that might result therefrom, unless checked in time. To effect this desirable purpose, he sent another army against the Jews, under the command of Nicanor, one of the principal men of his court, with strict orders to make war upon the whole nation; and thoroughly establish Alcimus in the office of high-priest. Nicanor, in seeming obedience to the commands, left Antioch, and set out for Jerusalem, proposing to himself to preserve fair appearances, and try if he could inveigle Judas under countenance of peaceable inclinations. On his arrival in Judæa, he sent deputies to Judas with this message. "Wherefore should we risk all on the uncertain chance of war, when we may adjust matters better by negotiation? Peace alone is my object, as I am ready to attest upon solemn oath, and as you may judge by the friends I have brought with me only to possess you with the knowledge of my master's will and pleasure, and of his hearty good-will to the whole nation of the Jews."

Endeavours
to inveigle
Judas by
dissimula-
tion.

This well dissembled declaration wrought so powerfully on Judas and his brethren, that, unsuspecting of the design it was intended to veil, the parties interchangeably passed their oaths, and the Jews, with great frankness, received Nicanor and his whole army. After the first greeting between Judas and Nicanor, the latter gave a signal to his people to seize Judas; but the plot being discovered in time, he immediately made his escape to his own people. After the detection of this treacherous design, both sides determined on open hostility, without any appearance or pretence of negotiation or treaty. The armies accordingly drew out, and a battle ensued near a village called Capharsalama, where Judas was worsted, and obliged to save himself by a precipitate retreat to the castle of Jerusalem.

The trea-
cherous de-
sign of Ni-
canor is de-
tected.

Judas is
beaten by
Nicanor,
and flies to
the castle of
Jerusalem.

Animated with this success, Nicanor hastened with all expedition after Judas. It happened on a certain occasion, as Nicanor was passing by the temple, that he was met on the way by several of the elders and

priests, who shewed him the sacrifices they had with them, and told him they were about to offer them up for the prosperity and welfare of Demetrius. Nicanor, in the fury of his rage, threatened them, with blasphemous revilings, that if they did not immediately deliver up Judas to him, he would raze the temple, and destroy the city. With these menaces he took his departure; and the priests were so alarmed at the declaration, that they addressed themselves to the Almighty, with prayers and tears, to protect the sacred place of his own immediate presence, and his ministers who belonged to it, against the outrages of the enemy.

Nicanor
threatens to
destroy the
temple.

Nicanor, finding no probability of reducing Jerusalem, left it in great rage, and encamped his army near a village called Bethoron, where he was joined by a very considerable reinforcement out of Syria. This, however, did not dismay Judas, who, though his army was greatly inferior in number, marched from Jerusalem, and encamped at a place called Adasi, within three furlongs of the enemy. In order to encourage his troops, he told them, that though the number of the enemy was great, they need not to fear, for they fought in the cause of God, whose power could crush multitudes; exhorting them not to trouble themselves how many they were to encounter, but to consider the bravery of those they were to encounter, with the honours and rewards that would most certainly attend them. "Attack them, therefore, courageously, (said he), and leave the issue to heaven."

Judas re-
mains in
men.

The Jews, thus encouraged by their leader, attacked the enemy with the most intrepid resolution, and the battle was desperate on both sides for some time, till at length victory declared in favour of Judas; for Nicanor being slain, with great numbers of his troops, the rest were so intimidated, that they immediately threw down their arms and fled. Judas availed himself of this advantage, by pursuing the fugitives, to whom he gave no quarters. In his pursuit he proclaimed his victory by sound of trumpet, in all the cities and towns through which he passed; the consequence of which was, that the country people gathered together from all parts; and such of the enemy that fell in their way, in endeavouring to escape, they put to death; so that, by means of them, and the close pursuit of Judas, not a single person of the Syrian army was left to carry home the melancholy tidings of their overthrow. This was upon the thirteenth day of the month which the Jews call Adar, and the Macedonians Dystrus; and, in commemoration of this signal interposition of Providence in our deliverance, we celebrate an anniversary thanksgiving upon it to this very day. The Jews, after this victory, had a short respite from war, and some glimmerings of an agreeable and permanent peace.

An admi-
ration, in
which Ni-
canor's
death and
victory
rejoiced.

General
laughter of
the Jews.

Alcimus had it in contemplation to pull down the old wall of the sanctuary, and demolish the works of the ancient prophets; but, in the very instant of his giving orders for the execution of it, he was smitten with so judicial a stroke, that he fell speechless on the ground, where he lay languishing some time in the acutest pain, and then made a wretched exit, after he had held the pontificate four years. Upon the demise of the impious Alcimus, the people unanimously chose Judas to succeed him in his office; when hearing of the great fame and power of the Romans, in conquering the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, and Grecians, together with the kings Perseus, Philip, and Antiochus, he was desirous of forming an alliance with them, in hopes thereby of obtaining some protection and relief against the oppression of the Syrians. Judas accordingly dispatched two of his most intimate friends and counsellors, named Jason and Eupolemus, whom he knew were capable of executing such an embassy, to Rome, to request of the senate, that the Jews might be admitted as their allies; and that a letter might be written to Demetrius, requiring him to desist from every further molestation of them. This proposal proved agreeable to the senate, who immediately drew up articles of treaty, the original of which they kept, and sent a copy of them to Jerusalem, which was highly approved by Judas. The purport of the articles was, "That no people subject to the Romans, should make war on the Jews, or supply their enemies with money, shipping, corn, &c. and that the Jews should be held

Alcimus
off by a
disastrous
stroke.

Judas
perceived
the power
of the Ro-
mans.
The Jews
were
glad of the
alliance.

Judas
sent
an embassy
to Rome
to form an
alliance
with them.

to

“to the same, in case the Romans should be attacked. That if the Jews demanded any future alteration of the agreement, the consent of the whole people should be necessary to ratify it.” This was the first alliance that was formed between the Jews and the Romans. This decree of the senate was written by Eupolemus, the son of John, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, Judas, the high priest, and his brother Simon, general of the army.

CHAP. XVIII.

The extraordinary valour of Judas and his brethren.

1 Mac. 9. Demetrius again sends Bacchides into Judæa.

IN the mean time Demetrius, having received an account of the defeat and death of Nicanor, sent Bacchides again into Judæa, at the head of a very numerous army, to give battle to Judas, and with orders, if possible, to bring him to Antioch, dead or alive. The general immediately set out to execute the king's command; and the first place at which he encamped was Arbela, a town in Galilee, where he forced many Jews from the caves to which they had retreated, and cruelly put them to death. From thence he marched towards Jerusalem, and, upon intelligence that Judas and his people were at Bethseth, he posted away immediately with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to encounter him. Judas had no more than three thousand to oppose him, and these were so terrified at the strength and number of the enemy, that the greatest part deserted, so that he had not above eight hundred left.

Disparity between the Syrian and Jewish armies.

The magnanimous resolve of Judas.

Notwithstanding Judas was thus distressed for want of men, and had not an opportunity of recruiting his forces, yet he determined to hazard a battle, and therefore used the most powerful arguments he was master of, to prevail on the few he had to stand by him to the utmost extremity. They, however, expostulated with him on the impropriety and rashness of attempting to engage so very superior a number, and advised him rather to retreat with caution, and put off his design till he could augment his forces. To this he replied, “It never shall be said of me, that I turned my back upon an enemy. If it be the will of God that we now fall, let his will be done; but let us not, by an ignominious flight, destroy all the credit of a life of glory.” This speech so

animated the soldiers, that they unanimously resolved to stand the combat, and every necessary preparation was made for opposing the enemy.

CHAP. XIX.

Judas falls in battle, after signalizing his prowess.

THE army of Bacchides was disposed of in the following manner. The front was composed of light armed men, and supported by a large body of Macedonians; while there were two wings of horse, the right being commanded by Bacchides himself. In this order of battle they advanced towards the army of Judas, which they no sooner approached than they sounded a charge, gave a loud shout, and began the attack. The forces of Judas sustained the shock with great intrepidity, and the battle continued desperate for some time; when Judas, seeing Bacchides, with his right wing, pressing hard on his men, relieved them with a band of courageous youths, who broke the right wing of Bacchides, and pursued them as far as Aza: but not having sufficient forces to keep the left wing in play during his absence, he was followed, and closely surrounded by the enemy. The action was very obstinate, and the Jews sold their lives at a dear rate. Their general did all that a gallant man could do, till at length, being overpowered with numbers, he was, with the greatest part of his men, slain; and the rest, intimidated by the loss of their leader, betook themselves to flight: Thus fell the great Judas Maccabæus, dying as he lived, a zealous asserter of the religion and laws of his country. He was pious, just, and valiant; and equally respectable in the various characters he filled with so much honour and dignity to himself, as well as glory and advantage to the Jewish nation.

Disposition of the Syrian army.

A bloody engagement.

Judas nobly dies in the cause of his country.

His character.

His two brothers, Simon and Jonathan, having permission of Bacchides to remove his body, it was conveyed to Modin, and there interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors, with all the funeral honours due to the memory of so brave and excellent a commander. We shall only add, that he acquired immortal fame by the rescue of his friends out of the hands of the Macedonians, and by his three years administration in the office of high-priest.

End of the TWELFTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XIII.

[Including a Period of about Ninety-four Years.]

C H A P. I.

Implacable hatred of the revolted Jews towards their countrymen. Jonathan succeeds to the government after Judas, and, together with his brother Simon, carries on the war against Bacchides.

THE means by which the Jews were delivered from their slavery under the Macedonians, and the exploits and character of their great patron and leader, Judas, who, after a life devoted to his country's service, nobly fell in a contest for the vindication of its liberties and laws, have been fully set forth in the foregoing book.

This illustrious person was no sooner taken off, than the whole party of profligate apostate Jews, contrary to the dictates of conscience, faith, and honour, abandoned the religion, laws, and customs of their nation, resumed their former animosities, and, at the instance, and with the assistance, of Bacchides, treated all the friends and adherents of the Maccabees, wherever they found them, with the greatest barbarity. At this time there happened to be a general famine throughout the land of Judæa, which aggravated other calamities, inasmuch, that, through distress for want of bread, on the one hand, and the difficulty of defending themselves against their enemies, on the other, many of the Jews were, in a manner, compelled to adhere to the faction of the Macedonians. At this juncture Bacchides sent a summons to all the apostate Jews, who were gone over to strange gods, and committed the care of the government principally into their hands; so that they made it their business to seize all the friends and late partisans of Judas, and deliver them up to the Syrian general to be tortured at his pleasure. In short, the Jews were never so deplorably miserable since the Babylonish captivity as at this period, inasmuch, that the late adherents to Judas joined in a request to Jonathan, not only to follow his brother's example, who had so freely sacrificed his life for the liberties of his country, but to take upon himself his command also, as the whole nation was under such desperate circum-

stances, that, without a leader to assist them in opposing their enemies, they must all be inevitably lost. Jonathan's answer was, he was willing to do or suffer any thing for the public welfare; upon which he was elected general of the Jewish army by the unanimous voice of the people.

Bacchides, hearing of this election, and reflecting that Jonathan was not less likely to give trouble to the king, and to the Macedonians, than his brother Judas, set about concerting measures to take him off by stratagem; but Jonathan, having intelligence of his design, collected what force he could, and, accompanied by his brother Simon, withdrew immediately into a neighbouring desert, and pitched his tent by the pool of Asphar. Bacchides, imagining this retreat into the desert to be no other than a direct flight, immediately advanced towards them with his whole force, and, encamping beyond Jordan, made choice of that place for a rendezvous. When Jonathan heard of this motion, he sent his brother John (otherwise Gaddis) to the Arabian Nabathites, being in friendship with him, for leave to deposit their baggage in their custody, till the battle with Bacchides should be decided. But, as John was upon the way, the sons of Amaræus made a sally out of the city of Medaba upon the convoy, took all their carriages, with whatever else they had about them, and killed John upon the spot, with all his people. But his brothers soon had their revenge, as will appear in the sequel.

Bacchides, having intelligence that Jonathan lay encamped in the ferny grounds, near the river Jordan, immediately marched after him, and having made himself master of the pass that lead to their encampment, fixed on the sabbath-day for the attack, in confidence of the superstitious reverence for the law respecting that day, that he should not meet with the least resistance. In this, however, he found himself mistaken; for Jonathan, after reminding his men of the determination that was made in cases of necessity like the present, encouraged them to dispute it bravely, which, after a short and fervent supplication for the divine aid, they accordingly did; till they slew great numbers of the assailants on the spot. During the

Jonathan succeeds his brother Judas.

Bacchides lays snares for Jonathan and Simon.

John, the brother of Jonathan, with his companions, slain by the sons of Amaræus.

The apostate Jews revive their animosities with increased rancour against their countrymen 1 Mac. 9.

The Jews oppressed by famine and persecution.

Bacchides attacks the Jews, and, being wounded, retires to Jerusalem.

Fortifies many towns in Judæa.

Jonathan and Simon fall upon the enemy as they are celebrating a wedding.

The apostates, led by Demetrius, in order that Jonathan may be taken off.

Bacchides forces Jonathan in Bethlaga.

Jonathan, frustrated, defeats a design of his to flee.

the encounter Bacchides pressed furiously upon the person of Jonathan, who, at the same time, aimed a stroke at him; but the other diverting it, Jonathan, and his party, took to the river, and the enemy declining to follow them, they got safe to the other side, without the loss of a single man. The Syrian general withdrew to the citadel of Jerusalem, with the loss of near two thousand of his men. He afterwards fortified several strong places in Judæa that had been demolished before, as Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Techoa, and Gazara. These places he strengthened with walls and towers, and with strong garrisons, to be ready for excursions to fall upon the Jews. But especial care was taken, above all the rest, to render the citadel at Jerusalem impregnable; in which place the sons of the principal Jews were secured as hostages.

About this time the two brothers received intelligence, that there was a wedding to be celebrated between one of the sons of Amaraeus, and the daughter of an illustrious Arabian; that the sons of Amaraeus were to be present at the ceremony, and the bride to be conducted in splendid pomp from the city of Gabatha. Jonathan and Simon, thinking this the best opportunity for avenging the death of their brother, hastened towards Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains in ambush for their enemies. Upon the coming up of the bridegroom with his bride, and a long train of their friends, as is usual in such cases, the party sallied out upon them, and cut them all off without exception, together with their wives, children, and friends, to the number of four hundred; carried away the booty entire, and did justice, at the same time, to the memory of John. After this exploit they returned to their quarters near the Jordan.

When Bacchides had settled the aforementioned garrisons in Judæa, he returned to Antioch; and, for the space of two years, those Jews, who were for preserving their ancient religion, lived in some degree of repose; but the apostates and dregs of the people, envying their happiness in their present state of tranquillity in Judæa, solicited Demetrius, by proxies, that Bacchides might be ordered to seize upon Jonathan, and reduce him absolutely within his power, which they affirmed might be easily done, by surprizing him and his adherents in one night.

The king approved the proposal, and dispatched Bacchides into Judæa upon the commission, sending letters, at the same time, up and down to all his friends and officers in the country, to give their assistance towards the seizing of Jonathan. They, in consequence, concerted means for ensnaring him; but finding, on repeated trials, that their most subtle devices were eluded through the caution of the Jewish general, the Syrian commander, in a transport of rage, imputed the whole miscarriage to the treachery of the apostate Jews, which he said had sported with the king's orders, and then, in revenge, ordered fifty of their chief men to be put to death. Jonathan and his brother, persuaded of their inability to withstand the superior numbers of the enemy, had retired into the wilderness, and raised walls round a village called Bethlaga, intending to make that a place of retreat on all emergent occasions.

Bacchides, having received intelligence of this retreat, marched towards them with all the forces he was able to raise upon the junction of his own troops with an auxiliary faction of the Jews. He opened his trenches immediately against the place, and, for some days, carried on his approaches; Jonathan, on the other side, making a very stout resistance. While matters were in this posture, he left the defence of the place to his brother Simon, and, with such a body of men as he was able to collect in the vicinity, stole away by night, and fell upon Bacchides in his quarters, killed many of his men; and, by the havock and confusion which ensued, his brother became acquainted with his design, made a sally upon their machines, cut off many of their people, and then returned. Bacchides was so alarmed at this assault upon his front and rear, and the miscarriage of an attempt of which he thought himself so sure, that it deranged his affairs in the greatest degree. He imputed, however, the whole of his disappointment to the Jewish renegadoes, who had prevailed with the king

to send him upon this expedition. His main business, at present, was to deliberate on the best means of raising the siege, and drawing off the army, that he might thereby save his men, and retire without loss of honour to his master or himself.

CHAP. II.

The Syrian and Jewish generals adjust matters upon amicable terms.

WHILE Bacchides was deliberating in what manner he should proceed, Jonathan deemed it most expedient to avail himself of the present situation of affairs, and therefore sent an honourable message, with proposals of a mutual league of friendship, on condition of an exchange of prisoners. Bacchides found in the proposal so fair an opportunity of abandoning the siege without disgrace, that he immediately acceded, and formed an alliance with Jonathan, with a mutual exchange of oaths to deliver up and restore all prisoners on both sides, and from that moment cease from all acts of hostility against each other. This agreement being ratified, Bacchides returned to the king at Antioch; and so strictly did he observe the treaty of peace entered into with Jonathan, that he never returned with his army to Judæa. The wars being thus happily at an end, and every thing settled in an amicable manner, Jonathan took up his abode in Machmas, where he devoted his study and attention to the concerns of government, and the impartial administration of justice. He punished those who had apostatized from the religion and laws of their country, and, as far as in him lay, took every measure for the reformation of all abuses in church and state.

An alliance formed between the contending generals.

Jonathan applies himself to political regulations.

CHAP. III.

Hostilities between Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and Demetrius.

SOON after these transactions Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, laid claim to the Syrian empire, and took possession of Ptolemais, through a confederacy of the soldiers that were there in garrison, from an aversion they bore Demetrius, as a prince of a proud imperious disposition, who immured himself in a castle he had fortified near Antioch, and would suffer no person to have access to him. Indeed, such was his pride and indolence, that he seemed totally regardless of the interest of his subjects, which rendered him very unpopular, and stirred up many malcontents against him. However, being alarmed at the intelligence of Alexander's having seized upon Ptolemais, he assembled his troops with all possible expedition, and immediately marched against him.

Alexander seizes on Ptolemais.

Demetrius advances to oppose him.

CHAP. IV.

Demetrius forms an alliance with Jonathan, investing him with authority to levy men, provide arms, &c. He repairs and fortifies Jerusalem.

DEMETRIUS, in order to oppose his rival more effectually, thought it expedient to make his court to Jonathan, and to that end sent an embassy to him, with proposals of a league and an alliance betwixt them. The purport of the embassy was to vest him with authority to levy men, provide arms, and set the hostages at liberty that Bacchides had committed prisoners to the castle. Upon the receipt of the letter vesting him with this power, Jonathan left Machmas, and repaired to Jerusalem, where he publicly read the contents of the king's letter to the garrison, and the people in general. The apostate and fugitive Jews in the citadel, were much startled at this sudden reverse of fortune in his favour. Jonathan, however, proceeded to make his levies, and gave liberty to the hostages in the citadel, strictly ordering that they should be permitted to return in safety to their friends. He now resolved to fix his residence at Jerusalem, and, in consequence thereof, thoroughly repaired the city, fortified it on every side, and rebuilt those walls round the temple which had been destroyed during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Mac. ix. Demetrius courts the friendship of Jonathan.

Jonathan removes to Jerusalem.

Epiphanes. The Macedonians, who were dispersed up and down in several garrisons, quitted their station upon this change of affairs at Jerusalem, and went to Antioch; but those that were in Bethsura, and in the citadel of Jerusalem, being mostly Jewish deserters, remained there through apprehension of being taken upon removal, and suffering condign punishment.

C H A P. V

Alexander Ballex courts the friendship of Jonathan, whom he appoints high-priest. Desperate engagement betwixt Alexander and Demetrius. Death of Demetrius.

IN the mean time Alexander, who was no stranger to the character of Jonathan, or to his exploits against the Macedonians, or to the indignities that had been offered him both by Demetrius and his general Bacchides, assembled his friends, and represented to them the advantages that would result to his cause from an alliance with a person of such eminent valour, and a mortal enemy to Demetrius from the highest provocations imaginable. His council unanimously agreeing with him in opinion, a letter was immediately dispatched to Jonathan to the following purport:

“Alexander, the king, to Jonathan, his brother,
“greeting.

Alexander's
epistle to
Jonathan.

“Having been informed of your character, for honour, faith and courage, and deeming you every way worthy our best regard, we have dispatched ambassadors to offer you our friendship and alliance, and have commissioned them to treat for the same. By these presents, and our royal authority, we constitute and ordain thee high-priest of the Jews, and rank thee in the number of the king's friends: we likewise present thee with a crown of gold, and a purple robe, entertaining no doubt of a proper regard being made by you for this instance of our respect and esteem.

Jonathan
enters upon
the pontifi-
cate.

Jonathan immediately, on the receipt of this message, put on his sacerdotal robe, it being the day of the feast of tabernacles. This was four years after the death of his brother Judas, the office of high-priest having been so long vacant. He then applied himself to the levying of troops, and making a large provision of arms. Demetrius was, by this time, sensible of the error of his delay, in not embracing the opportunity of anticipating his competitor for an alliance with Jonathan. Nevertheless, he exerted his utmost to carry the point, as will appear from the following letter.

“Demetrius, the king, to Jonathan, and the Jewish
“people, greeting.

Epistle of
Demetrius
to Jonathan,
and the peo-
ple of the
Jews.

“As we have already entered into a treaty of alliance with you, we would wish to fix it on a lasting and uninterrupted foundation. Wherefore it is our pleasure that your tributes be remitted, and we hereby remit all the taxes formerly paid to our predecessors, or ourselves, (exclusive of the salt and crown taxes, with the thirds of your corn and fruits); and these duties we give up for all future times, as well as the poll-tax on the inhabitants, through Judæa, and the three governments of Galilee, Samaria, and Petæa. It is our pleasure likewise that Jerusalem and its dependencies be exempted from all tithes and tributes, be deemed holy, and have the privileges of a sanctuary. Let the citadel be delivered to Jonathan, the high-priest, with permission to place in it a garrison of such of his friends as he may think proper. We farther command, that, immediately on receipt hereof, liberty be given to all Jewish prisoners, in every part of our dominions, without any fees imposed, even on their cattle: that their sabbaths and solemn festivals, and three days preceding each, shall be deemed days of freedom to the Jews, throughout our dominions, that they may live at peace, and unmolested. That thirty thousand

“Jews, if so many shall be willing, may bear arms in our service, and receive the same pay as our own troops: that they be entrusted in garrisons, and near our person; and that our royal family receive the better sort of them as domestics. In Jerusalem, and the three dependent provinces, the Jews shall freely exercise their own laws; but the high-priest must take care that the temple of Jerusalem be the only one in which the Jews worship. Fifteen thousand shekels of silver we also grant annually towards the expence of their sacrifices; and we remit the ten thousand drachmas formerly paid to our predecessors by the priests and officers attending the service of the temple. We farther order that all debtors, repairing to the temple of Jerusalem, or the liberties thereof, on account of debt, shall remain unmolested, both in person and property. We also permit and require that the temple be repaired; that fortifications be made round it, and that such strong places as the Jews think proper to fortify shall have garrisons stationed in them; and all this shall be done at our own expence.”

At this critical juncture Alexander levied a mighty army, partly from his own mercenaries, and partly from those that went to him from Demetrius, in Syria, and marched with them against the enemy. At length they came to action, and the right wing of Alexander's forces were pressed hard by the left of Demetrius, who pushed their advantage even to the plundering of the camp; but Alexander forced the opposite column, where Demetrius fought in person, till it was totally routed. Demetrius, however, achieved wonders, killing and pursuing his enemies, and defending himself for a considerable time, till at length his horse plunging into a bog, and he being oppressed with multitudes, was obliged to yield, though not till his body was covered with darts and arrows. Thus died Demetrius, king of Syria, after having enjoyed the sovereignty of that empire for the space of about eleven years.

Engage-
ment be-
tween the
rival kings.

Valour of
Demetrius.

His unfor-
tunate death.

C H A P. VI.

Friendship between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor. The former obtains permission to build a temple in Egypt, resembling that at Jerusalem. This produces a dispute between the Samaritans and Jews, which is referred to the king, who decides in favour of the latter.

ONIAS, the son of Onias, the high-priest, lived in a kind of exile from his own country, with Ptolemy Philometor, at Alexandria. This Onias, finding Judæa so miserably ravaged by the Macedonians, and their kings, and, from an ambition to acquire immortal fame, resolved to try if he could obtain leave from king Ptolemy, and his queen Cleopatra, to build another temple in Egypt, after the plan and model of that in Jerusalem, and to supply it with priests and Levites of his own family. This thought was suggested to him by a prediction of the prophet Isaiah, of at least six hundred years before, presaging, that, in time to come, there should be a temple erected in Egypt to the honour of the great God, and that it should be the work of a Jew. Onias was so possessed with the impulse of this revelation, that he wrote a letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra to the following effect.

“At the time when I had the honour to serve you in the field, I passed through several countries, and observed that, in the provinces of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, and Leontopolis, in the land of Heliopolis, and several other places, that the Jews had no uniformity in their temples; and therefore could not agree amongst themselves about it. Such is the case with respect to the Egyptians, by reason of the multitude and variety of their temples, and the diversity of the forms of religion. Having discovered a certain place near the castle of Bubastes, upon the plain, where there is great store of materials for building at hand, and numbers of beasts ready for sacrifice, it is my humble request that you will grant me your royal licence
“and

Prediction
of Onias to
Ptolemy and
Cleopatra.

"and authority to demolish a ruinous temple there, that was never consecrated to any deity, and, in its place, to erect another after the model of that of Jerusalem, with a dedication of it *To the most High God*, upon condition that prayers be constantly offered there for the safety and prosperity of your royal persons and family; to the end that all the Jews in your dominions may, by this means, be more united among themselves, and better enabled to render you service. This is what the prophet Isaiah has foretold, that God would have an holy place in Egypt, together with several particulars relative to that subject."

He founds it on the prediction of Isaiah.

The pious disposition of the king and queen will appear sufficiently evident by their answer to this petition of Onias, wherein they exculpate themselves from any concern in the impious violation of the law, and transfer the whole blame to Onias in the following terms.

"King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting.

"We have read and duly considered your petition, wherein you request our royal licence and authority to purify an old ruinous temple at Leontopolis, near Bubastes, upon the plain, within the jurisdiction of Heliopolis. We cannot but express our wonder, that you should conceive it pleasing to God, to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and haunted with such variety of detestable animals. But since you refer yourself for justification to the predictions of the prophet Isaiah, we do hereby grant you full permission, so far as in us lies, to execute our design, provided it be done without violating the Divine laws."

The Epistle of Ptolemy and Cleopatra to Onias.

Onias had no sooner obtained this permission, than he assiduously applied himself to the raising of the temple and the altar, according to the model of that at Jerusalem, though much inferior to it in point of size and magnificence. As the dimensions of this fabric, and the holy vessels appertaining to it, are particularly described in my seventh book of the history and wars of the Jews, I shall pass them over in this place, and only say that Onias, having completed his design, did not want priests and Levites, of his own opinion and persuasion, to officiate in the ceremonies of the temple.

The temple is built in Egypt.

In consequence of this transaction of Onias, there arose a violent contest between the Jews and Samaritans who erected the temple at Gerizim, in the days of Alexander the Great, concerning the form of the temple, and manner of worshipping. Both parties appealed to the king to take the matter into his own cognizance, and then pass judgment on the merits of the cause. The point in dispute was this. The Jews insisted that the temple at Jerusalem was the only temple extant that was authorized by the laws of Moses. The Samaritans strenuously contended for the temple at Gerizim. Both parties, as before observed, referred themselves to the arbitration of the king, together with his ministers and friends, desiring that council might be heard on both sides, and sentence passed upon the party that should be found guilty. Sabbæus and Theodosius pleaded the cause of the Samaritans; Andronicus, the son of Mesitalan, that of the Jews; binding themselves on oath on both sides, in the presence of God and the king, to advance nothing in proof of their allegations, but what was strictly consonant with the letter of the law, and desiring that the breach of that oath might be made death to the violator. The king then sat down with his friends and counsellors to try the cause.

A dispute between the Jews and Samaritans. They appeal to the king.

The Jews of Alexandria were very apprehensive that their advocate would be incompetent to the business he had undertaken, and took it extremely to heart, to find the sacred authority of the temple at Jerusalem, the most antient and noble frame and institution in the whole world, brought into question. Upon a debate who should speak first, Sabbæus and Theodosius gave the precedence to Andronicus, who opened the cause, and traced the sanctity, practice, and venerable antiquity of the temple at Jerusalem, from its very origin, according to the law, setting

No. 17.

forth the uninterrupted succession of the priesthood throughout all ages, with the honour and magnificence of the place, as it was celebrated from time to time, for the sumptuous and splendid donations of the kings of Asia. He observed in a comparative view, that the temple of Gerizim, then in question, was so obscure in every respect, that little more notice was taken of it than if no such fabric had been erected. By these, and other arguments of the like nature, the king was prevailed upon to give sentence in favour of the temple at Jerusalem, and adjudge Sabbæus and Theodosius to death, according to the conditions of the proposal. Such was the state of the Jews of Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

The king gives judgment for the Jews.

CHAP. VII.

Demetrius is succeeded by Alexander, who espouses the daughter of Ptolemy, and confers peculiar honours upon Jonathan.

DEMETRIUS being slain in battle, as before related, Alexander took upon him the government of Syria, and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, desiring his daughter in marriage, and suggesting that it would be neither unreasonable or dishonourable, after the overthrow of Demetrius, and, through Divine favour, the recovery of a kingdom, to receive him into his alliance. Ptolemy received the proposal with the highest complacency, and immediately wrote him back a letter congratulating him on his victories and accession to the throne, promising him his daughter in marriage, and appointing Ptolemais for the place of meeting, where he assured him he would attend with his daughter Cleopatra, and then consummate the nuptials. The king of Egypt, pursuant to this information, repaired with his daughter to the place of appointment, and the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence; and Alexander received a dowry, in gold and silver, worthy the dignity and opulence of the potentate who had given him so convincing a proof of his friendship and esteem in forming with him an alliance at once so honourable and advantageous.

1 Mac. 10. Alexander demands the daughter of Ptolemy in marriage.

Celebration of the nuptials.

Jonathan, the high-priest, upon this occasion, came to Ptolemais, where he was received by both kings with the utmost cordiality, and treated with every token of the highest honour and respect. Alexander required him to change his habit, put on a robe of purple, and take his place next to himself upon the throne. He also commanded the principal officers to attend him into the heart of the city, and make proclamation, that no man should presume, on his peril, to calumniate, accuse, or in any respect give him molestation. Upon this signal demonstration of the king's esteem and favour, his enemies, who came thither with a view of injuring him by detamatory reports, thought it prudent to retire, lest they should bring on themselves the mischiefs they designed for him. So great, indeed, was the respect which Alexander bore for Jonathan, that he was ranked amongst his most approved friends.

The highest honours conferred upon Jonathan.

CHAP. VIII.

Extraordinary successes of Jonathan. Contest between Demetrius, son of the late king, and Alexander. The former enters into a league of friendship with Jonathan. Death of Alexander and of Ptolemy. Demetrius renders himself unpopular.

ALEXANDER now thought himself arrived at the summit of happiness, and that he should enjoy a life of uninterrupted tranquillity; but he soon found himself mistaken. A short time after Demetrius, the son of the late king Demetrius, resolving to revenge his father's death, and recover his kingdom, embarked with a body of mercenaries, whom Lathenes, the Cretan, had raised for him, and passed with them out of Crete into Cilicia. This expedition alarmed Alexander, who instantly marched from Phœnicia to Antioch, to put his affairs in a posture of security before the arrival of Demetrius. In the mean time Demetrius had gained over to his interest Apollonius, the governor of Cœlo-Syria, who,

Demetrius, son of Demetrius, comes into Cilicia. 1 Mac. 10.

D d d

to

Apollonius
duces Jonathan
to a
single com-
bat.

Jonathan
takes Joppa

Engages
Apollonius.

Routs and
pursues the
vanquished
enemy.

Burns the
temple of
Dagon.

Alexander
affects com-
placency
towards Jo-
nathan.

to oblige Jonathan to quit Alexander's party, and join with Demetrius, marched with an army as far as Jamnia, and thence sent a challenge to Jonathan, defying him to meet him with his sword in the open field, and put the issue on their single contest. He boasted also that he was at the head of a number of the bravest men in the empire, whose valour had frequently made his ancestors yield to their superior power.

Irritated at this daring message, Jonathan, accompanied by his brother Simon, left Jerusalem with a select band of ten thousand men, and encamped near Joppa, the gates of which were shut by a garrison belonging to Apollonius. Jonathan demanded entrance, which being refused, he immediately made the necessary preparations for attacking the place, when the garrison knowing themselves too weak to make opposition against so formidable a body, quietly surrendered.

As soon as Apollonius understood that Jonathan was in possession of Joppa, he advanced with three thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, to Azotus, and thence, by easy marches, to Joppa, where he drew off a little to engage Jonathan in the open plain, depending on the superior numbers of his cavalry. Jonathan, upon this, advanced, and followed Apollonius towards Azotus; but when the armies approached each other, the latter thought proper to make a retreat. Jonathan, however, continued to advance, till his antagonist, having got him to a spot of ground which he thought particularly advantageous, faced about, and prepared to engage. He planted a thousand horse to attack Jonathan in the rear; but the latter being aware of this disposition, without any difficulty provided against it, and formed his men into a square figure, so that they might be enabled to engage the enemy on all sides at the same time.

The action commenced, and lasted till near evening, when Jonathan ordered his brother Simon, with part of his army, to charge in upon the enemy's body, having given orders to his own men only to receive the darts and arrows of the horsemen upon their bucklers, without any other resistance. They accordingly kept themselves upon their guard till the enemy had spent all their offensive weapons; for they stood thick and close, that their darts fell upon their bucklers, and there was no possibility of piercing them through. The enemy was so fatigued with this way of fighting, and doing no execution for several successive hours, that Simon took that opportunity of attacking their main body, and was so bravely supported by his soldiers, that he soon put them to flight. The horse, upon this rout, between the toil of the day, and the hopeless condition of the army, now the foot were broken, fled, and dispersed themselves in the utmost confusion. Jonathan pursued them as far as Azotus, slaying great numbers, and forcing the rest into the temple of Dagon for sanctuary. But the conqueror entering the town set fire to it, and several neighbouring villages, which he burnt to the ground, together with the temple of Dagon itself, and killed all that had fled to it for protection, without any regard to the priests or idol of the place. The number of those who were slain in battle, and perished in the flames, was computed at eight thousand.

Having thus defeated the army of Apollonius, Jonathan advanced with his troops to Ascalon, and encamped before the city, with a design of investing it. But the inhabitants, instead of attempting to make any opposition, brought many valuable presents as a testimony of their submission, which Jonathan accepted upon the terms, and from the motives, for which they were offered, and then returned laden with the spoils of the enemy in triumph to Jerusalem.

As soon as Alexander heard of the success of Jonathan over his general Apollonius, he affected much joy at the event, because, as he pretended, he had practised hostilities against a friend and ally, without his knowledge or consent. In token of the honour and esteem in which he held him, he sent him, as a present, a buckle of gold, such as none but the royal family were permitted to wear, and, at the same time, also gave him the city of Ekron, with all the territories thereunto belonging.

About this time Ptolemy Philometor passed into Syria, with a considerable body of land and sea forces, to the assistance of his son-in-law Alexander. Agree-

able to the king's order, he was received with the greatest honour and respect by the inhabitants of all the cities and towns through which he passed except Azotus, where he was harassed with complaints of the burning of the temple of Dagon, and exclamations against Jonathan as the author of that outrage, as well as the havock made in their country by fire and sword, and the destruction of numbers of the people. Ptolemy gave them a patient hearing; but, fearful of disobliging Jonathan, did not think proper to do any thing in their favour without his knowledge. As soon as Jonathan heard of the arrival of Ptolemy in Syria, and that he was advanced as far as Joppa, he went thither to pay him his respects, and was received by the king with all honour and magnificence; after which he conducted him to the river Eleutherus, and returned to Jerusalem.

As Ptolemy was on his way to the city of Ptolemais, he fortunately discovered a plot, which had been concerted by Alexander, to be executed by Ammonius, his confidant, for taking away his life; though no reason could be assigned for such a diabolical intention. In consequence of this discovery, on his arrival at Ptolemais, he demanded that justice might be done on the traitor: but Alexander refusing to give him up, Ptolemy was fully convinced that the king was concerned in the plot, and therefore entertained an implacable hatred against him, which soon terminated in his ruin. Alexander had before incurred the ill-will of the people of Antioch, by means of this Ammonius, who had treated them with many indignities. He came at length, however, to an infamous end; for he lost his life in the habit of a woman, as he was endeavouring to conceal himself in that disguise from those who were employed to bring him to justice.

The first step Ptolemy took to shew his resentment on the occasion, was to take away his daughter Cleopatra from Alexander, and give her to his rival Demetrius, with assurance that he would restore him to the throne of his father. Demetrius was highly pleased with the terms of alliance proposed by Ptolemy, and as much charmed with the idea of possessing the beautiful Cleopatra as a wife. But the people had such an aversion to Demetrius on his father's account, that it was with the utmost difficulty Ptolemy could bring them over to receive that man for their king, whom they looked upon as their enemy. Such, however, was their hatred to Alexander, for his partiality to the execrable Ammonius, and their hatred to Ammonius himself, for his own sake, that they were easily prevailed on to expel the former from the city. He therefore retired from Antioch into Cilicia.

Ptolemy, upon this, made his entrance into the city; was saluted, proclaimed, and crowned king in two capacities; that is, in the right of Asia and Egypt. But being a man of honour, discretion, and temperance, he so conducted himself in all public affairs, as to afford entire satisfaction to his own people, without giving any cause of envy or jealousy to the Romans. The offer made him, by the people of Antioch, was very flattering; but his honour giving way to interest, he modestly declined the compliment, and having called a council of the heads of the people, advised them to receive Demetrius, the true heir to the crown, as their sovereign. He told them he hoped all past enmity would be forgotten; that he would himself be bound for his faithfully executing the trust reposed in him; and desired that, with respect to himself, he might be permitted to content himself with the government of his own dominions. This modest address had the desired effect: the people unanimously received Demetrius as their king, admitted him into the city with great pomp, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors.

When Alexander, who was at this time in Cilicia, heard of what had passed at Antioch, he marched with all his force to meet Ptolemy, ravaging the country through which he passed with fire and sword. Ptolemy and his new son-in-law met him, and gave him battle; the issue of which was, that his army was totally routed, and himself forced to fly into Arabia. It happened, in the battle, that Ptolemy's horse, taking fright at the noise of an elephant, threw his rider, and afforded his enemies the advantage of giving

Entertains
Jonathan
kindly.

Plot laid by
Alexander
for Ptolemy

Ignomi-
nious end of
Ammonius

Daughter of
Ptolemy ta-
ken from
Alexander,
and given
to Demetrius.

Expulsion of
Alexander
from An-
tioch.

Ptolemy
proclaims
king of Asia

Ptolemy
displeases
the throne
of Asia
Demetrius

Expulsion of
Demetrius
overcome
Alexander

giving him many grievous wounds upon the head, while he lay upon the ground. He would have lost his life upon the spot, had he not been rescued by a party of his guards; but such was his condition, that he lay speechless four days, without speaking a word himself, or understanding any thing that was said to him. Upon the fifth day, when he recovered himself a little, Zabelus, an Arabian prince, having cut off the head of Alexander, sent it to Ptolemy, who was greatly delighted both with the report of the action, and with the spectacle itself. But his satisfaction on this account was of short duration, for he soon died of the wounds he had received in the battle. This Alexander, otherwise called Ballez, reigned about five years.

Demetrius, who was known by the name of Nicator, succeeded Alexander. He was a man of an obdurate temper, as appears from his barbarous usage of Ptolemy's soldiers, without any regard to the obligations and services he had received from them upon the credit of an affinity with Cleopatra. The soldiers were so incensed at his ungrateful behaviour, that they quitted him themselves, and went away to Alexandria, leaving only the elephants behind them.

Jonathan, the high-priest, being now grown considerable in power, having drawn together all the force he was able to raise out of Judæa, sat himself down before the citadel of Jerusalem, with a resolution to dislodge the Macedonian garrison, and the fugitive Jews that had taken sanctuary there. Confident of the strength of the place, they at first gave Jonathan a most contemptuous defiance. But at length they sent some of their abandoned emissaries out of the town to Demetrius for succour. Demetrius, upon this, left Antioch, and marched with a considerable army towards Jonathan. On his arrival at Ptolemais he sent for him by letter. Jonathan, upon this invitation, took with him many valuable presents, in gold, silver, garments, and other rich curiosities, and, attended by the priests and elders, made a compliment of them to Demetrius, the siege going forward at the same time. The king was so pleased with this distinguished token of respect, that he confirmed Jonathan in the office of high-priest; and was so far from giving any credit to the calumniating suggestions of the rabble of the fugitive Jews against their countrymen, that, upon Jonathan's single request for an abatement of the tribute of Judæa, together with the dependencies of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee, to the rate of only three hundred talents upon the whole, he caused the following declaration, upon the first word, to be dispatched away in their favour:

"Demetrius, the king, to his brother Jonathan, and the rest of the Jewish nation, sendeth greeting:

"You are hereby to understand, that we have written a letter to our trusty and well beloved cousin Lathenes, a copy of which is herewith transmitted."

"Demetrius, the king, to Lathenes, his cousin, greeting:

"Such is the sense we entertain of the return that our friends the Jews have, from time to time, made to our good will, that we are resolved to give them some distinguishing testimony of our particular esteem and regard for their welfare. Wherefore we hereby command that the governments of Aphareima, Lydda, and Ramatha, with all the lands dependent on those places, be assigned to the use of Judæa: and we exempt Jerusalem from all taxes heretofore paid to our ancestors, as well those called crown taxes, and on salt pits, as those on corn and fruit: and we command that for the future nothing of the kind be demanded. Take care that a copy of this letter be sent to Jonathan, and let it be hung up in one of the most conspicuous parts of the holy temple in Jerusalem."

Demetrius being now in full and quiet possession of the crown, and having reason to think he should not

be interrupted by any enemies, dismissed his army without giving them their full pay, and retained in his service only a number of mercenary troops, which had been collected in Crete, and other adjacent islands. This discharge of his father's old troops, without any stipend for their past services, contrary to the practice of his ancestors, who paid them as well in peace as in war, and so kept them in readiness for any occasion, entirely alienated the affection of his subjects in general, and the army in particular.

Demetrius incurs the ill-will of the soldiery.

CHAP. XV.

Tryphon revolts from Demetrius, who is supported by Jonathan. The singular ingratitude of Demetrius. Tryphon advances Antiochus to the throne, and gains the assistance of Jonathan. Jonathan renews a league with the Romans and Lacedæmonians. Defeat of Demetrius by Arsaces, king of Parthia.

THE defection of the army from Demetrius was so notorious, that Diodorus, otherwise called Tryphon, a native of Apamia, and formerly an officer under Alexander, observing the mutinous disposition that prevailed amongst them, applied himself to Malchus, an Arabian, who was at that time guardian of Antiochus, the son of Alexander, representing to him the alienation of the soldiery from Demetrius, and proposing the restoration of the young prince to the throne of his father. Malchus was at first diffident and scrupulous; but, at length, through pressing instances, was brought over to compliance.

1 Mac. 12. Tryphon revolts from Demetrius.

In the mean time Jonathan prosecuted the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem, with a resolution to clear not only the castle of the metropolis, but the strong holds in the country, where the fugitive Jews had sheltered themselves in garrison. To this end he sent ambassadors with presents to Demetrius, desiring him to withdraw all his men that were in any of the fortresses of Judæa. Demetrius, in reply, assured him, that he was ready to gratify him in that, or any other important requests, as soon as he was disengaged from the present war, that so engrossed his whole attention; adjuring him, at the same time, by every sacred tie of friendship, to send him a recruit of men, as his own troops, he said, were gone over to the enemy. Jonathan soon after sent the king a supply of three thousand choice men.

Jonathan carries on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem.

Jonathan supplies Demetrius with 3000 select men.

The people of Antioch were so enraged against Demetrius, that they desired nothing more than an opportunity for revenge, so that, upon the report of this relief from Jerusalem, they determined to be beforehand with their king, and therefore beset the palace in such a manner, as if they were just ready to give the assault. But their main design was to secure the avenues, and seize upon the king on his coming out. Demetrius, finding himself thus beset, drew up his foreign mercenaries, together with Jonathan's auxiliaries, and charged the insurgents: but they were overpowered by numbers, and repulsed. The Jews then retired into the palace, where they mounted the battlements, and from thence, with darts and arrows, so annoyed and galled the Antiochians, that they forced them from one house to another, without much danger to themselves. They then set fire to the city; so that, the houses, being mostly of wood, and standing close to each other, a general conflagration ensued. The inhabitants, in the utmost consternation, betook themselves to flight: and the Jews, availing themselves of their confusion, pursued, and, according to the king's order, did great execution, slaying great numbers, and forcing the rest to throw down their arms, and sue for mercy.

They defend Demetrius in a sedition at Antioch.

Totally quell the insurgents.

Thus was this rebellion speedily crushed; so that Demetrius, having rewarded the Jews for their very seasonable assistance, sent them back to Jonathan, with a most honourable testimony of their valour, acknowledging that it was to their resolution he stood indebted for his success.

Demetrius ungratefully and pertinaciously breaks his promise with Jonathan.

But these services were soon forgotten by Demetrius, who, thinking he should have no farther occasion for the assistance of Jonathan, broke the agreement he had made for exempting him from the payment of the usual taxes, and threatened him with military

litary execution, unless he, in future, made good those tributes to himself, which the Jews had formerly paid to his predecessors. This he would accordingly have done, if Tryphon had not divested him, by forcing him to make use of the preparations he had made against Jonathan for his own safety, though without effect: for Tryphon, being now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with young Antiochus, he set the crown upon his head, and, by the help of the soldiers inimical to Demetrius for the default of payment, proceeded to open hostilities, overcame him in battle, took from him his elephants, and the city of Antioch, and forced him back in Cilicia.

He is overcome, and driven from Antioch.

Jonathan is highly honoured by Antiochus.

Jonathan espouses the interest of Antiochus.

Antiochus, soon after his accession, sent an embassy to Jonathan, complimenting him with the title of his friend and ally, confirming him in the office of high-priest, putting him in possession of the four governments that were assigned to Judæa, and appointing his brother Simon to the command of all his forces from Tyre to the borders of Sidon. He also presented Jonathan with several golden cups, purple garments, and many badges of honour, and adopted him in the number of his chosen friends. Jonathan entertained so high a sense of these extraordinary tokens of honour and liberality, which he had received from Antiochus, that he dispatched messengers both to the young king and Tryphon, his prime minister, with a most affectionate tender of friendship and service, especially in joining against Demetrius as a common enemy, whom he reprobated as the most ungrateful of men, in returning evil for the most substantial good.

Brings over many cities to his cause.

Repents the indign behaviour of the people of Gaza.

Matters are at length amicably adjusted.

Having received a commission from Antiochus to raise forces, Jonathan proceeded for that purpose to Syria and Phœnicia, and from thence to all the neighbouring towns and cities, where he was treated with great honour in appearance, but levied no soldiers. Upon his arrival at Ascalon, he was received with great form by the inhabitants, who made him many valuable presents; and whom he invited, as he had done those in other cities through which he passed, to give up Demetrius, and espouse the cause of Antiochus, it being both their duty and interest so to do. He so far wrought upon them, by his reasoning and advice, that they promised supplies; but advancing afterwards to Gaza, upon the design of the same good office to Antiochus, he found, to his great surprise, the gates shut against him, and the people zealously attached to Demetrius.

Jonathan, incensed at this palpable indignity, laid siege to the place, and, in order to terrify the inhabitants into submission, sent a detachment of his forces to destroy the adjoining towns and villages with fire and sword. Seeing, therefore, nothing but inevitable destruction before them, without any appearance of relief from Demetrius, they came at last to a compulsive determination of making a seasonable and submissive application to Jonathan by their deputies, who were as frankly received on the other hand into his interest and friendship. He readily accepted the conditions they offered, and, having received hostages for the fulfilment of the same, left Gaza, and proceeded with his forces towards Damascus.

Simon invests and takes Bethsura.

In the mean time Demetrius had encamped with a powerful army before Cadasa, a place bordering on Tyre and Galilee, with a view of enticing Jonathan out of his way, and defeating him. But Jonathan advanced with all speed to encounter him, leaving the care of Judæa in his absence to his brother Simon, who, collecting all the forces he was able, marched up to Bethsura, and assaulted it, though accounted the strongest and most defensible place in all Judæa, and in the possession of the partizans of Demetrius. The people of the garrison, from the incessant plying of the machines and engines against them, apprehending themselves in a dangerous situation, sent a messenger to Simon, requesting permission to march away without violence, or any molestation, to Demetrius. Indeed, they were at length brought to these terms, through fear of being put to the sword. Simon, however, granted them their conditions, and placed another garrison of his own people in their stead.

By this time Jonathan had advanced with his forces, which he had greatly augmented on the way, as far as the plain of Azor, where he encamped unsuspecting of any danger; but a party of Demetrius

having intelligence of his situation, lay in ambush behind a mountain, while others of them marched to attack him on the plain. As soon as Jonathan found himself thus beset, he gave the best orders to his soldiers the shortness of the time would permit; but the Jews, seeing the party of Demetrius who were placed in ambush, and fearful of being surrounded by the enemy, the greater part of them threw down their arms, and precipitately fled. So general, indeed, was the terror, that only a very small party remained with Jonathan, who were encouraged to stand against the enemy by means of their leader, together with two captains of his guards, Matthias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapsæus. These, with a band of gallant followers, charged the front of the enemy in so desperate a manner, that their lines were soon broken, which being seen by the deserters, some of them rallied, and fell on with such fury, that the army of Demetrius was entirely routed, about two thousand being slain on the spot, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitate flight.

Jonathan, falling into ambush, is defeated by his men.

With a small remnant near the army of Demetrius.

Jonathan sends an embassy to the Romans and Lacedæmonians.

After this glorious victory Jonathan returned to Jerusalem, and, in the height of his successes, sent ambassadors to Rome to renew former alliances, giving them direction to go to Lacedæmon upon business of a similar nature. The Romans received the ambassadors with the highest respect, and dismissed them with letters, recommending that a safe passage might be granted them by the potentates of every dominion through which they might have occasion to pass. On their return they delivered the following letter to the Lacedæmonians.

“By a letter of very ancient date, from your king Arius, to our high-priest Onias, (a copy of which we send enclosed), we find that we are nearly allied to you in blood, and, by the testimony we there gave to Arius, it appears how happy we were in the ratification of such an alliance. We would now inform you, that we should long before have claimed your friendship, but that we left you the honour of setting the example. From the first ratification of your friendship to the present time, we have constantly offered up our prayers to the Almighty that you might live in health and prosperity, and overcome your enemies. In all our distresses and misfortunes, from the malice of ambitious neighbours, we have been cautious not to trouble you, or other allies. But Divine Providence having put an end to our wars, and our affairs being more at ease, we have dispatched Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipator, the son of Jason, (both men of honour and senators), with letters to the Romans, and to yourselves, for renewing and strengthening the league of friendship between us. Return what answer you think proper; but let us know how we may testify our affectionate regard by every means in our power.”

His epistle.

At this time there were three sects amongst the Jews, who maintained different opinions concerning human actions. They went under the denominations of Pharisees, Sadduces, and Essenes. The Pharisees held, that men are subject to a fatality in some cases, and left at liberty in others, either to do, or not to do, as they pleased. The Sadduces allowed of no fatality at all in what case soever, but affirmed that every man has it in his own power to make his condition better or worse, according as he pursues measures right or wrong. The Essenes, on the other hand, asserted the power of an over-ruling destiny, working according to the predeterminations of an irresistible fate. But a more exact account of these opinions will hereafter be found in our history of the Jewish wars. We therefore resume our narrative.

Of the sects of the Pharisees, Sadduces, and Essenes.

In the mean time Jonathan, being informed that the forces of Demetrius, now greatly augmented, were advancing towards him, in hopes of redeeming the credit they had lost by their late overthrow, he hastened with all expedition to meet them at Amathis, with a full resolution to oppose their passage into Judæa. He encamped within fifty furlongs of the enemy, and sending spies to discover their design, found, upon their return with the best information they could get, and some prisoners they had taken that night, that the intention of the enemy was to surprise

Various measures of the enemy.

prize him in his quarters. In consequence of this intelligence, Jonathan made every necessary preparation for counteracting their design, by fixing centinels at the out-ports, and keeping his men under arms all night, acquainting them before-hand with the intention of the enemy. When the officers of Demetrius understood that their plan had been discovered, they were puzzled how to act, knowing themselves too weak for an encounter by force: they therefore, at length, formed a resolution of decamping in the night, which they accordingly did, and covered their retreat with several fires. At day-break Jonathan marched to attack them, when finding their camp abandoned, he pursued them with the utmost expedition; but his endeavours proved fruitless, the enemy having retreated to a secure place, beyond the river Eleutherus, before he could reach them. Jonathan then pursued his course to Arabia, plundered the country of the Nabathæans, made many of the inhabitants prisoners, took great numbers of their cattle, conducted them to Damascus, and there sold them.

Simon in the mean time proceeded with his forces, through Judæa and Palestine, to Ascalon, fortifying all the defensible places he came to in his way. From Ascalon he went to Joppa, of which he no sooner made himself master, than he placed a proper garrison in it, to keep the inhabitants in awe, and thereby prevent its falling into the hands of Demetrius.

Jonathan and Simon having taken the necessary measures to prevent any injury from the enemy abroad, returned to Jerusalem; and the people being summoned to the temple by the high-priest, he made a proposition to repair the walls of the city, fortify them with towers, and cut off all communication between the city and the castle by another wall; likewise to put the whole country in a state of defence, by placing proper garrisons in such parts of it as were thought best for the security of the people. This proposition being unanimously approved, Jonathan took the care of the city upon himself, and committed the country department to his brother Simon.

Demetrius, having passed the river, advanced into Mesopotamia, with a design of making himself master not only of the country, but of Babylon itself; proposing also, upon the reduction of the upper provinces, to make that quarter the seat of the war: for the Greeks and Macedonians, who dwelt there, had sent him several invitations to come over to them, with assurances that, upon his appearing, they would enlist under his banner, and assist him with their arms against Arsaces, king of Parthia. Elated by this assurance, Demetrius hastened towards them, confident, if he could overcome the Parthians, of ejecting Tryphon out of Syria. Upon his arrival he put himself at the head of a considerable army, and marched to attack Arsaces, by whom he was utterly routed, his whole army destroyed, and himself taken prisoner.

CHAP. X.

Instances of the treachery of Tryphon, and credulity of Jonathan, who is taken prisoner, and loses a thousand of his people.

DURING these transactions the base and treacherous Tryphon, who had no other view in getting young Antiochus into his hands than to answer his own wicked purposes, and was concerting the completion of his plan for possessing himself of the crown of Syria, now resolved, upon the miscarriage of Demetrius, to make one bold push for accomplishing his wishes. He well knew that, while Jonathan was in the interest of Antiochus, he could not possibly execute his design, and therefore the first point was to curtail him of his power; but as he was sensible he could not do this by force, he therefore had recourse to stratagem. To this end he went from Antioch to Bethsan, called, by the Greeks, Scythopolis, where he found Jonathan, at the head of forty thousand chosen men, ready to execute his commands. Tryphon, on his arrival, made him many presents and compliments, directed the officers of his army to pay the same respect and obedience to Jonathan as to himself, proposing, by these artifices, to veil the treachery of his own heart, and create in the other such a confi-

No. 17.

dence as might expose him, through want of caution, to a fatal surprize. At length, after divers insinuations, he told Jonathan that, as the war was over, all things at peace, and Demetrius, from his reduced condition, was no longer able to trouble him, he might disband his army, retaining a competent guard about his person, and attend him to Ptolemais, which place, and all the adjacent towns, he was determined to put into his possession. Jonathan, attracted by these arguments and promises, and unsuspecting of his villainous design, cast himself wholly upon the sincerity and good faith of the perfidious Tryphon, inasmuch, that he dismissed all his army, except three thousand men; two of whom he left in Galilee, and went, with Tryphon, to Ptolemais with the other thousand.

He no sooner entered the town than the inhabitants, according to previous instructions from Tryphon, shut the gates upon him, made Jonathan prisoner; and cut off all his thousand people to a man. Having thus far succeeded in his design, he dispatched a party of his army into Galilee, with orders to massacre the other two thousand which were left by Jonathan in that part of the country; but these, having timely notice of the treacherous treatment of their commander and fellow-soldiers at Ptolemais, took to their arms, and facing about in order to engage, so intimidated the party of Tryphon, that they declined the combat, and returned to Ptolemais without executing the bloody design on which they were sent.

CHAP. XI.

Jonathan being detained prisoner, his commands supplied by Simon. Tryphon violates his faith, and orders Jonathan to be put to death. Simon is appointed general and high-priest by the people, and exhibits proofs of valour and wisdom.

WHEN the inhabitants of Jerusalem heard of the imprisonment of Jonathan (for whom, on account of his extraordinary valour and conduct, they had the highest regard) and the massacre of their brethren, they were greatly afflicted, and universal lamentations prevailed throughout the city. While he was their leader, they had no fears; but now he was detained prisoner, they were apprehensive of the utmost danger from their enemies, whose power they thought it was impossible for them to withstand. To dissipate these disagreeable apprehensions, and remove that gloom which hung both on the minds and countenances of the people, Simon, having summoned them together for the purpose, addressed them in words to this effect:

“It is unnecessary, friends and countrymen, for me to say that my father, brothers, and myself, have been always ready to expose ourselves for the common liberty. The defence of law and religion has been the business of our family; nor am I so lost to the authority of example, as to think of preserving my life by the forfeit of my honour. Seek, not, therefore, for another commander, since I am willing to lead you wherever great and glorious actions shall call us. I count not myself greater than my brethren, nor value my life more than they did theirs. Never shall it be said that I have departed from the dignity of my family. I have no doubt but God will, by my hands, avenge you of your enemies; deliver you, your wives, and children, from those who oppress you; and secure the holy temple from defilement.”

The people were so animated by this speech, that they immediately assumed confidence, suspended their fears, and revived their spirits, unanimously exclaiming, “None so fit as Simon to succeed to the command of his brave brothers, Judas and Jonathan. Therefore let Simon be our general, and whatever he commands shall be obeyed.” Simon, being thus elected leader of the Jews, the first step he took was to order the walls of the city to be repaired, and fortified with strong and stately towers; having done which, he dispatched his friend Jonathan, the son of Abisalom, to Joppa, with orders to clear that town of its inhabitants, lest they should deliver it up to

E e e

Tryphon,

Jonathan is taken, and his people massacred.

The lamentation of the people for Jonathan.

Simon animates the people, and offers himself as their general.

Is accordingly appointed. 1 Mac. 13.

Jonathan ravages Arabia.

Jonathan and Simon fortify the city of Jerusalem.

The army of Demetrius routed, and himself taken prisoner, by Arsaces. 1 Mac. 14.

Tryphon resolves perfidious to Antiochus.

Simon is to seize Jonathan by treachery.

Tryphon, while himself continued at Jerusalem to look to the city.

Tryphon makes an irruption into Judæa.

Soon after this Tryphon, at the head of a considerable army, marched from Ptolemais to Judæa, having with him Jonathan as his prisoner. Simon, being aware of his approach, headed his forces, and proceeded to meet him, which he did on a mountain that overlooked the plain near the city of Adida. As soon as Tryphon saw the Jewish army, and understood that Simon had been chosen their leader, he thought it most expedient to decline an engagement; and therefore resolved, instead of force, to endeavour to obtain his ends by deceit and stratagem. To effect this, he dispatched one of his principal officers to Simon, with a message to the following effect: "That he had seized Jonathan only because he owed an hundred talents to the king; but that, in case he would send the money, and Jonathan's two sons, as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would again let him at liberty, since he was only detained till the king's due should be paid." Simon, suspecting a deception intended by this message, and yet thinking, if he refused the money as a ransom, or the sons as hostages, it might cost his brother Jonathan his life, and that his death would of course be imputed to him, summoned a council of the principal people, to whom he intimated his suspicion of treachery, but observed, at the same time, that he thought it would be most proper to send both the young men and the money, as otherwise he might be thought indifferent with respect to the safety of his brother.

Tryphon obtains money of Simon by fraud.

This being unanimously agreed to, the money and hostages were accordingly sent to Tryphon, who, instead of fulfilling his agreement, by delivering up Jonathan, retained both him and his sons. He then marched with his army up and down, ravaging the country, till he came at length to Dora, a city of Idumæa, with an intention to pass that way to Jerusalem: but Simon watched his motions so closely, as to prevent his carrying his design into execution.

While Tryphon was on the way, he received intelligence from Jerusalem, that the garrison was hard pressed for want of provisions, and that they earnestly requested he would immediately hasten away to their relief. Upon this he ordered his horse to be in readiness, as he determined to proceed, without delay, to Jerusalem; but so deep a snow fell in the night, that the ways were covered, and impassable, especially for the cavalry. Upon this disappointment he decamped, returned to Cælo-Syria, and passing through the country of Galaad, near the city of Balca, he basely caused Jonathan to be slain and buried there, and afterwards returned to Antioch.

Jonathan is slain by order of Tryphon.

A monument erected to his memory.

In the mean time Simon was returned to Jerusalem, where, hearing of his brother Jonathan's death, and that he was buried at Balca, in the land of Galaad, he sent for his remains, which he deposited in the sepulchre of his father, at Modin, and ordered a general mourning to be observed upon the occasion. He afterwards erected a stately monument over the sepulchre, the whole of which was of white marble, polished, and curiously wrought with a variety of figures. He raised also seven pyramids for his father, mother, four brothers, and himself, one for each, a work of such admirable state and beauty, that it is to be seen to this day, and hath the reputation of being an exquisite piece. This may suffice to shew the care and zeal of Simon, in doing due honour to his family, by so magnificent a monument, and particularly to the memory of Jonathan, who had now governed the people in quality both of prince and high-priest for the space of four years; his brother Simon succeeding him by the universal suffrages of the people.

Simon renders singular services to his country.

In the first year of his promotion he freed them from the tribute formerly paid to the Macedonians, and this was in the year 170, from the coming of Seleucus Nicanor to the kingdom of Syria. Simon had obtained such esteem and authority among the people, that they dated their writings, public and private, in such a year of Simon, the governor of the Jews; adding, "and most deserving patron of the nation." For under his administration all things succeeded well, both in war and peace, through the advantages he procured his friends, and the victories

he obtained over the common enemy, destroying the cities of Gaza, Joppa, and Jamnia, and laying the citadel of Jerusalem level with the ground. He also took care to prevent inconveniencies in future, by putting it out of condition, either for annoying the town, or serving as a place of refuge to fugitives or rebels. To this end he gave his advice to the digging up and levelling of the mountain itself, that the castle stood upon, so as to leave the temple the advantage of the higher ground. Upon this consideration he summoned an assembly of the people, and laid before them the damages they had sustained from this castle, and the inconveniencies they might reasonably expect from it in future, if it should ever fall into the hands of an enemy. This plain, but just, mode of reasoning, wrought so effectually on the multitude, that they unanimously approved the purpose of demolishing the mountain. They then immediately fell to work, and plied it so incessantly, night and day, for three years, that, in the end, by means of indefatigable labour, they brought it under the command of the temple.

CHAP. XII.

Tryphon proceeds in his iniquitous practices. Simon forms an alliance with Antiochus Soter. They expel Tryphon from Syria. He at length falls a victim to popular resentment, and is put to death.

SOON after the taking of Demetrius Nicanor prisoner, Tryphon caused his pupil, Antiochus, the son of Alexander, to be secretly murdered; and a report to be propagated, that he lost his life by an unlucky accident that happened in his exercises. This report being credited, the assassin, by his artifices and deceit, so wrought on the minds of the people, that they unanimously chose him for their king, and placed him on the throne of Syria, alledging, that Demetrius was a prisoner to the Parthians, and that Antiochus would never forget the deserters of his brother.

Tryphon cause young Antiochus to be taken off.

Obtains the crown of Syria.

The base and perfidious Tryphon, having thus possessed himself of the throne of Syria, began to display that turpitude of heart which had been distinguished while in a private character. His point was no sooner gained than he threw off the mask, and proved that the name of Tryphon (which signifies a dissolute wretch) was an epithet he justly merited. His disposition and conduct proved so disagreeable to the soldiers in particular, that they deserted in great numbers, and went over to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was at this time in retirement with her children in Seleucia; while Antiochus (otherwise called Soter, and the brother of Demetrius) was in an obscure situation in Crete, inasmuch, that scarce any person dared to receive him, through fear of Tryphon.

Is deserted by the soldiers, who go over to Cleopatra, who marries Antiochus Soter.

Cleopatra, encouraged by the advice of her friends, and the appearance of the soldiers, who had deserted from Tryphon, as well as urged by the fears she had, lest the people of Seleucia should deliver up the place to the usurper, dispatched a messenger to Antiochus Soter, offering him the crown of Syria, and, at the same time, making a proposal of marriage. Antiochus immediately embraced the tender, both of her kingdom and person, so that, upon closing with Cleopatra, the people flocked to him in such numbers, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army. With these forces he marched against Tryphon, overcame him in battle, drove him out of Syria into Phœnicia, and at length pent him up in the strong fortrefs of Dora. Antiochus then sent ambassadors to Simon, the high-priest of the Jews, with a treaty of amity and alliance. The terms were frankly accepted by Simon, who soon after sent him a supply of money and provisions for carrying on the siege, which was a service at that time so acceptable to Antiochus, that he ranked him amongst the number of his best friends. The siege of Dora was carried on for some time, till, at length, Tryphon made his escape, and, after flying from place to place, endeavoured to shelter himself in Apamia, his place of nativity; but an universal disgust prevailing against him among the inhabitants, they seized him, and put him to death in the fourth year of his government.

Antiochus expels Tryphon from Syria.

Makes a league with Simon.

Tryphon slain.

C H A P. XIII.

Perfidy of Antiochus towards Simon, who baffles him; and renews a league with the Romans.

Simon re-
sents the
perfidy of
Antiochus,
and van-
quishes his
general
Cendebeus.
1 Mac. 16.

ANTIOCHUS being of a covetous, and consequently ungrateful, disposition, was no sooner settled on the throne of Syria, than, forgetful of the good offices Simon had done him, and the promises he had made him in return, he sent an army, under the command of his general Cendebeus, to lay waste Judæa, and seize upon his person. The thought of this base perfidy, on the part of Antiochus, so irritated Simon, that, heedless of the infirmities of age, with a juvenile resolution, he made the necessary preparations for giving him a warm reception. Having assembled his forces, he dispatched two divisions of them under the command of his two sons, while himself took a circle with the main body of the army, planting ambuscades in different parts of the country. Nor did he fail of success in his attempts, for he foiled his treacherous foe in every encounter, and justly retaliated the injuries he had sustained; after which he renewed his alliance with the Romans, and led the rest of his life in peace.

C H A P. XIV.

Simon is treacherously murdered by Ptolemy, his son-in-law, who imprisons his wife and sons. His son Hyrcanus is protected by the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

Treachery
of Ptolemy,
who mur-
ders his
father-in-law
Simon, and
maltreats
his family.

WHEN Simon had been eight years governor of Judæa, he was barbarously murdered by the treachery of his son-in-law, Ptolemy, whom he had made governor of the plains of Jericho. This execrable villain, who was rich and ambitious, had laid a design for usurping the government of Judæa to himself; but this could not well be done without the destruction of Simon and his family. To perpetrate the horrid design, he invited his father-in-law to a feast, where, as he was regaling himself, unsuspecting of danger, he caused him to be assassinated. He then made his wife, and two of his sons, prisoners, and sent his ruffians in quest of his third son, John, (otherwise called Hyrcanus), to take him off, as they had done his father; but Hyrcanus, being apprized of the design, went to a sanctuary in Jerusalem, where he was received with open arms by the multitude, through the veneration they had for the memory of his father, and their aversion to Ptolemy for his perfidy, whom they bravely repulsed upon an attempt to enter at one gate, because they had already received Hyrcanus at another.

C H A P. XV.

Hyrcanus is declared high-priest. Besieges Ptolemy in the castle of Dagon. The fortitude of the mother and two brothers of Hyrcanus, who are put to death by Ptolemy.

Hyrcanus
makes an
expedition
against Pro-
tolemy.

WHEN the fall of Simon was known at Jerusalem, Hyrcanus was declared high-priest, and prince of the Jews, in the place of his father, whose death was universally lamented, and a general mourning throughout the whole country was observed on the melancholy occasion (a).

The first thing Hyrcanus did, after he entered upon his office, was to offer up prayers and sacrifices in due form, which being done, he made an expedi-

(a) The author of the first book of Maccabees, in the encomiums he bestows on Simon, tells us, that he sought the good of the nation in every thing, so that his authority always pleased them well: that, during his administration, whilst Syria, and other neighbouring kingdoms, were almost destroyed by wars, the Jews lived quietly, every man under his own vine and fig-tree, enjoying, without fear, the fruits of their labours, and beholding, with pleasure, the flourishing state of their country. Their trade was increased by the reduction of Joppa, and other maritime places; their territories enlarged, their armies well disciplined, their towns and fortresses well garrisoned, their religion and liberties secured, their land freed from heathen ene-

tion against Ptolemy, who had retired to the castle of Dagon. The grand difficulty he met with, in the prosecution of this design, was to surmount a natural affection towards his mother and brethren, whom Ptolemy caused to be whipped, and otherwise publicly tormented, on the battlements, threatening to cast them down headlong, unless he immediately raised the siege. This terrible menace abated the resolution of Hyrcanus, who thought, if he persisted in his attempt, the consequence would be an aggravation of cruelty to his relations. His mother, observing his embarrassment, called aloud, urging him not to consider the sufferings of herself and sons, but to avenge the injury his family had received, and expressed a willingness to expire under the most excruciating torments, on condition that the barbarous and unnatural tyrant, Ptolemy, should meet with a punishment proportioned to the enormity of his guilt. This instance of fortitude and generosity animated Hyrcanus to make a vigorous assault; but observing that, in proportion to the force he exerted for reducing the fort, additional cruelty was exercised upon his mother, and his desire of revenge yielding to filial tenderness, the siege was protracted till the coming on of the sabbatical year, wherein the Jews were obliged to rest; so that Ptolemy, by these means, being delivered from the war and the siege, after putting to death the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus, withdrew to the tyrant Zeno, surnamed Cotyla, who, at that time, had usurped to himself the city of Philadelphia.

The forti-
tude of his
mother.

Hyrcanus
gives up his
design on
the coming
on of the
year of rest.

C H A P. XVI.

Antiochus makes war against Hyrcanus, who afterwards enters into a league with him. Antiochus is defeated and slain, and succeeded on the throne of Syria by his brother Demetrius.

ANTIOCHUS, stimulated by the disappointments and disgrace formerly brought on him by Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, made an inroad into Judæa, in the fourth year of his reign, the first of the government of Hyrcanus, and the hundred and sixty second olympiad. Having first ravaged the country, he drove Hyrcanus into the city itself, dividing his army into seven bodies round about it. The siege was carried on with great resolution, and the defence of the place gallantly supported for some time. The camp was for some time distressed for want of water; but that defect was at length plentifully supplied by a great fall of rain. Upon a general survey, they found the town most accessible upon the north side, and therefore directed their force principally to that quarter, raising an hundred turrets, of three stories high, which were lined with soldiers to carry on the attack. They had likewise drawn a double circumvallation, of great length and depth, to cut off the means of communication and relief. But this did not intimidate the defendants from making frequent sallies, and doing execution, when they found the assailants off their guard. If, indeed, they found them in a posture to receive them, they could make good their retreat at pleasure. Hyrcanus, discerning the inconvenience of retaining in the town many useless people, turned such out, having taken care to separate those that were fit to bear arms; so that between Antiochus, on the one hand, who stopped them from going farther, and Hyrcanus, on the other, who would not suffer them to go back, the poor wretches wandered about the walls, till many of them perished for want.

Antiochus
invades Je-
rusalem.

Hyrcanus
ejects those
who were
not able to
bear arms.

mies and Jewish apostates, and their friendship courted by all the nations about them, even by the Romans and Lacedæmonians. He observes farther, that this Simon was no less zealous for the service of God, in extirpating apostacy, superstition, idolatry, and every thing else that was contrary to the laws of God: that he was a great protector of the true Israelites, and a friend to the poor; and that he restored the service of the temple to its antient splendor. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the Jewish Sanhedrim should think no dignity or honour, while he lived, nor no grief or lamentation, when he was dead, too great for a man of such distinguished merit.

Instance of
the piety of
Antiochus.

He is called
Antiochus
the Pious.

Hyrca-
nus
solicits pri-
vileges for
the Jews.

Antiochus
accedes to
terms of
accommo-
dation, and
enters into
a league
with the
Jews.

Hyrca-
nus
opens the
monument
of David.

Accompa-
nies Antio-
chus to the
Parthian
war.

Testimony
of Nicolaus
of Damascus

Antiochus
is slain in
battle with
Arsaces.

It so fell out that it was now the feast of tabernacles; so that those who were within the town commiserated their condition, and received them again. Upon this occasion the inhabitants addressed themselves to Antiochus only to grant a truce for seven days in honour of the solemnity, with which, from a conscientious motive, he immediately complied. Nor did he only gratify them in their request, but sent them sumptuous presents for sacrifices, such as bulls with gilded horns, cups of gold and silver, replenished with costly perfumes, and, in fine, treated them in a manner wholly the reverse to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, sacrificed swine upon the altar, and committed other abominable profanations, in contempt of the religion, laws, and ceremonies of the Jews, which was the cause of an irreconcilable animosity between that prince and our nation; whereas the present Antiochus obtained the surname of "the Pious," in token of the reverence he had for the sacred rites of religion.

Hyrcaus was induced, by this instance of the king's candour and moderation, to solicit him, by an embassy on behalf of the Jews, for the liberty of living one with another, according to the laws and customs of their own country. The higher class of his subjects were for the extirpation of the Jews, as people who affected to be more holy than their neighbours, and prized themselves of a singularity of manners from the rest of mankind. But the king, conceiving this peculiarity in their favour, could not be persuaded to rigorous measures; but, on the contrary, sent word back to Hyrcanus, that, upon condition the besieged would deliver up their arms, undertake to pay tribute for Joppa, and the rest of the cities about Judæa, and receive a garrison into the town of his appointment, he was ready to put an end to the war. The Jews agreed to all the terms, but that of receiving the garrison, from a religious scruple of intermixing with strangers; and therefore proposed, as a composition for that article, to give the king hostages for the performance of covenants, and five hundred talents over and above. The king accepted the proposal; three hundred talents were deposited in part, and the brother of Hyrcanus sent as one of the hostages. Upon the finishing of the treaty, Antiochus raised the siege and departed.

Hyrcaus after this caused the sepulchre of David to be opened, who excelled all other princes in opulence, and took out of it three thousand talents for his own use. With this sum he raised mercenary troops; being the first of the nation that ever entertained an army of strangers. He then ratified the league of friendship with Antiochus, invited him to a splendid entertainment in the city, and accompanied him with his auxiliaries to the Parthian war, as we have it from the authority of Nicolaus of Damascus, who writes to the following purport:

"Antiochus, upon the routing of Indates, the Parthian general, erected a triumphal arch upon the bank of the river Lycus, where he rested two days at the request of Hyrcanus, a Jew, being just at the time of one of their festivals, upon which day he made a conscience of travelling." The account of the historian is certainly authentic in this particular; for the feast of Pentecost fell out, at that time, to be just the next day after the sabbath; and it is unlawful for us to travel upon either of these two days.

Antiochus at length came to an engagement with Arsaces, king of Parthia; in which he lost both his army and his life. His brother, Demetrius, succeeded to the kingdom of Syria, through favour of Arsaces, who freed him from captivity at the same time that Antiochus invaded his dominions of Parthia.

C H A P. XVII.

Hyrcaus makes an expedition against Syria. Forms a new alliance with the Romans. The death of Demetrius. Succession and fate of Alexander.

Hyrcaus
advances to
Syria.

UPON the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus marched immediately with his army into Syria, presuming, as it afterwards proved, that he should find the country in a deserted, defenceless state. In

the course of six months, with some difficulty, he took Medaba, and after that Semega, and other adjacent places. He then made himself master of Sichem and Garizim, with the land of the Churhites, where stood the temple which, by permission of Alexander, was built, after the model of that at Jerusalem, by Sanballat, one of his governors, to gratify his son-in-law, Manasses, brother of Jaddus, the high-priest, as we have already related. This temple was deserted two hundred years after it was built.

Hyrcaus also took several strong places in Idumæa, as Adora and Marissa, and, at length, when he had subdued the whole province, issued a proclamation for all persons to depart the land who would not submit to circumcision; so that, rather than abandon their native country, the inhabitants not only complied in the point of circumcision, but in conformity to all other rites and ceremonies of the Jews, inasmuch, that they were reckoned in common with that nation.

Hyrcaus, being now about to renew a league with the Romans, sent an embassy to the senate with letters upon that subject. The letters being read and debated, a league was concluded upon according to the following form:

"Fanius, the son of Marcus Prætor, called a senate in the field of Mars, on the eighth of the ides of February. Present Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius Mentina, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius Falerna, upon the business of the embassy of Simon, the son of Dositheus, Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, persons of rank and probity, and deputed by the nation of the Jews to treat about an alliance, and other public matters, with the senate of Rome. Be it therefore agreed upon, that Joppa and the ports, Gazara with the fountains, and other places that had been taken away by Antiochus, contrary to a decree of the senate, be all restored; and the king's soldiers not to pass through that, or any other part of the Roman territories, without permission. That whatever had been done by Antiochus, in the late war, be declared void; and commissioners appointed to take an estimate of what the people had suffered in their lands and goods by his depredations, and to see reparation made for all losses."

Upon these conditions the senate was pleased to accept of the proposals that were presented them by these honourable persons in the name of their good friends and allies the people of the Jews. With respect to the returning an answer in form, they said it should be done at their first leisure, and care taken that no injury should be offered them in future. Fanius had orders likewise to furnish the ambassadors with money, out of the public treasury, to defray the expences of their return home, which he accordingly did, with recommendatory letters to all governors and officers in their way, for the security and accommodation of their passage.

While the affairs of the Jews, under the conduct of Hyrcanus, went on in this flourishing condition, there was no want of disposition in Demetrius to urge him to hostilities, provided he could have relied on being aided in his design. But he behaved in so tyrannical a manner, and pursued such wicked courses, that he became universally detested by his people; who, uniting in a conspiracy against him, sent messengers to Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, requesting that he would send them a descendant of the house of Seleucus, whom they would immediately invest with the sovereignty. Ptolemy, who was no friend to Demetrius, readily complied with the request of the Syrians, to whom he sent Alexander, surnamed Zebina, attended by a very considerable army. In consequence of this a desperate battle took place, in which Demetrius being totally defeated, he fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra then resided; not doubting but to find protection. In this, however, he soon found himself mistaken; for, on his arrival, he was denied entrance into the city, so that he betook himself for refuge to Tyre, where, falling into the hands of his enemies, they first made him a prisoner, and then put him to death.

Alexander Zebina being now possessed of the kingdom

Over-runs
Idumæa,
and brings
the inhabi-
tants to con-
form to the
custom of
the Jews.

Decree of
the Roman
senate in fa-
vour of the
Jews.

Demetrius
is obnoxious
to his people

Put to
death, and
succeeded by
Alexander
Zebina.

During the contentions of the rival brothers, Hyrcanus, at peace, attends to the interest of his country.

dom of Syria, entered into a league with Hyrcanus, the high-priest, who was engaged, some time after, in a war with Antiochus Grypus, the son of Demetrius; and a battle ensuing, Alexander was slain. Antiochus, by this means, obtained the kingdom of Syria; but was intimidated from making war upon the Jews, upon hearing that Antiochus Cyzicenus, his brother, was, at that time, raising an army against him in the town of Cyzycus. Indeed, he was fully employed in making preparations to sustain the repeated attacks from this brother, who took his surname from the name of the place where he had his education. Antiochus Cyzicenus was the son of Antiochus Soter, who was detained prisoner by the Parthians. Cleopatra, as before observed, had been wife to the two brothers, Demetrius and Antiochus. Upon the coming of Antiochus Cyzicenus into Syria, a perpetual animosity prevailed between the brothers, so that Hyrcanus enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity; for, after the death of Antiochus, he detached himself entirely from the Macedonians, nor had he the least concern with them, either as an ally or a subject. In the days of Alexander Zebina his affairs were in a prosperous state; but more so in the reign of the two brothers; for, while they were annoying and harassing each other with perpetual hostilities, Hyrcanus had full possession of Judæa, and an opportunity of finding an inestimable mass of treasure. His attention, in a word, was devoted to the promotion of the interest of his country, regardless of, and despising, the altercations, broils, and contentions, of the rival brothers.

CHAP. XVIII.

During the contest between the rival brothers, Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, Hyrcanus takes and utterly demolishes Samaria. Hyrcanus attaches himself to the sect of the Sadducees, and relinquishes that of the Pharisees. His death.

Hyrcanus makes an expedition against Samaria.

The blockade occasioned a famine.

IN consequence of these disturbances in Syria, Hyrcanus marched at the head of an army to the strong city of Samaria, now called Sebaste, since it was rebuilt by Herod, of which we shall speak in due time and place. He was so incensed against the Samaritans, for the indignities they had offered the people of Marissa, (a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them), that he determined to attack the place with the utmost vigour. Upon sitting down before it, he begirt the town with a large ditch, and a double wall, of eighty furlongs compass; and gave the conduct of the siege to his two sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus. Though they were both young, they prosecuted the undertaking with the judgment of experienced warriors, and displayed the greatest courage and magnanimity; inasmuch that the besieged were so pressed for want of provisions as to be reduced to the necessity of eating carrion. In this distressed situation they applied for relief to Antiochus Cyzicenus, who came with the utmost haste at their request; but being routed by Aristobulus, and pursued by the brothers as far as Scythopolis, he with great difficulty escaped being taken.

The brothers then returned to Samaria, and forcing the people into the town again, renewed the siege, which caused them to repeat their applications to Antiochus, who prevailed with Ptolemy, surnamed Lathurus, for a supply of six thousand men; but so much against the consent of his mother, as to endanger the loss of his kingdom. With these Egyptian auxiliaries Antiochus overran and ravaged the whole country of Hyrcanus, he not having, at that time, a body of forces sufficient to cope with him. His grand point in view was to divert Hyrcanus from the prosecution of the siege. However, through surprizes, desertions, and other casualties, he found his party, in a short time, so diminished, that he committed the conduct of the Jewish war to his generals, Callimander and Epicrates, and retired himself to Tripoli. Callimander, with more courage than conduct, ventured

on a rash encounter, was immediately routed, and lost his life. Epicrates, from a principal of avarice, betrayed Scythopolis, and several adjacent towns, for money, to the Jews; so that all hopes of relieving Samaria were cut off. At length, after a siege of a year's continuance, which subjected the inhabitants to the greatest distresses, it was surrendered to Hyrcanus, who gave orders for its total demolition; after which he caused trenches to be dug in various parts across the ground where it stood, that it might not be afterwards rebuilt. There prevailed a strange, if not incredible, report, that, upon the day of the battle which the sons of Hyrcanus had with Antiochus Cyzicenus, it was revealed to him, as he was alone in the temple, in a supernatural manner, that his sons should obtain the victory. This he not only declared immediately to the multitude on his coming out of the temple, but it was soon literally fulfilled.

Samaria is taken and entirely destroyed.

The affairs of the Jewish nation were now in a flourishing state, not only in Jerusalem and throughout Judæa, but in Alexandria, Egypt; and Cyprus: for queen Cleopatra, being at variance with her son Ptolemy, delegated the command of her troops to Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who erected the temple in the territory of Heliopolis, according to the model of that at Jerusalem, as before observed. These two persons were the queen's chief counsellors, according to the attestation of Strabo, the Cappadocian, who writes, that "Great numbers of those that either came formerly with us to Cyprus, or were sent thither afterwards by Cleopatra, immediately quitted the interest of the queen, and went over to Ptolemy; only the Jews, that were of the party of Onias, stood firm, from the reverence they paid the queen on account of the respect she shewed to Chelcias and Ananias, their friends and countrymen."

Prosperous condition of the Jews.

Testimony of Strabo.

The prosperous state of affairs, however, drew upon Hyrcanus, in a great measure, the envy of the Jews, and particularly the Pharisees, a prevailing sect amongst them. The authority of these people was so great, from their pretence to extraordinary strictness in religion, that they obtained the most distinguished reputation and interest amongst the multitude, whose conduct they could direct even in opposition to the sentiments of the high-priest, and the heads of the nation. Hyrcanus, having been educated among this sect, and being fearful lest their popularity might, in time, produce some disagreeable consequences, used various means to gain their esteem. Among other measures to effect this, he one day invited several of their leading men to a splendid entertainment, and, when his hospitality had caused a circulation of good humour, he arose from his seat, and thus addressed them: "Since, my good friends, I profess your principles, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that my most sanguine wish is to render myself acceptable to the Almighty by observing strict justice to my neighbour. If I have violated my duty, it is your business to admonish me; and it shall be mine to effect a reformation in my conduct."

Hyrcanus incurs the hatred of the Pharisees.

As soon as Hyrcanus had finished this address, the majority of the company gave him due applause, as a brave man, and worthy governor. But one of the guests, named Eleazar, a man of a malignant disposition, who had been hitherto silent, now arose, and deliberately addressed Hyrcanus as follows: "Having declared yourself an advocate for truth and plain dealing, you cannot be offended if I recommend a resignation of the high priesthood, and that you apply yourself only to the discharge of your authority." Surprized at this, Hyrcanus asked Eleazar what reason he had for giving him such advice. "Because (replied the other) we are assured, from authentic testimony, that, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, your mother was a captive taken in the wars, and being therefore the son of a strange woman, you are incapable of the office and dignity of high-priest."

Sarcastic address of Eleazar to Hyrcanus.

As this allegation was known to be totally void of truth, the company resented it with just indignation; and Hyrcanus himself was so exasperated, that

Jonathan, a Sadducee, irritates Hyrcanus against the Pharisees.

that he vowed revenge against the person who had uttered so bale a calumny. While he was in this disposition, one Jonathan, an intimate friend of his, (but a zealous Sadducee), took the opportunity of endeavouring to prejudice Hyrcanus against the whole sect of the Pharisees. To this end he suggested to him, that it was not the single act of Eleazar, but a thing concerted by the whole party; that Eleazar, in speaking it out, delivered the sentiments of the rest; and that the truth of his observation would be confirmed, on demanding what punishment was due to a man who had uttered so scandalous a defamation of the character of the prince and high-priest of his nation.

Hyrcanus renounces the doctrines of the Pharisees, and adopts those of the Sadducees.

Hyrcanus took the advice of his friend Jonathan, and consulting the leaders of the Pharisees what punishment should be inflicted on the calumniator, they returned for answer, "That, being a people inclined to mercy, they did not adjudge a defamation to be an offence deserving death; and that they were of opinion, imprisonment and scourging would be sufficient penalty." This answer fully convinced Hyrcanus that what Jonathan had suggested was true; and, from that very moment, he became a mortal enemy to the whole sect of the Pharisees, abrogated their traditional constitutions, and enjoined a penalty on all who should observe them; at the same time renouncing their party, and going over to that of the Sadducees. This was the source of that disrepute in which he and his sons were afterwards held by the multitude, as will appear in due order of time and place.

The point in dispute betwixt the sect of Pharisees and Sadducees.

It is here proper to observe, that the Pharisees had many traditions handed down from father to son; which are not to be found amongst the laws of Moses; and that these transactions are rejected by the Sadducees, from a persuasion that only the written laws are authoritative and binding. This, then, is the grand subject of controversy between the two parties; the Sadducees being supported by the great and opulent, and the Pharisees by the multitude.

Death and character of Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus, having adjusted the late dissention, enjoyed the remaining part of his life in uninterrupted peace and happiness. After holding the administration of all public affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, for the space of thirty-one years, he paid the debt of nature, and left behind him five sons. He was esteemed by the wise disposer of all events, and giver of all good gifts, worthy of three eminent dignities, the civil government of the Jews, the high priesthood, and the spirit of prophecy; which last appeared from a Divine revelation, that his two eldest sons should not long enjoy the government after the death of their father; and his prediction was verified in the event.

Hyrcanus was a most excellent governor, and, from his prudent conduct, obtained more privileges for the Jews than they had ever enjoyed since the Babylonish captivity. He was a man of the strictest probity, and administered justice with such impartiality, as to acquire the general esteem of the people; so that he lived respected, and died lamented.

C H A P. XIX.

Aristobulus, the eldest son and successor of Hyrcanus, after exercising the most horrid and unnatural barbarities, and perpetrating the murders of his mother and brother Antigonus, expires in all the horrors of conscience, having reigned only one year.

Aristobulus takes upon him the title and authority of king.

ON the death of Hyrcanus, his eldest son, Aristobulus, succeeded him, and determining to change the form of government, put a crown on his head, and assumed the title and dignity of king. This happened 481 years and three months after the return of the Jews from the captivity of Babylon. Aristobulus, though naturally of a cruel, suspicious disposition, professed, on his accession, so particular a regard for his next brother, Antigonus, that he admitted him as a kind of partner in the govern-

ment; but his mother, whom he considered as a kind of rival in the sovereignty, (Hyrcanus having left her all he could possibly confer), he ordered into close confinement, and consigned his three younger brothers to the same fate. His cruelty, in short, was so horrid and unnatural, that he caused his mother to be starved to death in her confinement; and afterwards sacrificed the life of his favourite brother, upon malignant and groundless insinuations. It was, indeed, some time before he would credit those malicious reports, through the affection he bore for Antigonus, and a suspicion he entertained, that they arose from envy and malevolence. Antigonus, returning from an expedition, on which he had been sent by his brother, just upon the solemnity of the feast of tabernacles, and hearing that Aristobulus was dangerously indisposed, went up to the temple, attended by his guards in great state, in order to offer up prayers for the restoration of his brother's health.

His cruelty to his mother and three of his brethren.

This being made known to the enemies of Antigonus, they immediately repaired to the king, telling him it was high time to look to himself; that his brother was gone up to the temple, in a dress, and with a retinue, far from becoming a private man; and that, in all probability, it would not be long before he would come with a troop of armed soldiers, and, by dint of force, divest him of his crown. Aristobulus did not give credit to all that was reported concerning his brother; but yet supposing there might be some foundation for a part, he adopted such measures for providing for his safety, as he thought might elude suspicion of his being apprehensive of danger. As a necessary precaution, therefore, he sent a messenger to his brother, with orders that he should put off his armour, and come to him; concluding, that if, pursuant to his requisition, he came unarmed, there was no mischief intended; but that if he did otherwise, there might be some truth in what had been said. Before he dispatched the messenger to Antigonus, he ordered his guards to be placed in a subterraneous passage that led from the palace to the temple, to watch his brother in his passage; and if he came without arms, to suffer him to pass unmolested; but if otherwise, instantly to put him to death. But the queen, and the rest of the conspirators, tampered with the messenger, and prevailed with him to tell Antigonus, on the contrary, that the king, being informed of his having an elegant suit of armour, was desirous of seeing it, and therefore required that he would come to him fully equipped in his martial attire. Antigonus, depending on the good faith of his brother, and suspecting no treachery, immediately left the temple, completely armed, as the messenger found him, in obedience (as he thought) to the king's commands. Upon his coming to a place called the Tower of Straton, the guards, which were posted there to watch him in his passage, fell on him, and put him to death. This disaster may suffice to shew the power of calumny on the human mind, and prove that good dispositions may be corrupted by its infernal suggestions. But the most extraordinary circumstance that attended it was the prediction of one Judas, a famous prophet of those times, whose prelates never failed. This Judas, as he saw Antigonus coming to the temple, exclaimed among his disciples, that he was now weary of his life; for Antigonus, whose death he had prefigured upon that very day at Straton's Tower, was yet alive, the place being six hundred furlongs off, and the day more than half spent; so that he had lost his reputation of a prophet for ever. While he was in this state of perplexity, the news arrived of Antigonus being slain in a subterraneous passage under the tower. This was called Straton's Tower, as well as that upon the coast, which was afterwards known by the name of Caesarea; and this event fully reconciled the mind of the prophet.

Antigonus is calumniated by his enemies.

The queen and other conspirators against his life.

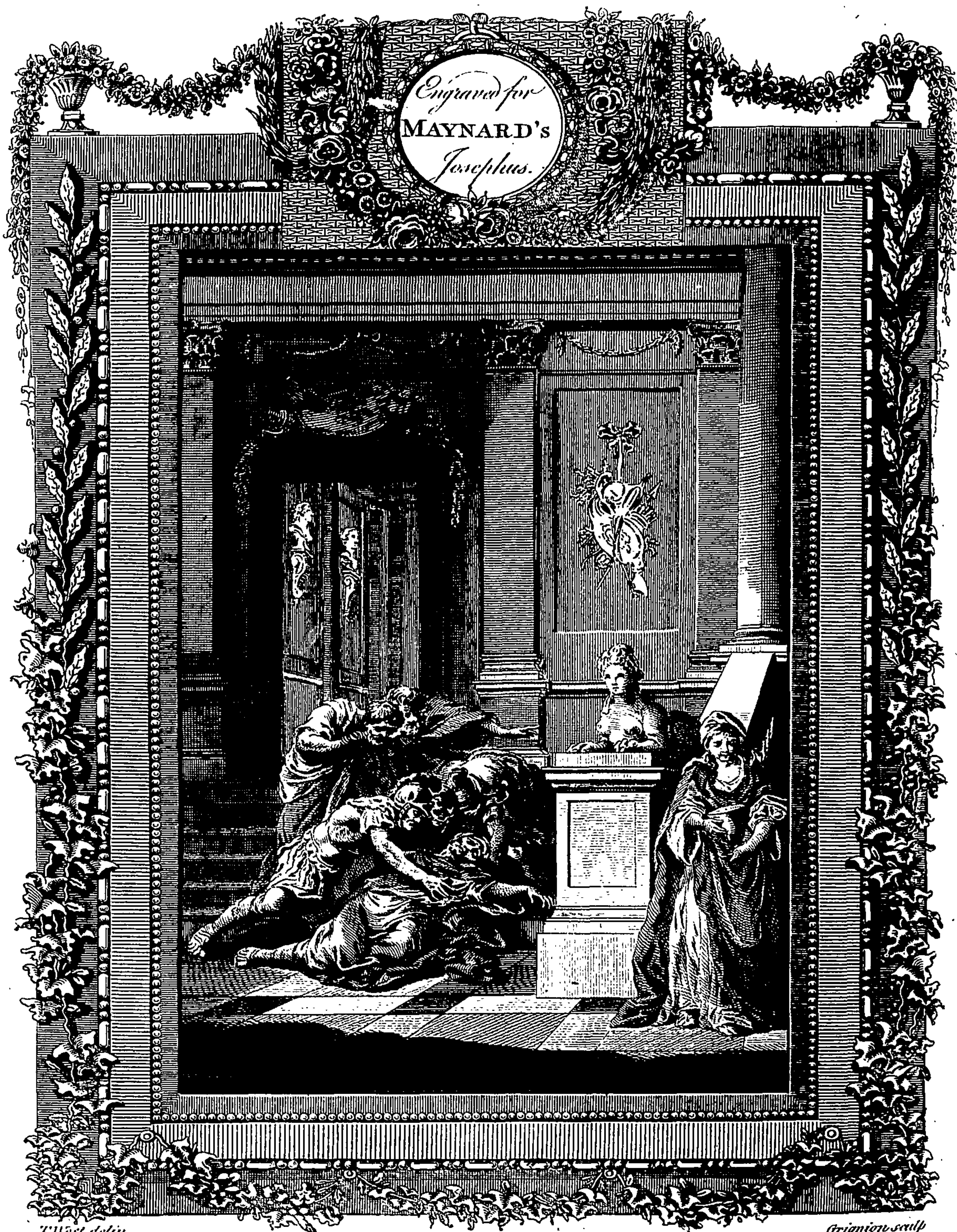
He is slain.

Straton's Tower.

When Aristobulus heard that his commands were executed in the death of his brother, he was seized with a conscientious remorse. The horrors of his mind increased the distemper of his body, and so great were both, that he could find no ease for the one, nor any cure for the other.

Antigonus murdered.

At



T. West delin.

Grignion sculp

DEATH of ARISTOBULUS *King of the JEWS.*

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At length, his agonies increasing, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. As one of the servants was conveying some of the blood away in a vessel, he spilt a part of it on the very spot where Antigonus had been slain, and where the stains of his blood were still to be perceived. The spectators, imagining this to be the effect of design, so loudly expressed their surprize as to be overheard by the king, who instantly enquired the cause. But as he became anxious to be informed, the people about him were the more desirous of concealing it. However, by the force of threats and entreaties, he at length prevailed on them to tell him; but his desire was no sooner complied with, than shedding abundance of tears, and fetching a deep sigh, he broke into the following exclamation.

"The all-seeing Power hath detected my iniquity, and my brother's murder hath called down the vengeance of heaven upon me. How long shall I hold that life which is forfeited to the blood of a mother and a brother? Rather, why do I not expire on a sudden, than thus yield my life drop by drop, as if the severest punishment was inadequate to my guilt?" With these words he gave up the ghost, having governed only one year, under the surname of Philellen, that is to say, a Lover of the Greeks. He did his country some services, made war upon Ituræa, and annexed a considerable part of it to the territory of Judæa, compelling the people, upon pain of banishment, to live in conformity to the religious rites and customs of the Jews. His character is thus briefly described by Strabo, in the name of Timagenes: "He was a man of candour, and, in many respects, a friend to the Jews; for he enlarged their jurisdiction by annexing to it Ituræa, uniting the people also with one common bond of circumcision."

CHAP. XX.

Alexander, on his accession to the throne, besieges Ptolemais. Quits the siege, and carries on a public plan, with respect to an affected attachment to the interests both of Cleopatra and Ptolemy. Ptolemy invests Ptolemais, and takes the city of Aschochis by assault.

ARISTOBULUS was succeeded on the throne by his brother, Alexander Jannæus, who had been kept in prison during the whole of the late reign; but, on the decease of Aristobulus, his wife, Salome; (by the Greeks called Alexandra), released him and his two brothers from confinement, and advanced Alexander, being the eldest, to the regal dignity. It was the misfortune of Alexander to incur his father's aversion almost as soon as he was born, which was imputed to the following cause. Hyrcanus had a vision one night, from which he obtained information; upon enquiry, that Alexander should succeed him in his government; and the information was conveyed by a lively representation of the figure of his successor. Aristobulus and Antigonus, being his favourites, and Hyrcanus finding that neither of them was designed by this figure, he applied it to Alexander, under the double mortification both of his crown and his fortune falling to a younger son. Alexander, upon this account, was sent for education into Galilee; but the event, however, answered the prediction for Alexander, upon the death of Aristobulus, entered upon the administration, and taking off one of his brothers that would have supplanted him, treated the other with great honour, though in the contented state of a private life.

As soon as Alexander had settled the affairs of state, he marched with an army to Ptolemais, and meeting with the enemy, a desperate battle ensued, in which Alexander proved victorious, beat the enemy into the town, and then shut them up in it. There was only this place and Gaza, of all the sea-coast towns, that stood out, beside Dora and the Tower of Straton, which was in the hands of Zoilus. Antiochus Philometor, and his brother, Antiochus Cyzicenus, were so wasted with the war, in which they were engaged with each other, that the people of Ptolemais could expect no relief from either.

Zoilus watched an opportunity for making an advantage of these divisions, and sent the inhabitants of Ptolemais some occasional assistance.

The besieged, in fine, had no hopes of relief, but from Egypt; and their principal dependance was upon Ptolemy Lathurus, who, having been compelled to evacuate his kingdom by his mother Cleopatra, had retired to Cyprus. They accordingly sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, requesting his assistance against Alexander; at the same time assuring him, there was every reason to believe the inhabitants both of Gaza and Ptolemais would declare in his favour on his entering Syria; and that he would be supported by Zoilus, the Sidonians, and other neighbouring people. The king was so elated with these assurances, that he sent word, by the ambassadors, he would immediately comply with their request, and accordingly gave orders for all possible dispatch to be made in the equipment of a fleet for this enterprize.

While this business was executing, one Demænetus, a man of considerable interest with the citizens of Ptolemais, reflecting, that the steps they had taken might be productive of ill consequences, assembled the people, whom he addressed to this effect:

"The point in question (said he) is, whether it will be most eligible to abide the event of the war, or to accept of the relief we have requested: for, if we put ourselves under the protection of Ptolemy, inevitable slavery must be the consequence. Danger is also greatly to be apprehended from Egypt; for it is not to be imagined that Cleopatra will remain inactive, while Ptolemy is preparing for war. She will send a powerful army to pursue and attack him unprepared. Besides, the queen is determined to drive him out of Cyprus; and when she finds him engaged in strengthening his interest with the neighbouring provinces, she will seize the opportunity to effect her purpose. To give the argument another turn, let us suppose that Ptolemy will be driven back to Cyprus; we shall then be left without succour, and he will have dangers to encounter that he may not at present apprehend."

This address destroyed the hopes that had been entertained by the people of the success of their embassy, and of which Ptolemy was informed during his passage: but, notwithstanding this, he resolved to proceed on his voyage, and engage in the enterprize to which he had been invited. He continued his course to Sicamin, where he landed his forces, which consisted of about thirty thousand horse and foot, and advanced at the head of them towards Ptolemais. When he came within some distance of the place, he dispatched ambassadors to inform them of his arrival and situation; but, to his great surprize, they refused to receive the message, or hold any intercourse either with him or his agents.

This disappointment greatly embarrassed Ptolemy, who, while he was considering what measures to pursue, received a message from Zoilus, and the people of Gaza, requesting that he would immediately come to their assistance against Alexander, who was committing great depredations in their territories, and whose forces were too powerful for them to subdue.

This solicitation was very agreeable to Ptolemy, who immediately marched his army to their relief; but Alexander, not thinking it adviseable to hazard an engagement with them, withdrew his army, and placed them in winter quarters. But though he had raised the siege, and withdrawn all his troops, he knew he was unable to cope with Ptolemy, and therefore thought of effecting that by policy which he could not by force. To this purpose he entered into a treaty with Ptolemy, engaging to pay him four hundred talents of silver, on condition that he would deliver Zoilus and his territories into his hands.

This Ptolemy Lathurus agreed to do, and accordingly soon after got Zoilus into his custody; but being

The people of Ptolemais apply for succour to Ptolemy Lathurus.

Demænetus dissuades the people from treating with Ptolemy.

Ptolemy is repulsed by the inhabitants of Ptolemais.

Aristobulus expires in agony, confessing his crimes.

Salome, the wife of Aristobulus, advances Alexander to the throne.

Alexander makes an expedition against Ptolemais.

Ptolemy invests Ptolemais.

Takes Assochis.

being informed that, at this very time, Alexander was clandestinely treating with Cleopatra, to bring her upon him with all her forces, he looked upon the covenant as void, and instantly laid siege to Ptolemais, where the gates were shut against him. Upon this he divided his army, leaving one part before the town to carry on the siege, and marched off himself with the remainder to lay waste the country of Judæa. Alexander, on the other hand, to counteract the design of Ptolemy, levied an army of his own people, (some say of fifty, and others of eighty, thousand men,) and with it advanced against the enemy; while Ptolemy, in the mean time, taking the advantage of a sabbath-day, fell upon Assochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by assault, with ten thousand prisoners, and an immense booty.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ptolemy Lathurus defeats Alexander, who is afterwards joined by Cleopatra. Ptolemy driven out of Egypt. Ptolemais taken by assault. A horrid massacre at Gaza. Rebellion of the Jews against Alexander.

Ptolemy is repulsed at Scythopolis.

The two armies come to action.

The Jews are defeated.

Savage cruelty of Ptolemy.

Cleopatra makes mighty preparations to oppose Ptolemy.

HAVING subdued Assochis, Ptolemy, elated with success, made an assault upon Scythopolis, a place not far distant from that which was destroyed; but, in this attempt, he was defeated, and sustained great loss. He then led his army against Alexander, whom he found in the neighbourhood of Afopus, near the river Jordan, and encamped just over against the enemy. Alexander had in his van eight thousand of those they called Hecatontomachi. These were all armed with brazen bucklers, as were also some of Ptolemy's men in the front; but the generality of them not being so well armed as their adversaries, were rather disinclined to come to an engagement. Philostephanus, however, a man of great military skill and experience, and the chief officer under Ptolemy, gave them all possible encouragement, telling them, if they behaved courageously, there was no doubt of their success against the enemy. The first word of command was to pass the river that parted the two armies, which Alexander did not attempt to oppose, in confidence of victory, if he could but engage them with the river behind, to cut off the retreat. When the two armies met a most desperate battle ensued, which, for some time, was sustained with great bravery by both parties, and with doubtful success. At length, on a body of Ptolemy's troops giving way, victory seemed to incline to Alexander; but Philostephanus coming to their relief with a seasonable reinforcement, the Jews were entirely routed, with great slaughter. Some relate that thirty thousand men were slain in that battle: but, according to Timagenes, in his history, the number amounted to fifty thousand. The rest were either taken prisoners, or compelled to save themselves by a precipitate flight.

After this carnage Ptolemy went to some villages belonging to the Jews, and commanded his soldiers to murder the women and children, and then put their bodies into vessels of water, which were to be placed over fires. He is said to have had recourse to this bloody device in order to strike terror into those who had escaped by flight, by making them think that his army was accustomed to feed on the flesh of the enemy. This horrid transaction is confirmed by the joint testimony of Strabo, and Nicolaus of Damascus. The same forces also took Ptolemais by force.

Cleopatra now became so sensible of the overgrown power of her son, from the reduction of Gaza, and the laying waste of Judæa, that she thought it necessary to curb his ambition, which might prompt him to attempt the invasion of Egypt. Upon this precaution she mustered, with the utmost expedition, all the force she could possibly raise, both naval and military, constituting Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, her commanders in chief of the distinct departments. She sent the greatest part of her treasure, with her last will and testament, and her grand-

children, to the isle of Coas, and ordered a powerful fleet into Phœnicia to keep that province in awe, while she herself proceeded to Ptolemais, and being refused admittance, laid siege to the city.

Ptolemy receiving intelligence of this, quitted Syria, and hastened into Egypt, imagining that, arriving so unexpectedly, and in the absence of the queen, he should find the country in a defenceless state; but he was much disappointed in his expectation. At this time Cleopatra had the misfortune to lose Chelcias, one of her generals, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy in Cœlo-Syria.

When Cleopatra heard of Ptolemy's miscarriage in his attempt upon Egypt, she sent a strong detachment after him, which drove him out of the country, and forced him to return, and take up his winter quarters in Gaza; while she, in the mean time, took the city and garrison of Ptolemais by assault. Upon this Alexander repaired to her with many valuable presents, and was kindly received by the queen, who considered him as an unhappy prince, who, under the persecution and oppression of a common enemy, had fled to her for protection. Some of her counsellors advised her to embrace this opportunity of seizing both on Alexander and his dominions: but this motion was warmly opposed by Ananias, who represented to her the great danger, as well as injustice, of such a procedure, which would be deemed a violation of the laws of hospitality and common faith, as well as incur the ill-will of every Jew upon the face of the earth that had the interest of his country at heart. The queen was so pleased with the plain dealing of Ananias in this case, that she not only forbore every rigour towards Alexander, but entered into a league of friendship with him at Scythopolis, a city of Cœlo-Syria.

Alexander, thus delivered from the power, and consequently the fear, of Ptolemy, made an expedition into Cœlo-Syria, where, after a ten months siege, he took Gadar, and after that Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan; the place where Theodotus, the son of Zeno, in the fury of revenge, fell upon the Jews by surprise, cut off ten thousand of their men, and took Alexander's baggage. But this unexpected disaster did not divert him from his design upon Raphia, a sea-coast town, and Athedon, which was afterwards, by Herod, called Aggripiades, both which he reduced by force.

Ptolemy, by this time, had left Gaza, and retired to Cyprus. Cleopatra had also returned to Egypt; so that Alexander took the occasion of revenging himself upon the people of Gaza, for calling in Ptolemy to their succour, and therefore laid siege to the town, and, at the same time, harassed their country. While Alexander was before the place, Apollodotus, their commander, made a desperate sally, one night, with two thousand mercenaries; and ten thousand of the citizens, well armed, upon the camp of the Jews. During the night the besieged prevailed; upon an apprehension of the enemy, that they were attacked by Ptolemy. But when day-light appeared, and freed them from that apprehension, the Jews rallied, and so furiously charged the garrison, that they destroyed a thousand of their men. Notwithstanding this defeat, the people of Gaza were determined to encounter all difficulties of number, force, nay famine itself, rather than submit to the enemy. They were encouraged to persist in this resolution by Aretas, an Arabian prince, who had promised to come at the head of a large body of forces to their assistance; but, before his arrival with the supply, the place was reduced, through the base treachery of Lyfimachus, brother to Apollodotus, who, envying the credit and esteem he had so justly acquired by his defence of the place, first caused him to be slain, and then delivered up the city to Alexander. This prince, on his first entrance, affected a degree of moderation and lenity; but the very appearance soon vanished; for he turned his soldiers loose among the people, with a commission at large, to kill, burn, and destroy at pleasure; so that the most dreadful scenes of barbarity took place that can

Besieges Ptolemais.

Takes the city and garrison.

The candid and liberal opinion of Ananias the Jew.

Cleopatra forms a league with Alexander.

Alexander makes an expedition into Cœlo-Syria.

Ten thousand Jews cut off by surprise.

Alexander besieges Gaza.

The inhabitants make an obstinate defence.

Gaza taken.

A great
part of
both of the
inhabitants
and the
Jews.

can possibly be conceived. The inhabitants, finding they were to have no quarter, stood upon their defence, and sold their lives at so dear a rate, that, in the general carnage, Alexander lost nearly as many of his own men as he killed of the enemy. Some of the inhabitants set fire to their own houses, that they might not be plundered by the enemy; and some went even so far as to lay violent hands upon their wives and children, choosing rather that they should die in freedom than live in bondage. The magistracy of the town happened to be in council when these barbarous troops entered; and the senators, to the number of five hundred, retired to the temple of Apollo for sanctuary; but they were all slaughtered to a man: the town was sacked and levelled; and Alexander, after a year spent before it, returned to Jerusalem.

Antiochus
Gryphus
dies, and is
succeeded
by his son
Seleucus.

Antiochus
Cyzicenus
is slain.

His son
avenges his
death upon
Seleucus.

During these transactions some material revolutions took place in the court of Syria. The first was the death of Antiochus, otherwise called Gryphus, who was assassinated by the treachery of Heracleian, in the forty-fifth year of his life, and nine and twentieth of his reign. His son Seleucus, who succeeded him, soon after his accession, waged war with his uncle Antiochus, called Cyzicenus, whom he defeated in battle, and afterwards put to death. After his decease his son Antiochus, surnamed Eulebes, being greatly beloved by the people, was crowned at Arad, immediately made war upon Seleucus, defeated, and drove him out of Syria. Seleucus fled for safety to Cilicia, where, in requital for the inhospitable reception he met with, he treated the inhabitants with the greatest tyranny, and subjected them to enormous taxes, so that, incensed thereby to the highest degree, they set fire to the palace, and he, with his attendants, perished in the flames.

Divers re-
volutions in
the govern-
ment of
Syria.

While Antiochus Cyzicenus was in possession of the government of Syria, there was another Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, who waged war with him, in which he lost his life and his army. After this his brother Philip took the crown, and governed part of Syria. Ptolemy Lathurus, upon this, sent for his fourth brother from Guidus, called Demetrius Eucærus, and constituted him king of Damascus. Antiochus maintained a powerful opposition to these brothers for the time he lived; but, being called to the assistance of Laodice, queen of the Galadenites, he was slain in the field of battle, with his sword in his hand, and fell like a man of honour. After his death the government of Syria descended to his own brothers, Philip and Demetrius.

A sedition
against
Alexander.

Alexander, on his return to Jerusalem, found things in a very different situation to what he had expected; for the people, being incensed at his conduct, were ripe for an open rebellion, of which they very soon gave him ample demonstration. It happened, soon after his return, to be the time for celebrating the feast of tabernacles, during which it was a custom among the Jews to carry in their hands branches of citron or palm-trees. As Alexander was preparing to assist at the solemnity as high-priest, the multitude had the insolence to throw citrons at him, and make use of very opprobrious language, telling him he was a slave, and unworthy to go up to the holy altar to offer solemn sacrifices. This treatment enraged him to such a degree, that ordering his soldiers to fall upon them, no less than six thousand were instantly put to death. After this he caused the court of the priests to be surrounded with a wooden partition, to prevent the people from coming near him while he was officiating as high-priest; and, to secure his person against all future attempts, he hired mercenaries from Pisidia and Cilicia, not daring to trust his own countrymen.

Six thou-
sand of the
populace are
put to death.

Alexander
pursues and
obtains new
conquests.

Having by these means, in some measure, put a stop to the tumults at home, Alexander marched with his forces in pursuit of new conquests, subdued and laid the Moabites and Galaadites under contribution, and destroyed Amathus, without the least opposition from Theodorus. He made war upon Obed, the king of Arabia, but falling into ambush near Gadara, in Galilee, he was forced, by a press of

camels, into the mouth of a narrow craggy passage, from whence, with infinite difficulty, he made shift to clear himself, and got safe to Jerusalem. This disaster was followed by a six years rebellion, during which were slain no less than fifty thousand Jews. The king, wearied with intestine broils, sought for a reconciliation with his people, and, to that end, asked them, upon a public occasion, what conduct they could wish him to pursue to give them satisfaction. They replied, with one voice, "That he should cut his own throat;" and thereupon entered into a league of mutual defence with Demetrius Eucærus, king of Damascus.

The Jews
in open re-
bellion six
years
50,000 of
them slain.

CHAP. XXII.

Demetrius Eucærus overcomes Alexander, and afterwards retires from the country. Additional instances of the cruelty of Alexander. Demetrius is carried prisoner to Parthia, where he dies.

DEMETRIUS, in consequence of this application, marched with a considerable army into Judæa, where, being joined by that of the Jews, he encamped near Shechem; the whole number of his forces amounting to 3000 horse, and 40,000 foot. Alexander marched against this formidable army with six thousand foreign mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who still maintained their allegiance.

While the two armies were encamped within sight of each other, they both had recourse to the same kind of stratagem, to take advantage, and increase their strength. Demetrius endeavoured to induce Alexander's mercenaries to desert and join him; and Alexander was equally solicitous to gain over the Jews in the army of Demetrius; but neither party was able to prevail. At length a desperate battle took place, which was supported with great courage and resolution for some time, till victory declared in favour of Demetrius. All the foreign troops of Alexander were lost to a man, and died valiantly sword in hand. Demetrius also sustained great loss. The greatest part of Alexander's forces were so miserably broken, that he was obliged to fly with them for shelter to the adjacent mountains; where, by a sudden compunction for his misfortunes, near six thousand Jews came up to him, and joined him. This circumstance proved very alarming to Demetrius, who apprehending that the rest of the Jews in his army might follow the example of those who had deserted, abandoned all thoughts of continuing the war, and, drawing off his forces, retired into Syria.

Alexander
is overcome
by Deme-
trius.

Six thou-
sand Jews
join the ar-
my of A-
lexander.

Demetrius
retires from
the seat of
war.

But the Jews, notwithstanding the departure of Demetrius, continued to prosecute the war against Alexander; though they were baffled and routed in almost every encounter. At length, however, he came to a decisive battle with them, cut off the greater part, and obliged the rest to fly for protection to a place called Bethama, which was fortified by nature and art. Alexander laid close siege to them, and forcing the town, carried the people prisoners to Jerusalem, where he exercised the most execrable barbarities that can be imagined. As he was feasting with his concubines, part of his entertainment was to treat the company with the spectacle of eight hundred Jews hanging at the same time, together with their wives and children; and, to increase the horror of the dreadful scene, he ordered the throats of some to be cut in sight of the rest.

Alexander
overcomes
the rebel
Jews.

Practises
the most
horrid cru-
elties.

Rebellion in subjects is undoubtedly highly criminal, and greatly aggravated by their joining foreign powers against their lawful prince, which was certainly the case with respect to the subjects of Alexander, inasmuch, that he was reduced to the necessity of surrendering to the king of Arabia what he had taken from the Moabites and Galaadites, as a composition not to assist his revolted subjects against him; but yet all these considerations are not sufficient to justify the exercise of inhuman cruelties. His rigour, in short, was so detestable, that the Jews gave him the appellation of Thracidas*. About

* The Thracians were remarkably cruel and bloody, as appears from Thucydides and other historians.

eight thousand of the army, who made their escape by night, spent their time in a kind of exile during the life of Alexander, who, after this tumult, enjoyed a peaceable reign, without any interruption from his subjects.

The brothers, Demetrius and Philip, war against each other.

Demetrius is vanquished, sent prisoner to Parthia, and there dies.

Philip ascends the throne of Syria.

Demetrius went from Judæa to Beræa, where his brother Philip was, and, with an army of 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse, laid siege to the town. Strator, the prince of the place, and a friend to Philip, called into his assistance Zizus, an Arabian prince, and Mithridates Sinaces, the Parthian general, who, with a powerful army, attacked Demetrius, and pressed him hard both with darts and arrows, which, together with drought for want of water, forced him and the people to surrender. Demetrius was taken prisoner, and sent as a present to Mithridates, a Parthian prince, who treated him with great honour and respect; but he was soon taken off by a malignant distemper. Philip afterwards repaired to Antioch, and entered upon the government of the whole kingdom of Syria.

C H A P. XXIII.

Antiochus Dionysius, and after him Aretas, make expeditions into Judæa. Alexander makes several conquests; deposes Demetrius, returns to Jerusalem, and there dies, having given his last counsel to his queen Alexandra.

Antiochus Dionysius proclaimed king of Damascus.

Philip disappointed in his expectation of supplanting Antiochus.

DURING the late transactions Antiochus, otherwise called Dionysius, having an eye upon Damascus, got possession of the place, and caused himself to be proclaimed king there. The tidings of this adventure brought his brother Philip in all haste to Damascus, where, by tampering with Milesius, the governor of the fort, he was quietly received into the town. But, to disguise the matter, he gave the officer no reward, lest he should be thought to come in rather by treachery, than the influence of authority. Milesius, however, retaliated upon him; for Philip being abroad, taking exercise at the circus, he shut the gates upon him, reserved the city for Antiochus, who, upon the first intelligence, posted from Arabia, and, with an army of 8000 foot, and 800 horse, marched directly into Judæa.

A bloody battle between Antiochus and Alexander.

Antiochus is slain and his army routed.

Alexander, upon this incursion, drew a large and deep ditch from Caparsaba, now called Antipatris, up to the very sea of Joppa, which was the only accessible way to the town. He erected a wall also, with several wooden towers at intervals, which he carried on for an hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there waited for Antiochus, upon whose arrival a most desperate battle ensued. Antiochus, at first, had so much the advantage, that he thought himself secure of victory; but observing one of the wings of his troops in danger of being overpowered, he eagerly pressed to its relief, and fell in the attempt, at which his troops were so dispirited, that they threw down their arms, and fled to Cana, where the greater part of them perished by famine.

Aretas makes an expedition into Judæa.

Aretas came next to the government of Cœlo-Syria, upon the choice of the people of Damascus, from a spirit of opposition to Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus. He entered Judæa with an army, overthrew Alexander near Addida, and then, upon terms of accommodation being settled between them, returned to Damascus. Alexander then went in pursuit of new conquests, took Dion by assault, and thence marched to Efla, where Zeno's treasure lay, which was of inestimable value. He first raised three walls about it, and then took it by storm, as he did afterwards Gaulana and Seleucia, the vale of Antiochus, and the fortress of Gamala. Many misdemeanours being alledged to the charge of Demetrius, who had formerly the government of these places, he divested him of his authority; and, after a successful expedition of three years continuance, returned to Jerusalem.

Alexander makes several conquests.

Extensive dominions of the Jews.

By virtue of such numerous conquests, the territories of the Jews were greatly extended at this time. They were in possession of Syria, Idumæa, and Phœnicia; the Tower of Straton upon the sea, Apollonia,

Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus; Gâza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocura; and, in the midland of Adora and Marissa, all Samaria, and the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr: also Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, and Gabala. In the land of the Moabites they held Esfebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Telithon, Zara, Cilicia, Aulon, and Pella. This last they demolished for refusing to conform to their laws and customs.

After this Alexander became violently addicted to intemperance, and having, on a certain occasion, drank to great excess, he fell sick, and was afterwards seized with a quartan ague, which was so powerful as to baffle the skill of his ablest physicians. He was afflicted with this distemper for three years, during which time he not only continued his attention to the affairs of government, but likewise prosecuted several military undertakings, till at length, being quite exhausted, he was forced to submit, and expired upon the frontiers of the country of the Gerarans, at the siege of the castle of Ragaba, on the further side of the river Jordan.

Alexander falls into a severe distemper.

When his queen Alexandra, who attended him to this place on account of his indisposition, found he was near his end, she was greatly perplexed in her mind, from the precarious state in which she and her children must inevitably be left on his decease. In the height of her melancholy reflections she broke out into the following exclamation: "My beloved partner, what will be the fate of your wife and children, if deprived of your protection, and exposed to the mercy of your inveterate foes?" In answer to this, he gave his wife the following advice, which were the last words he was heard to utter.

"I particularly request (said he) that you strictly follow the directions I am now about to give you. As the only effectual means to secure a peaceable succession to yourself and children, keep my dear wife a profound secret from the army till the castle shall be subdued: then repair in triumph to Jerusalem with the news of victory; and let your principal care be to ingratiate yourself into the esteem of the Pharisees; for your future welfare will depend principally on the interest you form with that sect, to whose opinions those of the multitude are entirely subservient. The popular clamour against me has been raised by an opposition to them. On your arrival at Jerusalem, send for the principal men among the Pharisees, expose my dead body before them, and say, that, from a veneration for their piety and justice, you resign the body, either to be allowed the ceremony of interment, or to be treated with contempt and indignity, as their discretion shall dictate; and, at the same time, assure them that, in this, and all other matters of a public nature, you will observe an implicit obedience to their authority. Follow this counsel, and there is no doubt but my remains will be favourably interred, and yourself and offspring be established in the dignities of the royal station."

Alexander's prudent counsel to his queen.

Thus closed his counsel and life in the 49th year of his age, and 27th of his reign.

C H A P. XXIV.

Alexandra, queen regent, obtains the favour and interest of the Pharisees, holds the government nine years, and dies, after having passed through many perplexing scenes, in her advanced state.

AS soon as the fortress of Ragaba had surrendered, Alexandra, pursuant to the dying counsel of her husband, applied herself to the Pharisees, and submitted the disposal both of the body and the government to their absolute pleasure and direction. This alluring method of proceeding conciliated the esteem of those who had been her most inveterate enemies; insomuch, that the most eminent amongst them harangued the multitude on the glorious exploits of their deceased sovereign Alexander, and the

Alexandra obtains the favour of the Pharisees.

the irreparable loss of so excellent a prince, and, by such eulogiums, raised their passions to so great a degree, that they declared him more worthy the honour of a funeral solemnity than any of his predecessors.

Alexander, at his death, left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but committed the regency to his queen Alexandra. Hyrcanus, the elder brother, was of an indolent disposition, and consequently disqualified for the cares and intrigues of the state. Aristobulus, the younger, on the contrary, was active and resolute; and the mother had acquired great popularity by the disapprobation she now discovered for the exceptionable parts of her husband's administration during his life. Through her prevailing interest, Hyrcanus was promoted to the dignified office of high-priest; not from seniority or abilities, but rather through a persuasion that his disposition would never prompt him to aspire to the crown.

But notwithstanding these instances of sagacity, she was little more than a tool in the hands of the Pharisees; for although she had the name of sovereign, she submitted the conduct of all public affairs to their discretion, and gave it in charge to the common people to pay them all obedience. She also enjoined the revival of the Pharisaical ordinances and traditions, which her father-in-law Hyrcanus had obtained, and gave the sanction of her name and authority to the acts and deeds of the leaders of her favourite sect. Hence they recalled exiles, set prisoners at liberty, and, in divers instances, assumed even royal prerogative. In some cases, indeed, she asserted authority, and particularly in augmenting her forces to such a degree, and retaining in pay a band of mercenaries, to keep the adjacent countries in awe, as appeared from the security they gave her in hostages for their good behaviour. Her reign would have been peaceable, but for the vexatious importunities of the Pharisees, who were incessantly suggesting to her arbitrary and unpopular measures.

They pressed her for justice upon all those at whose instigation and advice the eight hundred rebels had been put to death in Jerusalem. At their instance Diogenes was cut off, as well as many others who were so unfortunate as to incur their displeasure. At length the leading men among them, who had been the late king's friends and adherents, went in a body to the queen, with Aristobulus, her younger son, at the head of them, to remonstrate against such proceedings. Having obtained an audience, they laid before her their grievances in the most affecting manner; while Aristobulus manifested, by his countenance, the abhorrence he entertained for the public measures.

They represented to her that, in the utmost extremity of danger, they had preserved an uniform loyalty to their late sovereign, who had generously rewarded their services, and therefore earnestly begged that, since they had escaped the perils of war, they might not be sacrificed to the malevolence and treachery of their domestic enemies. They told her that, if their persecutors would proceed no farther in their sanguinary purpose, they would, from a respect to their superiors, suppress future complaints on what had been already perpetrated. They observed that, to countenance the declared enemies of her deceased consort, at the expence of his approved friends, would be a severe reproach upon her honour; and Aretas, the Arabian king, and several other hostile princes, would enjoy a peculiar pleasure in hearing that she had drawn from her court those men who had once been so powerful that their very names had struck a terror into their enemies. They concluded with saying, that, if she was determined to yield every consideration to the ambition of the Pharisees, and that no regard was to be paid to their past services, they had only one request to make, and that was, that they might be permitted to return into the different fortresses of the kingdom, where they would terminate a miserable existence, honourably sharing the common calamities which seemed to await the friends of the deceased king.

These expostulations greatly distressed the queen, who, for some time, knew not how to act, being

fearful, if she should give countenance to the petitioners, she might incur the displeasure of the Pharisees, of whom they continually stood in dread. At length she resolved on complying with their last request, and therefore consented to their returning to the several garrisons and places of strength throughout the kingdom; but with this restriction, that they should not enter Hyrcania, Alexandria, or Macheras; because in those places she had deposited her jewels, and other valuable treasures. Soon after this she sent her son Aristobulus, with an army, towards Damascus, to chastise Ptolemy, surnamed Mennæus, who had greatly annoyed the adjacent provinces; but he shortly returned from that expedition without doing any thing of moment.

While affairs were in this situation, intelligence was received that Tigranes, king of Armenia, had advanced with an army of 50,000 men into Syria, with a design to penetrate into Judæa. Alexandra was so alarmed at this intelligence, that she dispatched ambassadors to Tigranes, with considerable presents, hoping thereby to procure his friendship, and avert the impending danger that threatened her dominions. Tigranes was at that time before Ptolemais; and the ambassadors acquitted themselves so well before him on the behalf of Alexandra, and the whole nation of the Jews, that, with every instance of acknowledgment for the honour of the embassy, he gave them assurances of all good offices in return. Upon the reduction of Ptolemais, intelligence was brought him of the rout of Mithridates, by Lucullus, the Roman general; of his escape from the pursuit into Iberia; and that Lucullus, when he found he could not overtake him, had entered Armenia, which he was ravaging; so that Tigranes was under a necessity of immediately drawing off his forces, and marching with all expedition to the defence of his own dominions.

The queen, some time after this, being seized with a dangerous fit of sickness, gave Aristobulus a fair opportunity of attempting what he had long designed, the supplanting his brother Hyrcanus, both in the priesthood and sovereignty. Having communicated his design to his wife (whom, with his children, he left in Jerusalem) he one night privately left the city, and visited all the castles and forts in which his father's friends had been placed in garrisons. Aristobulus had been long disgusted at the conduct of his mother; but when he came to reflect on the precarious state of her health, the danger, as well as disgrace, to which the family would be exposed, from the overgrown power of the Pharisees, in case of her death, and that Hyrcanus, next in succession, was a mere pliant tool to execute their pleasure, indeed, wholly disqualified for any public charge, he was much more alarmed than ever. The first place he came to was Agada, where he was courteously received by Galestes, a man of rank and eminence in those parts.

The day after Aristobulus left Jerusalem, his absence was known to Alexandra, who, however, did not entertain a suspicion of his intentions, till she was informed, by messengers, that several fortresses had submitted to him, as, when one place had accepted his proposals, the example was readily followed by the rest.

Intelligence of these proceedings threw the queen and her adherents into the greatest consternation; for they knew Aristobulus, from his great abilities, and aspiring disposition, to be well qualified to succeed in the enterprize he had undertaken. They were further alarmed by the dismal apprehension of being called to a severe account for the outrageous barbarities they had exercised upon several of his particular friends. In this state of perplexity they thought the best expedient would be to confine the wife and children of Aristobulus, under a strong guard, in the citadel next the temple. While this was in agitation, Aristobulus became exceedingly powerful; and the people flocked to him in such numbers, that the place of his residence resembled a court, both in tumult and pomp; for, in the space of only fifteen days, he had made himself master of twenty-two castles. Having thus secured to himself these

Aristobulus makes an unsuccessful expedition against Ptolemy.

Expedition of Tigranes against the Syrians and Jews.

Application of the ambassadors of Alexandra courteously received.

Tigranes, with his army, returns home.

Aristobulus forms a design of obtaining the government.

His attempt promises success.

His wife and children are made prisoners.

His interest
increases
rapidly.

these respective fortifications, he soon raised troops from Mount Libanus, Trachonites, and places adjacent, which were readily inclined to support his party, from the expectation of the advantages they should derive, by assisting in the establishment of a new king, who, they had reason to expect, would remove that tyranny and cruelty which had been exercised in the late reign.

Hyrchanus
and the el-
ders apply
to the queen
for advice.

At this critical juncture Hyrchanus, and his principal adherents, repaired to the queen, requesting that she would give them directions what further measures she would wish them to pursue. They informed her of the great power of Aristobulus, by virtue of the places that had already submitted, and were daily submitting to him; and assured her, that, though their situation was desperate, and ruin likely to ensue, yet they would not by any means act without her concurrence. The queen replied, "That the state of her mind and body rendered her wholly incapable of the cares of government, which she therefore wholly resigned to their conduct and

"management; adding, that there was no deficiency either of men or money, in which consisted the strength of the nation." Having said this, Alexandra gave up the ghost, in the seventy-third year of her age, and ninth of her reign.

Death and
character of
Alexandra.

This princess may be said to have aspired beyond the generality of her sex, in an ambition to attain to sovereign power, which, in some instances, she exercised to the reproach of the male monarchs of the earth. She ever adverted to the present state of things, without wandering into the perplexing uncertainty of future events. She observed some degree of moderation, even in the stretch of her power. Her grand foible was an attachment to a peculiar sect, and a consequent connivance at actions unjustifiable in principles, either of religion, or even common humanity. By these she entailed the subsequent calamities that befel her family; though, it must be acknowledged, that her administration was such, during her life, as to preserve the internal peace of the nation.

Her answer.

End of the THIRTEENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XIV.

[Including a Period of about Thirty-one Years.]

CHAP. I.

An engagement between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, wherein the former being defeated, they come to an agreement, that Aristobulus should govern, and Hyrcanus enjoy the honours suitable to his dignity in peaceable retirement.

IN the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus Creticus were consuls at Rome, Hyrcanus entered upon the office of high-priest, and Aristobulus immediately made war upon him. The necessary preparations were made on both sides; but when they came to action, on the plain of Jericho, the greater part of Hyrcanus's soldiers deserted, and went over to his brother. Hyrcanus himself fled for refuge into the citadel in which the wife and children of Aristobulus were imprisoned, by order and direction of his mother, the late queen; while the rest of the party took sanctuary, for a time, within the verge of the temple; though they soon after surrendered themselves.

Matters being come to this pass, the two brothers entered into a treaty of accommodation, and, in conclusion, came to this agreement, that Aristobulus should be established in the possession of the government, and Hyrcanus allowed to live at ease and liberty upon his own fortune, with the privileges and dignities due to his rank, without molestation. This contract was signed and ratified with the due formalities of joining hands, and interchanging promises, reciprocally for performance of covenants, in the presence of the people; after which Aristobulus retired to the palace, and Hyrcanus to the private apartments, which had been before occupied by his brother.

No. 18.

CHAP. II.

Antipater stirs up a faction against Aristobulus in favour of Hyrcanus, and prevails with Aretas to join in attempting his restoration.

AMONGST the adherents of Hyrcanus was a certain Idumæan, a man opulent, powerful, and resolute, and a professed enemy to Aristobulus, whose name was Antipater. Nicolaus, of Damascus, affirms, that he was of the first stock of the Jews that came out of Babylon into Judæa, probably to gratify his son Herod, who, by divers revolutions of fortune, was afterwards advanced to the throne. This Antipater was first called by his father's name, Antipas, who, as it is related, was preferred, through favour of king Alexander and his wife, to the government of Idumæa, where, by means of fair words and sumptuous presents, he formed a considerable interest with the Arabians, Gazæans, and the people of Ascalon. Antipater, no doubt, stood in awe of Aristobulus, from a consciousness of his power to do him injury, and the animosity that subsisted between them. As the most plausible means of lessening the reputation and popularity of Aristobulus, he had recourse to the insidious arts of calumny and detraction, in order to excite the fears and jealousies of the people. He insinuated to them, that it was unreasonable for the younger brother to supplant the elder, deprive him of his birth right, and usurp the government himself; pointing out, at the same time, that it was unworthy of them tamely to bear such invasion of the hereditary right. He also told Hyrcanus, that so long as he continued in Judæa, his life would be in danger, as Aristobulus could never deem himself secure in the possession of the crown while he was in existence. Hyrcanus, being of an open, unsuspicious

Antipater, father of Herod, stirs up the Jews against Aristobulus.

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suspicious temper, the suggestion of Antipater had not the effect upon him which he desired; though, as he nevertheless seemed inclined to listen to his counsel, the other took care to ply him with importunities to use caution with respect to the designs of his brother. At length, however, he prevailed with him to apply for protection to Aretas, king of Arabia, with offers of his own best services, by way of mediation with that prince, in his behalf. Hyrcanus acceding to the proposal, Antipater immediately repaired to Aretas to prepare him for his reception; and having exacted from him a promise, upon oath, that he would not deliver him up into the hands of his enemies, Antipater returned, and informed Hyrcanus of the result of the interview.

Antipater applies to Aretas in behalf of Hyrcanus.

Attends Hyrcanus to the court of Arabia.

Aretas, upon conditions, promises him assistance.

Having prepared Hyrcanus to petition, and Aretas to comply with his request, Antipater conducted the former out of the city by night, and accompanied him to Petra, where the royal palace of Arabia is situated. Upon their arrival, he used the most plausible arguments with the king in favour of Hyrcanus, to induce him to assist him in the recovery of his paternal right. In fine, he urged him so closely, both with solicitations and presents, that Aretas promised to comply with his request, on condition, that if ever Hyrcanus should be restored to his kingdom through his means, he should cede to him the country, and the twelve cities, which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, viz. Medada, Naballo, Livias, Tharabala, Agalla, Athone, Zoara, Orone, Marissa, Rydda, Lula, and Oryba.

CHAP. III.

Aretas makes an expedition against Aristobulus, drives him to Jerusalem, and besieges him in the temple. Onias, a righteous man, stoned to death. The Divine vengeance follows the wickedness of the people.

Aretas overcomes Aristobulus, and assaults him in the temple.

ARETAS, in consequence of these promises, advanced against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand men, fought and overcame him; in so much, that finding himself abandoned by his soldiers going over to Hyrcanus, he was forced to fly for refuge to Jerusalem, where Aretas, with his whole army, assaulted him in the very temple. The people unanimously declared for Hyrcanus, the priests only excepted; while Aretas, with the united force of the Arabians and Jews, prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigour.

The feast of unleavened bread, which we call the passover, coming on at this time, the chief men among the Jews withdrew themselves out of the country, and went into Egypt. At the same time one Onias, a man of singular piety and integrity, apprehending the approach of a civil war, had privately withdrawn to a place of concealment. The Jews reflecting on the great reputation he had acquired through the sanctity of his life, and that, by his prayers, he had been thought to have obtained rain from heaven in an extremity of drought; and inferring, from thence, that his curses might be as prevalent as his prayers, brought him out into the camp, and there made it their request that he would denounce a malediction upon Aristobulus and his whole party. He opposed their request as long as he could; but at length, finding no rest from their importunities, and that they were resolved to maltreat him unless he complied, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and offered a prayer to this purport: "Almighty Ruler of the universe, since both we that stand before thee are thy people, and they that are besieged in the temple are thy priests, I humbly beseech thee not to hear the prayers of either of them against the other." Upon these words, those who had brought him to the place were so enraged, that they immediately fell upon him, and stoned him to death. But the Divine vengeance pursued the perpetrators of this horrid barbarity.

Onias put to death for his piety and philanthropy.

While Aristobulus and the priests were thus beset in the temple, the paschal festival came on, at which season, according to custom, the Jews offered up a great number of sacrifices. But the besieged not having so many as they had occasion for, requested that their countrymen would furnish them

at their own price; and on their demand gone thousand drachmas for each beast, and the money to be deposited, the demand was agreed to, and the money accordingly let down to them, by means concerted, over the walls.

When the besiegers received the money, they refused to deliver the victims; and such was their flagitious impiety, that they not only violated their faith with men, but prevented their brethren from performing a service dedicated to the honour of their God. The priests, therefore, finding themselves perfidiously imposed upon, under pretence of contract, imprecated vengeance on their abandoned countrymen. Nor was the judgment delayed; for there fell immediately a violent tempest; that destroyed all the fruits of the earth throughout the whole province, so that one measure of wheat sold for fifteen drachmas.

Perjury of the besiegers.

They are overtaken by Divine justice.

CHAP. IV.

Scaurus is sent by Pompey into Syria. Comes into Judæa, and causes the siege of Jerusalem to be raised.

AT this time a war subsisted between Pompey the Great, and Tigranes, king of Armenia; so that the former commanded Scaurus, one of his generals, to lead the army under his command into Syria. Scaurus accordingly obeyed; but, on his arrival at Damascus, finding the city had been reduced by Metellus and Lollius, he drew off his forces, and led them into Judæa. On his way he was met by two ambassadors; one from Hyrcanus, and the other from Aristobulus. They both came upon the same errand; to desire an alliance offensive and defensive with the Romans.

Scaurus, the Roman general, comes into Judæa.

Receives an embassy from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

Esposes the interest of Aristobulus.

Aristobulus offered four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less. Though they were equal in point of proposal, the Roman general gave the preference to Aristobulus, as he was opulent and magnanimous, and would require nothing more than what was reasonable; whereas the other was penurious and pusillanimous, and might expect more than was adequate to the conditions; being very sensible that it was a much more arduous undertaking to carry a city so strongly fortified by assault, than to eject a band of Nabathean fugitives out of the country. Closing, therefore, with Aristobulus, Scaurus dispatched messengers to Aretas, commanding him, in the name of Pompey the Great, and the Roman senate, immediately to draw off his troops, and raise the siege; upon peril of a declaration of war. Scaurus then returned to Damascus; and Aristobulus advanced with a powerful army against Hyrcanus and Aretas, and engaging them at a place named Papyron, gave them a total overthrow, and put about seven thousand to the sword; among whom was Cephalio, the brother of Antipater.

The siege of Jerusalem raised.

Hyrcanus and Aretas defeated by Aristobulus.

CHAP. V.

The cause of the contending brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, is brought before Pompey. The trial is adjourned, and Aristobulus, in disgust, withdraws to Judæa.

A SHORT time after this, Pompey himself went into Syria, and took up his residence at Damascus, where he received embassies from the princes of several nations, soliciting his friendship and protection. Aristobulus, above all the rest, sent him a most valuable present, which was a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents. Strabo, of Cappadocia, thus describes it: "There was a present made to Pompey, out of Egypt; a crown that weighed four hundred pieces of gold; and another out of Judæa, of a golden vine; or garden, to which they gave a name, which, in the Greek language, signifies *delight*. These presents were brought by ambassadors; and I myself saw the vine at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, *Alexander, king of the Jews*. It was valued at five hundred talents, and passed for the present of Aristobulus, the prince of the Jews."

Pompey greatly interested in the arrival in Syria.

Testimony of Strabo.

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There came to Pompey, soon after this, other ambassadors; Antipater, on the part of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus, on the part of Aristobulus, who charged Gabinius and Scaurus, with taking sums of money (the former three hundred talents, and the other four) as bribes.

Pompey attends to the cause depending between the brothers.

The sense of the people on the same.

Plea of Hyrcanus.

Defense of Aristobulus.

Pompey renders the matter to a future decision.

Pompey took the cognizance of the cause into his own hands, and appointed the parties concerned to attend him. As the spring advanced, he drew out of his winter quarters, and marched to Damascus, destroying the fort of Apamia (a fortification of Antiochus Cyzicenus) by the way, having, at the same time, a design upon the territories of Ptolemy Mannaus, an infamous character, amounting, in enormity, to that of his relative Dionysius Tripolitanus, who fell a victim to the offended laws of his country. He also razed the fort of Lysias, of which Silas, the Jew, had got possession; and passing from thence towards Heliopolis and Chalcis, went into Cœlo-Syria, and then to Damascus, to decide the point in dispute between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Being determined first to hear the sense of the people, it was argued in their favour, "That it had been formerly the usage of their nation to be governed, not by kings, but the high-priest of the God whom they worshipped, who, without assuming any other title, administered justice according to the laws handed down to them from their forefathers. They did not deny but that the two contending brothers were of the sacerdotal race, but charged them with a design of enslaving the people, and subverting the fundamentals of the constitution."

Hyrcanus pleaded, "That though he was the elder brother, Aristobulus had usurped his rank and estate, contrary to justice, robbed him of his birth-right, and reduced him to a dependence on his own bounty. That, as a man fraught with mischief, he practised piracy at sea, and rapine and depredation on land, upon his neighbours; and that it was the violence of his disposition which had enraged the people against him." Having said this, he called upon a number of the principal Jews, whom Antipater had engaged in his interest, to confirm it.

Hyrcanus, and his party, having withdrawn, Aristobulus contended, "That Hyrcanus was not superceded in the government through any ambition, on his part, but through his own incapacity to govern, and that his natural sloth and inactivity had brought upon him the contempt of the people. He declared, that, with respect to himself, he had no other choice than either to assume the government, or suffer it to be transferred into another family; and that as to the title of king, he held it only as he received it from his father Alexander." As a testimony of the truth of what he had said, he called several young men of eminence among the Jews, who, by the gaudiness of their appearance, and the levity of their carriage, did no great credit to the cause which they endeavoured to espouse.

After Pompey had heard both parties, he seemed to be of opinion that Aristobulus had been too hasty in his proceedings; but dismissed them, for the present, with fair words, and referred the full determination of the matter until he came to Jerusalem, which he declared he would not fail to do, as soon as he had finished the war with the Nabatheans. He enjoined them, in the mean time, to behave themselves peaceably; but Aristobulus, perceiving that his inclinations were directed in favour of his brother Hyrcanus, abruptly left Pompey, and returned to Judæa, where he took every means he could devise to prepare himself against those consequences which, from his proceedings, he might reasonably expect would afterwards take place.

CHAP. VI.

Pompey prosecutes revenge on Aristobulus.

THE abrupt and disrespectful departure of Aristobulus so highly offended Pompey, that he resolved to take the part of Hyrcanus, without

paying any farther attention to their respective complaints. He accordingly marched in pursuit of him, with the Roman troops he had under his command, and a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries. Having passed Pella and Scythopolis, he came at length to Coreæ, where he was informed, that Aristobulus had shut himself up in the castle of Alexandrion, a strong fortress, built by his father, on an high mountain, that stood at the entrance of the country of Judæa, towards the side of Samaria. Pompey immediately marched his army to the place, and having encamped before it, he sent a messenger to Aristobulus to come down to him. Aristobulus, considering this message as an insult, at first refused to comply; but the people expressing dissatisfaction at his conduct, and his friends representing the impossibility of withstanding so formidable an enemy as the Romans, he was at length prevailed on to leave the place, and accordingly went to Pompey, accompanied by several of his principal adherents.

Pompey marches against Aristobulus.

Pompey had been privately informed, that Aristobulus had commanded his governors to observe such orders only as were given under his own hand; and therefore, as soon as Aristobulus appeared, he insisted on his writing to the respective officers in the fortress, authorizing them immediately to surrender the place. Aristobulus judged it necessary to comply with this injunction; but was so exasperated at the imperious conduct of Pompey, that he immediately departed to Jerusalem, with a full resolution of opposing him with all his strength.

Aristobulus submits to the requisition of Pompey.

CHAP. VII.

Pompey and Aristobulus continue hostilities.

IN order to deprive Aristobulus of the opportunity of making preparations for war, as soon as Pompey knew of his departure, he immediately marched after him, and encamped at Jericho, from whence the next morning he proceeded towards Jerusalem. Aristobulus was astonished at the expedition, and alarmed at the appearance, of Pompey. He now repented of his conduct; and, to prevent fatal consequences, went to meet him, which he had no sooner done, than he offered him a considerable sum of money, with the command of the city; and whatever else he should request, provided he would but withdraw his forces. These terms were accepted by Pompey, who immediately dispatched Gabinius, one of his generals, with some troops, to the city, to receive the offered money. But when they came there, the persons who commanded in the town, in the name of Aristobulus, refused them admittance, telling them they would not stand to any such agreement.

Pompey advances to Jerusalem.

This was a kind of treatment the Roman general could not digest, and therefore, after ordering a strict guard to be kept on Aristobulus, he marched with his army to Jerusalem, and immediately proceeded to reconnoitre, in order to form a judgment which was the most likely part to make a successful assault.

CHAP. VIII.

Factions at Jerusalem in the different interests of Pompey and Aristobulus. Jerusalem invested, and the temple taken by assault. Aristobulus carried a prisoner to Rome.

NO sooner did Pompey appear before Jerusalem, than an insurrection took place between the two parties respectively attached to Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. The adherents of the former were for attempting to rescue their king by force of arms, while the other party were equally strenuous for admitting Pompey into the city; and the majority of the people, conscious of the superior power of the Romans, were friends to the latter measure. The partizans of Aristobulus took possession of the temple, and cut away the bridge of communication between that and the city, being fully resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. The other party

Two parties in Jerusalem in the different interests of the brothers.

Pompey prepares for the siege of the temple.

party not only gave entrance to the army, but delivered up both city and palace into the hands of Pompey, who dispatched Piso, his lieutenant, with part of his army, to take charge of both. When things were come to this pass, Pompey, in the first place, made a proposal of peace; but finding the other party averse to any compromise, he made the necessary preparations for an assault, in which he received every possible assistance from Hyrcanus and his adherents.

Pompey avails himself of the superstitions of the Jews.

The north side of the temple being the weakest quarter, Pompey proposed to begin his attack there. It was encompassed with high towers, and surrounded by a very deep and broad ditch. There was no passing on the city side towards Pompey's station, now the bridge was down, for crags and precipices; but the Romans, with infinite labour and difficulty, made hard shift to fill up the ditch, with timbers, and other materials they had collected, and so to raise platforms and ramparts to such a prodigious height, that, with engines of battery, which they brought from Tyre, they cast great stones upon the temple wall: yet, had it not been for the advantage they took of our seven days sabbath, they would scarcely have been able to gain their point: for though, in case of assault, the law allows us to defend ourselves upon that day, and to repel force by force, we are not permitted to do any work upon it, even to thwart the design of an enemy. The Romans observing, therefore, that we made no opposition to the advancing of their bulwarks, and fixing their machines upon that festival, employed the sabbath only in preparing for the action of the next day, without attempting any violence upon us.

This may serve to shew the very great deference we pay to the religion and laws of our country, when even the dread of death itself cannot divest us from the stated forms and precise ceremonies of our devotion; for the priests have their solemn sacrifices twice a day, with all the prescribed modes of worship, without the least default, even in cases of the utmost extremity.

The temple taken by assault.

The temple was taken by assault upon a fast-day, the third month of the siege, in the 179th olympiad; Caius Antonius, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, being consuls. Such of the people who attempted to escape, or offered resistance, were instantly put to death. Several priests, who were employed in the duties of their office at the time, paid no regard to their personal safety, even when the swords of the enemy were pointed to their breasts, but yielded up their lives whilst exercising their sacred function. The Jews, attached to Pompey, felt no compassion for those who espoused the cause of Aristobulus, so that a most dreadful carnage took place. This circumstance is authenticated by all authors of eminence, who have related the exploits of Pompey; amongst whom are Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Titus Livius, the famous Roman historian. They plied their engines upon the great tower, till, by dint of repeated batteries, they shook it to pieces, and brought it down to the ground, carrying away a great part of the next wall along with it in the ruins. The breach was no sooner made, than the enemy pressed in crowds to enter it. The first that mounted was Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his company; and next to him, upon the other quarter, the centurion Furius, with his men; and Fabius betwixt them both with another strong party. So great was the slaughter, that the place was covered with dead bodies; some killed by the Romans; others, by consent, dispatching one another; some casting themselves down headlong from the walls, and others setting fire to the houses over their heads, rather than be spectators of the barbarities that were committed. Twelve thousand of the Jews were slain, but of the Romans comparatively few. Absalom, the uncle, and father-in-law, of Aristobulus, was made prisoner.

Testimony of divers eminent historians.

Great carnage among the Jews.

These outrages were accompanied with several indignities to the very mysteries of our religion, by the admittance of prophane persons into the Holy of Holies, which was sacred to the high-priest alone. Pompey and his train were of the number that came

in there, where they saw the candlesticks, lamps, tables for incense, and other articles used in the performance of Divine service. He likewise visited the treasuries, where he found two thousand talents of silver, besides vessels of gold, and other things of great value. He would not, however, suffer a single article to be touched, but left them entirely for the sacred uses to which they were appropriated. He likewise ordered the temple to be purified, and that the oblations, and other ceremonies of religion, should be performed according to our ancient customs and ordinances. He restored Hyrcanus to the office of high-priest; partly for the services he had received from him himself; and partly for his influence in preventing the Jews from espousing the interest of Aristobulus. All those among the Jews, whom he discovered to have been the promoters of the late insurrection, he condemned to the loss of their heads; but such as had signalized themselves in the prosecution of the siege, he liberally rewarded. He made Jerusalem itself tributary to the Romans, deprived the Jews of the cities they had gained in Coelo-Syria, and, by annexing them to the jurisdiction of the Romans, reduced the possessions of the Jews to their former limits. He caused Gadara, demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius, his freed man, to be rebuilt; and restored Hippon, Scythopolis, Dion, Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethula, being inland places, to their former inhabitants. The maritime towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Straton's Tower, were all set free, and annexed to the province of Syria. This Tower of Straton, when it was afterwards rebuilt by Herod, and beautified with stately ports and temples, was called Cæsarea.

Pompey visits the most sacred places.

Abstains from the treasures.

Jerusalem made tributary to the Romans.

From this feud between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, we may date the ruin of Jerusalem, and the subjection of the Jewish nation to the Roman yoke; having been compelled to restore to the Syrians what they had taken in the course of a long war, as well as to submit to the imposition of above ten thousand talents, and the translation of the sovereign authority, which had ever till then descended in the priesthood, to private and obscure individuals. He appointed Scaurus, one of his generals, to the government of Judæa, Coelo-Syria, and all the country of Egypt to the borders of the Euphrates; giving him likewise the command of two legions, that he might be the better enabled to discharge the trust reposed in him. He then left Jerusalem, and set forward on his journey to Rome, taking with him Aristobulus, his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and two of his daughters, as captives, whom he purposed should be led before him, when he made his triumphal entry into his capital.

The dissolution of the brotherly cause of the taking of Jerusalem.

After some regulations, Pompey returns to Rome.

CHAP. IX.

Scaurus enters into a league with Aretas, the Arabian prince.

SCAURUS made an expedition against Petra, the capital of Arabia, and set on fire all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. As his army was pinched for want of provisions, Antipater, by order of Hyrcanus, furnished him with corn, and other necessities, out of Judæa. Being well known to Aretas, Scaurus sent him upon an embassy to him, in which he acquitted himself with such address, that he prevailed upon him, for a composition of three hundred talents, to save his country from ruin. Scaurus, upon this, renounced hostilities; and the parties formed a league of amity and friendship to their mutual satisfaction.

Scaurus advances against Petra.

CHAP. X.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, makes an expedition into Judæa; but is overcome by Gabinius, a Roman general.

AT the expiration of about three years after Pompey's return to Rome, Alexander, one of the sons of Aristobulus, who had found means to effect his escape, went into Judæa, and having assembled

Gabinus, a Roman general, comes into Syria.

sembled a considerable number of forces, possessed himself of several places in different parts of the country. In consequence of this, Gabinus was sent from Rome, with the commission of general, and upon an expedition against Alexander, wherein he performed many memorable exploits. Hyrcanus, the high-priest, was not now in condition to make resistance; though he had in contemplation to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem that Pompey had destroyed; but the Romans would not suffer him to put his design into execution. Alexander, ranging up and down the country, had collected a promiscuous body of Jews, and others, amounting to 10,000 foot, and 1500 horse. He stored and fortified the castle of Alexandrion, near Coreæ, and Machæras, on the borders of Arabia. In the interim, Gabinus dispatched one of his principal officers, with a body of chosen troops, who were joined by a considerable number of Jews, under the command of Petholais and Malichus, two brave and experienced generals, and soon after followed himself with the main body of his army.

Advances against Alexander.

Routs him, and invests Alexandrion.

Rebuilds divers towns and cities.

A remarkable settlement of Jews, made by Gabinus.

As soon as Alexander found Gabinus was proceeding towards him, he thought it most prudent to make a retreat towards Jerusalem, which he accordingly did with all possible expedition. Gabinus, however, closely followed, and overtook him as he approached the city, so that a battle unavoidably ensued, in which 3000 of Alexander's troops were put to the sword, and the like number taken prisoners. Gabinus, after this, laid siege to the castle of Alexandrion, but with an offer and promise of pardon to the defendants, if they would surrender the place. The besieged kept a strong out-guard under the walls of the castle, a great number of which were cut off by the Romans, under Marcus Antonius, who signalized his valour upon the occasion. Gabinus, unwilling to lose time, left a part of his army behind to attend to the siege, went himself to take a view of the rest of the country, and gave orders for the rebuilding of what cities had been destroyed; as Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa, Gaza, and divers other places. When this was done, these places became very convenient habitations, after having been long deserted.

Gabinus, having thus arranged affairs in the country, returned to Alexandrion in prosecution of the siege, where Alexander took the opportunity of making submission by his ambassadors, upon condition of delivering up to him the castles of Hyrcania, Machæras, and Alexandrion, which Gabinus accepted of, but razed them all three to the ground. After this he had an application from the mother of Alexander, who was well affected towards the Romans, her husband, and the rest of her children, being then prisoners at Rome. Gabinus denied her nothing she asked; insomuch, that Hyrcanus was brought to Jerusalem, and restored to his office of high-priest. There were constituted, at this time, five courts of judicature, and a division made of the whole province into five equal parts, viz. Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Saphora, which is a city of Galilee. They came, by this means, to be delivered from the tyranny they complained of, and were again under an aristocratical form of government.

CHAP. XI.

Aristobulus makes his escape from Rome. Is pursued and brought back. Gabinus, after divers successes, goes to Rome, and is succeeded by Crassus.

exploits of Aristobulus in his escape into Judæa.

A SHORT time after this, Aristobulus (with his son Antigonus) escaped from Rome, and going into Judæa, was joined by a great number of Jews, some of whom were influenced to countenance him merely from a desire of changing their situation, and others from a principle of fidelity and affection. He made an attempt to repair the fortrefs of Alexandrion; but, on receiving information that Gabinus had dispatched an army in pursuit of

No. 19.

him, he retreated to Machæras, where he dismissed the useless part of his followers, retaining only 8000 men, whom he thought capable of bearing arms, and had resolution enough to stand a contest. In a short time the Roman army arrived, and a general engagement took place, in which Aristobulus and his adherents fought with great bravery, but were at length compelled to yield to the superior power of the enemy, with the loss of 5000 men. Two thousand of the remainder gained a hill, and made some farther resistance; whilst Aristobulus, with the other thousand, cut a passage through the Roman army, and retired to Machæras. Aristobulus flattered himself that Gabinus would consent to a suspension of hostilities, whereby he might be enabled to reinforce his army, and put the place in a better posture of defence. But he soon found himself mistaken, for the Romans immediately proceeded to assault the place, which was defended with great bravery for two days, when a complete victory was gained over Aristobulus, who, with his son Antigonus, were put in chains, and sent prisoners to Rome. He had been three years and an half in the possession of the pontificate and the kingdom, and had acquitted himself with great honour in the respective charges. The senate sentenced the father to perpetual imprisonment; but the sons, through the mediation of Gabinus, were set at liberty, and permitted to return to their own country.

He is defeated by the Romans.

Aristobulus sent back prisoner to Rome.

His sons set at liberty.

Gabinus had now entered upon an expedition against the Parthians, and passed over the river Euphrates; but afterwards changing his mind, he bent his course towards Egypt, for the restoring of Ptolemy. Antipater furnished him, for this enterprize, with corn, arms, and money, and brought over numbers of the Jews, about Pelusium, into an alliance with him.

Gabinus proposes the restoration of Ptolemy.

At his return Gabinus found Syria in an uproar; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having made himself master of the kingdom, harassed the country with a powerful army, and forced many of the Jews over to his party, killing all the Romans he could come at in his passage, and besieging the rest upon the mount of Gerizim, whither they had fled for sanctuary.

Alexander seizes on the government and commits outrages in Syria.

Gabinus, finding the Syrians in this disorder, sent Antipater, a man of approved prudence and integrity, to attempt to bring them to reason and due obedience. He executed his commission with such address, that he brought off several of the revolvers, but could not in the least degree prevail with Alexander; for having collected an army of 30,000 Jews, he was resolved to try a decisive battle with Gabinus. They came, in fine, to action at mount Itabyr, and the Jews lost 10,000 men in the encounter.

Is totally overthrown by the Roman army.

Affairs being thus settled in Jerusalem, the conqueror, by the advice of Antipater, marched against the Nabathæans, and gave them a total defeat, discharging two noble Parthians, Mithridates and Orfanes, who came to him for protection, giving out a report that they were fled into their own country. Gabinus, having now acquitted himself with the greatest honour in all his commissions, returned to Rome; and Crassus succeeded him in his command. The exploits of Pompey and Gabinus, against the Jews, may be seen in the histories of Nicolaus, of Damascus, and Strabo, of Cappadocia; and they concur in their testimony.

Gabinus returns to Rome laden with honours.

CHAP. XII.

Crassus, the successor of Gabinus, a perfidious character. Is routed by the Parthians. Cassius obtains Syria, checks the progress of the Parthians, and comes into Judæa.

CRASSUS, having undertaken the preparation of a war against the Parthians, came to Judæa, and seized not only the two thousand talents that Pompey left untouched from a motive of conscience, but pillaged the temple of all the treasure he could find, to the amount of eight thousand talents more. He carried away with him also, a wedge of gold, of the

Crassus pillages the temple.

the weight of three hundred mina, reckoning every mina, according to the Jewish computation, at two pounds and an half. Eleazar, the priest, who had the custody of the holy treasure, delivered it up to Crassus, not from a censurable motive, for he was a man of probity, but as a composition for all the rest. This wedge of gold was lodged in a wooden beam, that was made hollow for its reception; nor had any man knowledge of it but Eleazar himself, who finding Crassus very desirous of obtaining it, resigned it up to him, upon his most solemn oath, that he was abundantly satisfied, and that the hangings, of inestimable value, and other rich ornaments, belonging to the temple, in the possession of the high-priest, should remain untouched. But he perfidiously violated his oath, rifled the temple from the top to the bottom, and stripped it to the bare walls.

It will not be a matter of wonder that so prodigious a mass of wealth was lodged in this temple, when it is considered how long the Jews were in collecting it, and that it came from all quarters of the earth where the worship of the true God was known. Besides, it is a truth, attested and confirmed by the authority of several historians, and, amongst the rest, Strabo, the Cappadocian. He writes, that “Mithridates sent to the isle of Coos for some money of Cleopatra’s, that she had deposited there, and for eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews.” Now we have, in public treasure, nothing but what is sacred and dedicated to the service of God; and it is abundantly evident, that the Asiatic Jews transmitted this treasure from thence to Coos, upon the apprehension of a war with Mithridates. Nor can it be imagined that the Jews of Judæa, who had a much stronger and safer place near hand, that is to say, the temple and city of Jerusalem, would ever have sent their money away for better security to Coos; neither can it be supposed that it came from the Alexandrian Jews, for they were too far distant to have any apprehension of Mithridates.

Strabo himself also bears witness to this in another place, where writes, “That Sylla, passing through Greece, to carry on a war against Mithridates, sent Lucullus to Cyrene, that was then distracted with feuds and factions among the Jews, a people who had spread themselves over the face of the whole earth.” He further relates, “That the Cyrenæans were ranged into four classes, viz. Burghers, Husbandmen, Strangers, and Jews: that the last division are so universally dispersed, that there is scarcely any habitable parts of the earth where they have not some kind of establishment: that Egypt, Cyrene, and several other countries, while they were under the jurisdiction of the same prince, embraced, in many places, the Jewish laws, rights, and customs, and trained up their children in a conformity to the Jewish discipline: that, in Egypt, they had whole colonies of them: besides, they had a right of property, by formal assignment, in a considerable part of the city of Alexandria, where they had magistrates, courts of judicature, and methods of deciding claims to property, peculiar to themselves; and all this as regular and binding as if established by sanction of government.” Let this suffice for the testimony of Strabo.

When Crassus had disposed of the affairs in Judæa, according to his pleasure, he marched into Parthia, where he and his whole army were cut off. But Cassius made his retreat into Syria, where he checked the progress of the Parthians, who were now grown insolent upon their success. He went afterwards to Tyre, and so to Judæa, where he took Taricheæ by assault, and made thirty thousand prisoners. Among the rest was Pitholaus, a partizan of Aristobulus, whom he caused to be put to death, at the instance of Antipater, a man of eminence with the Idumæans, through a marriage with an Arabian wife of illustrious descent. Her name was Cypron; and by her he had four sons, Phasaël, Herod, (who was afterwards king), Joseph, and Pheroras, and an only daughter, called Salome. This Antipater, through a generosity and affability of disposition,

had conciliated the esteem of all the princes and characters of rank about him, but more especially the king of Arabia, to whom he committed the protection of his children, during the war with Aristobulus. Cassius, having by this time reinforced his army, advanced to the river Euphrates, to meet the Parthians, who were preparing to oppose him.

CHAP. XIII.

Aristobulus, and his son Alexander, are taken off by Pompey’s party.

WHEN Cæsar had prevailed in a contest between him and Pompey, who, together with the whole senate, had abandoned the city of Rome, and fled beyond the Ionian Sea, he formed a design of setting Aristobulus at liberty, and dispatching him to Syria, with the command of two legions, to keep that province in order. But the satisfaction Aristobulus proposed to himself from the friendship and sanction of Cæsar, was soon frustrated; for before he could get out of Rome, some of Pompey’s factions found means of dispatching him by poison. His body lay embalmed for a considerable time, till at length it was removed by Anthony, who caused it to be carried into Judæa, and there honourably interred in the royal sepulchre.

The fate of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, was no less deplorable than that of his father; for Pompey, having sentenced him to death, for seditious practices against the Romans, sent an order to Scipio to have him beheaded, which was accordingly executed in the city of Antioch. Ptolemy Mennæus, governor of Chalcis, near Libanus, dispatched his son Philippion to the widow of Aristobulus, at Askalon, to request that she would send with him her son Antigonus, and his sisters. Philippion became enamoured with one of them, whose name was Alexandra, and married her; but he was afterwards slain by Ptolemy, his father, who married Alexandra, and took the family under his protection.

CHAP. XIV.

Gallant exploits of Antipater.

AFTER the death of Pompey, and the victory which Cæsar had gained over him, Antipater acquired great authority in Judæa, through the many considerable services he rendered him at the instance of Hyrcanus, in his war upon Egypt. When Mithridates, of Pergamus, was bringing in his auxiliaries, and not able to continue his rout through Pelusium, but obliged to make a halt at Askalon, Antipater joined him with an armed body of 3000 Jews, and brought in several leading men of Arabia, and all Syria, to his assistance. Among these were Jamblicus, a prince of the country, and his son Ptolemy; and Tholomy, of Libanus, the son of Sohemæ, with the governors of the cities in general; among whom there prevailed an emulation of signalizing themselves in his service.

Mithridates, thus reinforced, advanced out of Syria into Pelusium, where the inhabitants refusing him entrance, he sat down before the place, and assaulted it. Antipater gallantly entered the breach, and was so well seconded in the action, that, by this means, the town was taken. But as he, together with Mithridates, was halting to Cæsar, the Egyptian Jews, in the country of Onias, opposed their passage, till, through the power and interest of Antipater, as their countryman, and especially on the sight of a letter from Hyrcanus, the high-priest, they were brought over to fair terms with Cæsar, and upon that consideration, supplied them with whatever they had occasion for upon their march. This important service was effected through the mediation of Antipater, and the letter of the high-priest, which also induced the inhabitants of Memphis to espouse the same cause and interest.

CHAP

Testimony of Strabo, the historian.

Another testimony of Strabo.

Crassus falls in an expedition against Parthia.

Cassius repulses the Parthians.

Progeny of Antipater.

Amiable character of Antipater.

Pompey flies from Rome.

Aristobulus is poisoned by Pompey’s party.

His son Alexander slain by command of Pompey.

Antipater assists Cæsar in the conquest of Egypt.

Further the taking of Pelusium.

CHAP. XV.

Antipater is highly honoured by Cæsar, who determines a cause depending between him and Hyrcanus on the one side, and Antigonus on the other, in favour of the former.

SOON after this, Mithridates and Antipater came to a pitched battle with the enemy, at a place called Delta, and upon a particular spot of ground, known by the name of the Jewish Camp; the former commanding the right wing, and the latter the left. It happened that Mithridates, being hardly pressed, his men gave way, and the disorder was very near being attended with a total rout; but Antipater, at the very crisis, came up along the bank of the river with a detachment to his relief, rescued his friends, and, in one word, vanquished an enemy exulting in the immediate view of victory. Having made himself master of their camp, he recalled Mithridates, who was left a great way behind, to take his part of the booty. In this action, about eight hundred of the party of Mithridates fell; but of that of Antipater, not more than fifty.

Mithridates, in his letter to Cæsar, reciting the particulars of this event, liberally awarded to Antipater the honour of the day, both in the preservation of the army, and the victory obtained at so singular a crisis. Cæsar, duly impressed both with his conduct and courage, employed him in the most honourable posts ever after, of which he bore a memorable testimony in the many wounds he received in his service.

At the expiration of this war, Cæsar went back, by sea, into Syria, where he treated both Hyrcanus and Antipater with singular tokens of respect. The one he confirmed in the pontificate; and the other he made a freeman of Rome, with all the privileges and immunities of the city. Some report that Hyrcanus was personally in this war, and actually came into Egypt. Strabo, of Cappadocia, bears witness to this, when he affirms, on the authority of Asinius, "That, upon the coming of Mithridates into Egypt, Hyrcanus, the high-priest of the Jews, came along with him." He writes in another place, upon the credit of Hysicrates, "That Mithridates came first thither alone, and then sent for Antipater, the governor of Judæa, to Ascalon, who brought him three thousand men; and that, upon his counsel and persuasion, divers of the princes and great men of the country, went over to him, and, amongst the rest, Hyrcanus, the high-priest."

About this time Antigonus, the second son of Aristobulus, came to Cæsar, and laid his complaints before him, relative to the murder of his father and brother, who, he said, were cruelly put to death by the contrivance of the partizans of the late Pompey. He uttered the bitterest invectives against Hyrcanus and Antipater, whom he represented as the cause of himself and brethren being cruelly driven from their native country; and at the same time charged them with having oppressed the public, for the sake of indulging their own private passions. He further said, that the assistance they had rendered him, proceeded rather from fear than respect, and was only meant to make some compensation for their former attachment to Pompey.

Antipater, one of the parties thus accused by Antigonus, was at this time with Cæsar; and, in order to destroy the intended effect of these reproaches, he exposed his wounds, as the best testimony he could give of his loyalty to Cæsar, which having done, he spoke as follows: "It is a matter of astonishment (said he) that this man, the son of a declared enemy to the state of Rome, and inheriting the rebellious principles of his father, should have the effrontery thus to accuse the most zealous of Cæsar's subjects, and to arrogate a merit to himself, when his conduct has rendered him deserving of death."

Cæsar, having heard both parties, instead of giving the least countenance to Antigonus, immediately conferred the pontificate upon Hyrcanus; gave Antipater his choice of any command he might prefer; and conferred upon him the dignified post of lieutenant-governor of Judæa.

CHAP. XVI.

Hyrcanus obtains permission, from Cæsar, to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Decree of the Roman senate, respecting an alliance with the Jews. Decree of the Athenians to the same import. Antipater addresses the people of Jerusalem.

THE walls of Jerusalem having been demolished by Pompey, Hyrcanus preferred a request to Cæsar, for permission to rebuild them, which was immediately granted; with the most respectful ceremony, letters being dispatched to the consuls at Rome, for entering the resolution in the records of the capitol. The copy of the decree ran as follows:

Decree of the senate assembled in the Temple of Concord, upon the ides of December; present Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius, and Caius Papirius Quirinus.

"Whereas it appeareth unto the senate; upon the report of Valerius, the son of Lucius Prætor, that it is requested and proposed by Alexander, the son of Jason, Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Alexander, the son of Dorotheus, ambassadors on behalf of the Jews, our good and faithful allies, that the ancient league of friendship may be renewed betwixt us; and that, in token of their good-will, they have brought a present of a golden cup and buckler, valued at fifty thousand crowns, desiring letters of recommendation to all governors and free towns, for a safe passage, both by sea and land, through all their ports and territories. Be it therefore ordered by this senate, that the same league of friendship be renewed and established, the requests of the ambassadors agreed to and granted, and their present accepted."

This decree passed in the ninth year of the pontificate of Hyrcanus, and in the month of Panemus.

Hyrcanus had great honour done him by the republic of Athens, in acknowledgment of their obligations to him, as appears from the following decree:

Decree of the Athenians, bearing date the twenty-fifth day of the month Panemus; Dionysius Afclepiades being president and high-priest; Agathocles, Archon, and Eucles, the son of Meander, scribe; on the eleventh of the Prytanea, in the month Munichion: a council of the Proedri being met in the theatre; and after gathering the suffrages of the people, by the high-priest, Dorotheus, and his assessors, Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, made publication as follows:

"Forasmuch as Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, high-priest and prince of the Jews, hath, upon all occasions, both public and private, as well in the generous reception of our ambassadors, as otherwise, given proof of a singular affection and esteem, both for our nation in general, and the citizens of Athens in particular, whereof we have received many instances; and forasmuch as we have received credible information from Theodotus, the son of Theodorus, of Sunium, of the virtue of the said excellent prince, and his friendly disposition to do us all good offices in his power; we have resolved to present him with the honorary acknowledgment of a crown of gold; to erect a brazen statue to him in the temple of the people and the graces to his memory; and to have it notified by proclamation, in all theatres and places of public exercises, and spectacles in honour of Bacchus, Minerva, Ceres, &c. that we have presented

Cæsar gives licence to Hyrcanus to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

Senate of Rome confirms the alliance with the Jews.

"I feared him with this crown out of a veneration for his virtue. And we do further will and require all our governors and magistrates to be diligent and assiduous in the effectual improvement of these our connections to the best advantage of our friends and associates, so long as this amity shall continue betwixt us; for the manifestation of our gratitude and justice toward all men of honour, and the encouraging of good offices toward us for the future. We do likewise order that a fit choice be forthwith made of ambassadors, from among the Athenians, to attend Hyrcanus in our name, with this our decree and presents."

Antipater
rejoices in the
will of Je-
rusalem.

When Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he took his departure, together with Antipater, who, immediately on his return to Jerusalem, gave orders for the repairing the walls which Pompey had demolished, and then took a tour throughout the different parts of the province, to establish good order and tranquillity among the people. He told them that, "If they observed a due obedience to Hyrcanus, they should enjoy plenty and happiness; but if they sought to gratify their private interests at the expence of the public good, by seditious practices and innovations, he would himself prove a rigid governor; and they would find in the person of Hyrcanus, instead of a mild and gracious prince, a cruel and unrelenting tyrant; and concluded with assuring them, that the Cæsars, and senate of Rome themselves, would become their implacable enemies, if they refused obedience to those who were set over them."

Antipater
rejoices in the
will of Je-
rusalem.

CHAP. XVII.

Antipater appoints his sons, Phasaël and Herod, to the government of Jerusalem and Galilee. Antipater incurs the envy of the Jews. Herod is accused before Hyrcanus. Proclamation in favour of the Jews.

Antipater
promotes
his sons,
Phasaël and
Herod.

BUT though Antipater, for political reasons, recommended great deference from the people to Hyrcanus, yet he was conscious of his incapacity to discharge the duties of his office, and was therefore determined to take every necessary precaution against any dangers that might arise in consequence thereof. To this end he appointed his eldest son, Phasaël, superintendant over Jerusalem, to the government of Galilee.

Herod, though but fifteen years of age, was of a pregnant genius, and enterprising spirit; nor was it long before he discovered himself to be capable of great undertakings. There happened, at this time, to be a gang of desperate robbers who infested Galilee, with the neighbouring parts of Cælo-Syria, committing the most horrid depredations wherever they went. The first instance of the prowess of Herod was upon this banditti, whom he pursued, engaged, and took, together with Ezechias, the commander in chief, and put him to death, as a terror to those who escaped, from the commission of the same crimes. This enterprize procured Herod a very distinguished share of reputation; and the people considered him as the man to whom they were indebted for the secure and happy enjoyment of their lives, liberties, and possessions. It likewise made him known to Sextus, kinsman to Cæsar the Great, who had the administration of Syria, and excited an emulation in his brother Phasaël, of endeavouring to obtain public favour by the uprightness of his conduct. He was, indeed, a man of public spirit, and so moderate in the exercise of his power, that he gained the general esteem of the people. The reputation of his conduct contributed not a little to increase that of Antipater, who experienced as high a degree of veneration as he could have done had he been actually the sovereign of the people: yet so far was he from being transported beyond the bounds of moderation by his great success, that he preserved, in the strictest manner, his fidelity to his friend Hyrcanus.

Herod dis-
tinguishes
himself in
his early life.

Herod's ex-
cellence in
public spirit
and moderation.

The wealth, power, and grandeur, of Antipater, the dignity of his family, and the veneration in which the people held him and his sons, created him many enemies among the leading men of the Jews, more especially when they found he was a favourite of the emperor, as well as with the people of Rome in general. They therefore endeavoured to traduce his character, and bring upon him the popular odium; to effect which, they insinuated that he had embezzled considerable sums of money, which he had received from Hyrcanus for the use of the Romans. But the principal thing which they alledged as the cause of their dissatisfaction, was the violent, daring, and ambitious temper of Herod; inasmuch, that, in the heat of their indignation, they went in a body to Hyrcanus, whom they haughtily addressed in words to this effect:

"Why will you be negligent, while every thing is going to destruction? Do you not perceive that Antipater and his sons divide the prerogatives and emoluments of the royal power, while you are prince only in title and name? Be cautious ere matters proceed too far; for, depend on it, your government and life are equally in danger. If you consider those youths as your deputies, you are mistaken; for, in fact, they are masters. Herod's treatment of Ezechias, and his companions, was a violation of public justice, it being murder to put a man to death without the ceremony of trial; however atrocious his crimes may have been: but Herod has exercised an arbitrary power, without the least pretence of authority for so doing, and therefore ought to be rendered amenable to justice for the iniquities he has committed."

Herod
is accused
before
Hyrcanus.

These complaints, added to the clamour of many women in the temple, who called daily upon prince and people for justice upon Herod for the murder of their children, induced Hyrcanus to appoint a day of hearing and trying the cause betwixt Herod and his accusers before a court of judicature. Herod obeyed the sovereign mandate, and went to Jerusalem, not altogether as a private man, but according to his father's precaution, attended only by such a train as was deemed necessary for the security of his person.

Sextus Cæsar, having conceived a great esteem for Herod, immediately interposed in his behalf, by dispatching messengers to Hyrcanus, adding menaces to request that he would dismiss the complaint exhibited against him. Herod, on his arrival at Jerusalem, appeared before the court, at the head of whom sat Hyrcanus. His appearance and retinue so awed that venerable assembly, that they all continued mute some time, no person attempting to bring the least charge against him, till at length one Sameas, a man too just to be corrupted, and too innocent to fear, arose, and thus addressed the court:

"I never (said he) before saw a prisoner at the bar behave in so bold and daring a manner, and I believe your observation and experience will hardly furnish you with such another instance. It has been formerly customary for people, in such a situation, to appear by their dress and behaviour, resigned to the legal enquiry that awaits them: but here is a culprit who seems to pride himself in his dress and attendants, which makes it appear as if public justice was more to be dreaded by the court than the criminal. Yet I censure not him for consulting his own safety rather than the respect due to the laws, so much as I do the king and the judges, who have permitted him to act in this manner. But remember that God is just and powerful; and the time is advancing when this man, whom you screen from the justice of the laws, will be a scourge to you all."

Speech of
Sameas
to the
court.

After Sameas had finished this speech, Hyrcanus, finding how the judges stood affected to the cause, and apprehending, from the countenances of the people in general, that Herod was in danger, adjourned the court till the following day, and, in the mean time, advised him to save himself by a private retreat.

Herod, at the advice of Hyrcanus, with-draws, and goes to Sextus Cæsar.

retreat. Herod took the advice of Hyrcanus, and immediately repaired to his friend Sextus Cæsar, who was then at Damascus, where he declared a full resolution, that if ever they cited him again to that court, he would disclaim their jurisdiction. This contempt of court excited the resentment of the judges, who endeavoured, by all means, to incense Hyrcanus against him; but though the matter was sufficiently evident, he was so pusillanimous, that he had not courage to take the necessary means to prevent it.

Hyrcanus was greatly embarrassed at this representation; but, on receiving information that Sextus had appointed Herod to the command of his troops in Syria, his fears increased to such a degree, that he was continually apprehensive that Herod meant to depose him. Nor was his apprehension without foundation; for Herod, exasperated at the indignity of being treated as a criminal, proceeded with an army towards Jerusalem, and would certainly have carried his design into execution, had it not been for the interposition of his father and brother, who, by their arguments, dissuaded him from so imprudent a proceeding. They besought him by no means to think of offering violence to his prince, to whose favour and countenance he was indebted for the dignified station he enjoyed. They told him, "That his indignation, at being accused, should, in a great measure, be appeased by the friendly advice of the king: that if he prided himself on his power, he should consider that the measure he was about to pursue, was not only unjust, but unprofitable: that the Divine protection could not be expected by that man who revolted against his sovereign; and that the prince he meant to oppose, was his sincere friend and generous benefactor, and one who had, in no instance, wronged him, except when irritated by the injurious suggestions of his enemies." Herod was so wrought upon by these arguments, that he repressed his indignation, waved his design of proceeding to hostilities, and returned with his army to Galilee.

Herod is dissuaded from pursuing his resentment.

An embassy from Hyrcanus to Cæsar.

Cæsar, on his return to Rome, made preparations for an expedition into Africa against Scipio and Cato, and was saluted, on the way, by ambassadors from Hyrcanus, requesting that he would ratify a former league of friendship and mutual alliance. This suggests the propriety of introducing, in this place, a formal account of the honours that the Roman emperors have paid to our nation, and the leagues of alliance they have formed with it, that it may be evident to the world, in what esteem we have been held by the kings of Asia and Europe, as tokens of our courage and fidelity. Though many will not credit the histories of the Persians and Macedonians, because they are not generally authenticated, none can dispute the decrees of the Romans, as they are still extant in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass. Besides this, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria: but, as a demonstration, I shall now cite the decrees made by the senate, and by Julius Cæsar, in honour of Hyrcanus in particular, and our nation in general.

" Caius Julius Cæsar, emperor, Pontifex Maximus, and the second time dictator, to the magistracy, senate, and the people of Sidon, greeting:

" I send you the copy of a letter of ours to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the prince and high-priest of the Jews, to be engraven upon a brass table, the inscription in Latin and Greek, and to remain among your registers for after-times. The letter itself in substance as follows:—

" Caius Julius Cæsar, emperor, Pontifex Maximus, and the second time dictator, hath, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed the publication of this decree:

" Forasmuch as Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, a Jew, hath at all times, as well in war as in peace, approved himself to be our trusty good

No. 19.

" friend and ally, as appeareth by several attestations of unquestionable credit, and particularly by the supply of fifteen hundred choice men, that he sent to Mithridates, to my assistance, in the late Alexandrian war: these services and good offices duly considered, I do hereby confirm and establish unto Hyrcanus and his heirs, the perpetual government of the Jews, both as their prince and high-priest, after the manner and method of their own laws; and, from this time forward, enroll them among my trusty and well beloved friends, and ratify an affinity with them as my associates. And it is my pleasure likewise, that all the legal pontifical rights and privileges be devolved upon him and his sons forever: and in case any controversy shall arise among the people concerning the Jewish discipline, himself and his family, in the course of succession, to be the only judges of it. It is moreover my will and pleasure, that the Jews be discharged the burden of winter-quarters, and of all public payments.

" It is ordered (Caius Cæsar being consul) that the government of the Jews shall descend from Hyrcanus to his heirs forever, with all the possessions, grants, and emoluments, belonging or annexed to the pontificate: the high-priest to have the judgment of all causes. And it is likewise appointed that ambassadors be forthwith sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest of the Jews, with instructions to treat about a friendly alliance with him: and that these particulars be fairly inscribed upon brazen tables in Latin and Greek, to be set up in the capitol at Tyre, Sidon, Ascalon, and in the temples, to the end that this our pleasure may be duly made known through all our dominions, and that none may pretend ignorance, and for the honour of our friends, and for a recommendation of their agents and ministers, to a singular respect and esteem in all places where they shall come.

" Caius Cæsar, emperor, dictator, and consul, taking into his consideration the honour, friendship, and good services of Hyrcanus, doth hereby, for the benefit and advantage of the senate and people of Rome, grant unto Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and to his sons after him, by an hereditary right of succession, the authority and office of princes and priests of Jerusalem, and of the whole nation of the Jews, to be by them exercised and enjoyed, in such manner as their ancestors enjoyed and exercised the said dignities before them.

" Caius Cæsar, the fifth time consul, hath ordained and appointed, that the city of Jerusalem shall be repaired and fortified; and that Hyrcanus, the prince and high-priest of the Jews, and the son of Alexander, shall have the administration of the government, with an abatement upon the duty, every second year, of a part of their taxes, an exemption from carriages, and other tributes.

" Caius Cæsar, emperor, hath likewise ordained that the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall pay a yearly tribute for itself, and all its dependencies, saving only the city of Joppa, with an exemption of all duty from the seventh year, which they call Sabbatical, or the Year of Rest, in which they neither sow, plant, or reap, either fruit or grain. And it is his pleasure also, that the Jews, in Sidon, pay a tribute, of the fourth part of their fruits, every second year, for a duty, beside the tenths to Hyrcanus and his sons, as they have paid formerly to their predecessors. And farther, that no governors, military officers, or ambassadors, presume to raise any soldiers, or impose any charges, upon the lands of the Jews, whether for winter-quarters, or upon any other pretext whatsoever; but that they may hold all their purchases and acquisitions peaceably and quietly to themselves, without any lett or molestation whatsoever. It is also our farther will and pleasure, that the city of Joppa, which the Jews were possessed of at their first entrance into an alliance with the Romans, remain under the government of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his family,

K k k

" with

“with all the revenues and advantages arising from it, whether upon husbandry, port-duties, taxes, customs, anchorage, impositions upon goods, and exportations of corn for Sidon, once in two years, saving only the sabbatical year, wherein (as it is laid before) they neither plough, plant, sow, reap, or gather. As to the villages that Hyrcanus and his ancestors formerly enjoyed in the Great Plain, it is the will of the senate, that they continue to Hyrcanus and the Jews in manner as before, and that the same laws and customs be still preserved and exercised betwixt them and the priests, and all advantages made good that had been formerly granted to them by the senate and the people of Rome; the same privileges extending even to Lyddia itself. And whereas the Romans had formerly bestowed upon the kings of Syria and Cilicia, certain lands and estates, in respect of an alliance betwixt them, it is the pleasure of the senate, that they still continue in the possession of Hyrcanus, the prince of the Jews. And farther, that he himself, his son, and his ambassadors, shall have places assigned them among the senators, to see the gladiators, and other public-spectacles; and that upon any occasion of applying themselves to the senate, the dictator, or master of the horse, shall introduce them to their audience, and an answer to be returned them within ten days, if the senate shall come to any resolution upon the matter.”

Caius Julius, the fourth time emperor, the fifth time consul, and perpetual dictator, makes the following mention of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the prince and the high-priest of the Jews.

“Whereas my predecessors, as well in the provinces as in the senate, have formerly borne witness to many honourable reports, on the behalf of the high-priest, Hyrcanus, and the generality of the Jews, who have thereupon received the thanks of the senate and people of Rome, in acknowledgment of their worth and goodness; we look upon these friendly offices and respects as obligations never to be forgotten, and upon ourselves as bound, in the name of the senate and people of Rome, to give Hyrcanus, his family, and countrymen, all possible demonstrations of the sense we have of their amity and esteem.”

“Caius Julius, dictator and consul, to the magistracy, senate, and body of the Parians, greeting:

“Whereas application hath been made unto us, at Delos, by great numbers of the Jews from several quarters, complaining against you in the hearing and presence of your own ambassadors, for barring the Jews the liberty of their country laws, and the free enjoyment of their rites and sacrifices; they having likewise shewed us the instrument of interdiction itself: these are to let you understand, that we will not suffer any such unreasonable rigour to be practised towards our friends and allies: but our pleasure is, on the contrary, that they be let alone in the free and peaceable enjoyment of their customs, festivals, and sacrifices; being no more than the allowance of a privilege which they enjoy in Rome itself: for, in the edict of Caius Cæsar, consul, prohibiting all public meetings and congregations in the city, the Jews alone were permitted to meet together: and I myself, in another case of prohibition, excepted the Jews likewise out of that restraint, and left them to their own ways and manners. Wherefore, if so it be, that you have passed any order to the prejudice of our allies, in the privileges that we have thought fit to allow them, it is but just and reasonable that you revoke and make void any such decree out of respect to us, and to them for our sakes, as they are our friends and allies.”

After the death of Cæsar, Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, being then consuls, called a

senate, and gave an audience to the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, upon the subject matter of their instructions, formed a new league with them, and came to a resolution, at last, in favour of all their demands. Dolabella, having received letters from Hyrcanus, took occasion, from thence, to send dispatches all over Asia, and particularly to Ephesus, the metropolis of that province, in terms to the following effect:

“The emperor * Dolabella to the magistrates, senate, and people, of Ephesus, greeting:

* Title of generals in those days.

“Whereas we are given to understand by Alexander, the son of Theodorus, and ambassador of Hyrcanus, the high-priest and prince of the Jews, in the name of the said Hyrcanus, that the Jews, being tied up by the religion, laws, and constitutions of their country, not to bear arms, travel, or so much as provide themselves necessaries for life, upon the day of their sabbath, are thereby rendered incapable of attending the duties and services of the war: we do, therefore, order and appoint, according to what our predecessors have done before us in the same case, that the said Jews be, from this time forward, exempted from all military charges, and permitted the liberty of meeting, worshipping, and sacrificing, according to their own rule and way. And hereof you are to cause due notice to be given through all the cities of your province.”

There are many decrees of the senate and emperors of the Romans of this kind; and others which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation. There are also decrees of particular cities, and rescripts of the Prætors to such epistles as concerned the rights and privileges of our nation. But it is apprehended that the specimens we have inserted, will be deemed sufficient by such as are disposed to judge with candour and liberality. We have produced marks still apparent of the friendship in which we have been held by the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, and preserved to this day as monuments of that alliance. To adduce more proofs would be both tedious and unnecessary. I shall, therefore, throw myself on the candour of the reader, presuming that no doubts can be entertained of facts confirmed by such demonstrative evidence, and so advert to the history.

Many decrees omitted as tedious.

C H A P. XVIII.

The murder of Julius Cæsar is followed by a civil war. Cassius and Herod join in horrible oppressions, Venality and perjury prevail.

ABOUT this time a sedition happened in Syria, upon the following occasion. Cæcilius Bassus entered into a plot upon the life of Sextus Cæsar, caused him to be put to death, and took possession of the province. This outrage was followed by a bloody war upon the borders of Apamia. The party attached to Julius Cæsar opposed Bassus with their utmost power, and were joined by Antipater and his sons, in honour to the memory of his illustrious benefactor, accounting himself bound, by every tie of justice, to take vengeance on the murderers of so generous a friend. During this contest Marcus came from Rome, to take upon him the government of Sextus; and, in the mean time, Brutus and Cassius, with a band of other conspirators, barbarously assassinated Julius Cæsar in the senate-house, after he had retained the imperial dignity for the space of three years and six months.

Upon the slaughter of Sextus, Bassus seized on the government.

Marcus succeeded in the government of Syria.

The death of Julius Cæsar occasioned shocking contentions and disorders among the subjects of the Roman empire. The heads of the people were divided into factions, and, regardless of the public welfare, acted according to their respective interests and passions, and an universal anarchy ensued. Cassius obtained the command of the army in Syria, which

Farther consequences of the death of Julius Cæsar.

which was then before Apania, and having soon brought over to his interest Marcus and Bassus, raised the siege. He then proceeded from place to place, collecting men, money, and arms, wherever he went; but the place he most oppressed was Judæa, on which he levied an enormous tax of betwixt seven and eight hundred talents of silver.

During this confusion, Antipater committed the care of gathering part of the money fixed on Judæa, to his two sons, while Malichus (who was next to him in power, and secretly his enemy) was concerned with others in collecting the rest. Herod, who was desirous of obliging the Romans, though at the injury of his countrymen, began with the most acceptable presents to Cassius, of the contributions of Galilee, as the first-fruits of his service. Several cities, under other governors, were exposed and sold to the best bidders, particularly Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamna, the inhabitants of which were, by order of Cassius, sold for slaves. He was particularly incensed against Malichus, and, for his neglect, formed a design of putting him to death, which he certainly would have done, had not Hyrcanus, by the hands of Antipater, pacified him with a present of an hundred talents out of his own coffers. But Cassius had no sooner left Syria, with the treasures he had collected, than Malichus concerted measures for the destruction of his generous benefactor, whom he considered as the only obstacle to his ambitious views. Antipater, entertaining a suspicion of his design, as a necessary caution, crossed the river Jordan, and placed himself at the head of as large a body of Jews and Arabians as he could collect together. Malichus, who was bold and artful, finding himself suspected, immediately went to Antipater and his sons, and, by perjury, attempted to prove his innocence. "Can it be imagined (said he) that I should be so weak as to think of a plot or conspiracy, when I knew that Herod had the command of the arms and magazines, and that Phasaël had the command of Jerusalem?" In consequence of this and other subterfuges, Antipater was prevailed on to form a reconciliation with the traitor. Marcus, who then held the government of Syria, was so incensed at the proceedings of Malichus, that, but for the intercession of Antipater, he would have put him to death.

CHAP. XIX.

Herod obtains the government of the Lower Syria. Antipater is treacherously taken off by Malichus.

AT this time a war commenced between Anthony and the younger Cæsar, (afterwards called Augustus); so that Cassius, sensible of the great talents of Herod, nominated him to the government of Cœlo-Syria, and appointed him a strong guard, both of horse and foot, promising, at the same time, that, after the war was over, he would promote him to the sovereignty of Judæa. The advancement of Herod proved of fatal consequence to his father; for Malichus, thinking that Antipater would by that means become still more powerful, resolved to dispatch him; and, to that end, taking the opportunity of Antipater's one day dining with Hyrcanus, he bribed the butler to put poison in his wine, with which he instantly expired, and Malichus, with an armed force, took possession of the city. Such was the end of Antipater, a man of strict probity, a friend to the distressed, and a true lover of his country.

When Herod and his brother heard of this barbarous murder upon the person of their father, they were greatly incensed against Malichus, who, in their own minds, they were convinced was the author of it. But Malichus had the confidence to forswear all, and stand upon his justification. Herod was desirous of wreaking instant vengeance on the head of the traitor; but his brother Phasaël dissuading him from that measure, through an unwillingness to disturb the public peace, they permitted him to make a defence, and assumed the appearance of

being satisfied of his innocence; after which they proceeded to the interment of their father, the ceremonies of which they caused to be performed with the most distinguished magnificence.

Herod now went to Samaria, and finding every thing in great disorder, made it his business to regulate matters, and settle all disputes among the inhabitants, by a regular course of law and justice. Soon after the arrival of Herod, there came on a solemn festival at Jerusalem, upon which occasion he advanced with his guards towards the city; but Malichus, being still under apprehension, persuaded Hyrcanus not to admit him, upon pretence that it would be a profanation of the holy religion, to communicate the ceremonies of their worship to strangers. But Herod treated the interdiction with contempt, and, in the night, gained admittance with his attendants. This circumstance alarmed Malichus, who, perceiving the necessity of an ambiguous behaviour, treated Herod with great apparent respect, and pretended to be exquisitely afflicted at the fate of Antipater. Herod and his friends saw through this hypocrisy, but deeming it expedient, for the present, to oppose dissimulation to dissimulation, affected to believe him sincere, and the next day, taking their leave, returned to Samaria.

CHAP. XX.

The murder of Antipater revenged on Malichus, at the instance of Cassius and Herod.

CASSIUS, to whom the character of Malichus was well known, immediately, on the news of the death of Antipater, enjoined Herod to seek revenge upon the head of the murderers, and, for that purpose, dispatched private orders to different commanders of his troops, that were then at Tyre, to afford such assistance as he should require. Soon after, in consequence of Laodicea being taken by Cassius, the people came thronging to him with presents to court his favour, so that Herod made no doubt of availing himself of that opportunity to gain his point. But Malichus, conscious of his own guilt, and suspecting the design of the other, formed a plan for getting his son from Tyre, where he then resided as an hostage, thinking if he could retreat with him into Judæa, the Jews might be tampered to a revolt, and he himself take advantage, while Cassius was engaged in a war with Anthony, of seizing on the government. But his project was frustrated through the sagacity and precaution of Herod, who sent out several officers beforehand, to meet Malichus and his train upon the way, under pretext of inviting him to an entertainment, but with orders to fall on and dispatch him with their daggers, as soon as he reached a certain spot. The officers, in obedience to the command given them by Cassius, readily complied with the injunction of Herod, waited the opportunity, and put the traitor Malichus to death. This alarming and sudden event so affected Hyrcanus, that he remained speechless and insensible for some time: but, on recovering himself, and enquiring into the particulars, Herod put an end to his curiosity, by assuring him, that it was all done by command of Cassius. Upon hearing this, Hyrcanus commended the action, as taking vengeance on a villain, capable of every design that could be injurious to individuals, or to society in general.

Cassius had no sooner left Syria, than great disturbances arose in Judæa; for Felix, with the troops under his command in Jerusalem, made a sudden attack upon Phasaël, and the people betook themselves to their arms in his defence. Herod applied himself to Fabius, the governor of Damascus, desirous of hastening to the assistance of his brother; but was prevented, for the present, by a prevailing indisposition. Phasaël, however, weathered the storm, and, with his own forces, drove Felix, and all his tumultuous party, out of Jerusalem, and forced them for sanctuary into a strong hold, whence they were dismissed on such terms as the conqueror thought proper

proper to impose. Phasaël reproached Hyrcanus with the highest ingratitude, in supporting an enemy after the services he had derived from him, and, in particular, giving the brother of Malichus possession of Massada, one of the strongest fortresses in the country. But Herod, upon his recovery, retook all the places that had been reduced by Felix, and brought him quietly to submit to his own terms.

C H A P. XXI.

Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, opposes, and is defeated by, Herod, who espouses Mariamne, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus.

Herod opposed by Antigonus.

HEROD had a more powerful enemy to subdue than Felix. Antigonus having entered into a design of opposing him, for that purpose raised a powerful army, and, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, engaged Fabius, governor of Damascus, to join him. He was also assisted by Mariion, who, through favour of Cassius, had obtained the command of Tyre, and power over all Syria, having settled several garrisons there, and three in Galilee itself. Herod, however, speedily reduced those places to submission: though he treated the Tyrians not only with lenity, but singular respect, conferring presents on many of them, as a token of the good-will he bore to their country. He then immediately advanced, and being met by Antigonus, at the head of his army, a desperate engagement ensued, in which Herod proved victorious, the army of his opponent being totally routed, great numbers slain, and the rest, with their conjunctive leaders, forced to a precipitate flight. After this conquest, Herod returned in triumph to Jerusalem, where he was received with universal acclamations of joy: for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus, being on the point of marriage with Mariamne*, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus. The nuptials were accordingly consummated; and Herod had, by this wife, three sons and two daughters: having had a former wife of his country, named Dores, by whom was born to him his eldest son, Antipater.

Antigonus totally routed.

Marriage of Herod with Mariamne.

C H A P. XXII.

Complaints brought by the Jews against Phasaël and Herod, who, having conciliated the favour, obtain the sanction, of Anthony, who will not admit of their charge. Edicts of Anthony respecting the Jews.

Phasaël and Herod are accused by the Jews.

DURING these transactions, a decisive battle took place near Philippi, in Macedonia, in which Cassius, having been defeated by Anthony and Augustus Cæsar, went into Gaul, and Anthony into Asia. When the latter arrived at Bithynia, he was attended by ambassadors from several princes and states in that part of the world, to congratulate him on his late success. Several of them alledged complaints against Phasaël and Herod, whom they accused of having usurped, and arbitrarily exercised, the sovereignty of Judæa, leaving Hyrcanus only the name of a king. But Herod pleaded his cause so powerfully, and enforced his arguments by the proper administration of a douceur to Anthony, that his adversaries could not obtain a hearing. Upon Anthony's arrival at Ephesus, Hyrcanus, and a body of the principal Jews, sent messengers to him with a crown of gold, and various other presents, at the same time requesting that their countrymen, who were carried prisoners by Cassius, contrary to the rules of war, might be set at liberty, and restored to those possessions of which they had been unjustly deprived. They also desired the sanction of

Herod evades trial.

letters from Anthony to the respective provinces in their favour.

Anthony, pleased with the compliment, and thinking the request made by the Jews strictly just and reasonable, readily complied, and, in consequence thereof, wrote to Hyrcanus and the Jews, and also dispatched an edict to the Tyrians, to the following effect:

“ Marcus Antonius, emperor, to Hyrcanus the high-priest, and prince of the Jews, greeting:

Edicts in favour of the Jews.

“ Whereas we have received from Lyfimachus, the son of Pausanias, Joseph, the son of Menæus, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors at Ephesus, fresh assurances of the continuance of your and your people's affection for us, according to what hath been formerly exhibited to us at Rome, in which commission they have faithfully and worthily acquitted themselves; and whereas we are abundantly satisfied with the sincerity of your intentions, more from the proof we have had of your good faith, than the force of words; we do heartily agree to your proposals, and embrace your friendship. Now the enemies, both of our self, and of the people of Rome, having laid waste and ravaged the whole country of Asia, without any regard to laws, oaths, promises, or contracts, we have turned our arms against these violators of all duties, sacred and civil; not for any particular interest of our own, but in vindication of the common cause of mankind; as in the case of the horrid murder of Cæsar, a crime most black and hideous. Such was the outrageous malice of the assassins at the battle of Philippi, where, having possessed themselves of all the strong places, up to the very sea, under the cover of almost impassable mountains, they were so posted, that there was only one way open to come at them: but, notwithstanding these difficulties, divine justice gave us so entire a victory over the sacrilegious rebels, that we beat Brutus and Cassius into the town; where, finding themselves begirt, they both perished together: so that having inflicted a just vengeance upon the heads of these monsters, we now hope to see peaceable days again, and Asia, that looks like a body already recovering out of a desperate distemper, by this relief, delivered finally from the outrages and calamities of a most devouring war. It shall be our care likewise to provide, that you and your people may come in for an ample share in the comfort of so great a blessing. To this end we have already dispatched away our mandates, from place to place, for the immediate discharge of all the Jews, as well bond as free, that had been exposed to sale by Cassius, or his order. And it is our farther pleasure, that you shall quietly enjoy to yourselves, and your heirs, all the graces and privileges unto you granted by myself and Dolabella, with an express inhibition to the Tyrians, that they give you no sort of molestation, and as positively commanding them to make full restitution of the goods and estates that hath been taken away from the Jews, declaring our acceptance also of the crown you were pleased to send.”

“ Marcus Antonius, emperor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, greeting:

“ Whereas we have been given to understand at Ephesus, by the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, the high-priest, and prince of the Jews, that, in the time when our enemies were in possession of this province, you entered upon the lands of several of this people for your own use: be it now known unto you, that, as we engaged in this war for the good of the empire, and for the maintenance of justice, against a band of lawless rebels,

* She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, by Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus. She was a lady of extraordinary beauty and distinguished virtue, and, in all other laudable qualifications, accomplished beyond most women of her time; but the real motive for Herod's desiring

to make her his wife was, because the Jews, at that time, had a very zealous regard for the Asmonean family, (that is, the descendants of the Maccabees), and therefore he thought that by marrying this lady, he should the more easily obtain the general affections of the people.

"so we do hereby will and require you, not only to live in peace and amity with our allies, but also to restore to the former proprietors whatever you have of theirs, that was taken from them by the hands of our enemies, who, as they had no manner of right thereunto themselves, by any commission or authority from the senate, so neither could they convey any right to others, upon whom they pretended to bestow it, being only the mercenary instruments of their violence and usurpation. And now having brought our adversaries to condign punishment, we find it reasonable to re-establish our allies in the full and quiet enjoyment of their estates: wherefore, if you have in your hands, at present, any lands, or estates, formerly belonging to Hyrcanus, the prince of the Jews, which you came to be seized of in the time, or under the countenance, of Cassius's invasion, it is our will that they be forthwith delivered up to the persons from whom they were taken, without any opposition or delay; and in case of any doubt or difficulty that may arise upon the equity of the matter, it shall be our care, when we come into those parts, to hear both sides, and to do impartial justice."

"Mark Anthony, emperor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, greeting:

"I have sent you my mandate, which you are to see carefully transcribed in Latin and Greek, and exposed upon a table among your records, in a public place, where all people may take notice of it." And again,

"Marcus Antonius, emperor and triumvir, &c. as follows:

"Whereas Caius Cassius, taking advantage of our troubles and distractions, brake in, with a body of troops, upon a province with which he had no concern, and without the least colour of any warrantable title or pretension, ravaging and destroying the country and the whole nation of the Jews, though our dear friends and allies, and continuing those outrages, till, by our arms, we brought down the pride and insolence of these presumptuous usurpers; it is our express will and command now, for the reparation of all these indignities, (so far as in us lies,) to ordain and appoint, that restitution, or satisfaction, be forthwith made to our allies the Jews, for whatsoever hath been forcibly taken from them, and the persons of all their prisoners to be set at liberty: and we do likewise require that this our decree be punctually observed, upon pain of our utmost displeasure."

Anthony wrote to the same purpose also to the people of Sidon, Antioch, and Arad, which we think proper to mention in this place, that posterity may know what honour and respect our nation has received, from time to time, from the state of Rome.

C H A P. XXIII.

Fresh charges alledged against Herod and Phasaël. The cause is tried. Herod retaliates on his accusers.

WHEN Anthony, after this, came into Syria, he was met and saluted, on the way, by Cleopatra, where he became enamoured of her person and accomplishments.

Notwithstanding the repulse which the enemies of Phasaël and Herod had met with, no less than one hundred of the most eminent persons amongst the Jews repaired in a body to Anthony, with com-

(a) The word Tetrarch, which sometimes occurs in Scripture, (as in Matt. xiv. 1. Luke iii. 1, 19. ix. 7. Acts xiii. 1.) and is frequently used among the descendants of Herod the Great, signifies a Lord that has the fourth part of a state, province, or kingdom, without wearing a diadem, or bearing the title of a king. But it must not be always understood in a rigorous sense, because the name of Tetrarch was given to him who possessed sometimes an half, and sometimes a third, part of any principality; nay, frequently the name of King was given to him who was but a Tetrarch, and that of a Kingdom to a Tetrarchy.

plaints and accusations against them, and the most eloquent speakers were appointed to urge their complaints. Anthony now thought proper to give them an hearing. The defence of the two brothers was undertaken by Messala and Hyrcanus, who, at this time, by marriage, was become father-in-law to Herod. The cause was tried at Daphne; and Anthony, after a full hearing of both parties, demanded of Hyrcanus, whom he considered as most perfectly qualified for public administration? He replied, that he knew no persons so capable of government as Phasaël and Herod. This declaration was highly satisfactory to Anthony, who still held in grateful recollection the friendly reception, and liberal entertainment, he had received from their father Antipater, at the time Gabinius invaded Judæa, in token of which he conferred upon them both the dignity of Tetrarchs, (a) and committed to them the public affairs of Judæa. He also wrote several letters in their favour, and imprisoned fifteen of their most violent persecutors, with a resolution to have put them to death; but Herod, by his mediation, diverted the resolution.

This act of candour in Herod had very little weight with his adversaries, who were no sooner dismissed, than they concerted new schemes for his destruction. When Anthony arrived at Tyre, they dispatched no less than a thousand of their principal men with accusations of the like nature as before against the brothers. But they had already formed so powerful an interest by dint of presents, that Anthony sent his orders to the magistracy of the place to assist Herod in the support of his authority, and to do justice on the Jewish messengers, as seditious innovators, who had a design of subverting the government. Herod, however, on this occasion, gave an additional instance of his moderation, in repairing to the deputies as they were advancing up to the city, and advising them, by all means, to withdraw themselves in time. Hyrcanus enforced the advice of Herod, and desired them to depart, to prevent the mischiefs that might attend their persisting in their appeal: but this turbulent faction, in spite of all remonstrance and advice, persisted in their resolution, till they were set upon, and overborne, by multitudes both of Jews and inhabitants, who killed and wounded great numbers of them, and dispersed the rest. Notwithstanding the rigour which was found necessary to suppress such outrageous proceedings, many of the common people persisted in their invectives and exclamations against Herod, which irritated Anthony to such a degree, that he commanded the fifteen who were imprisoned to be put to death.

The matter is brought to trial.

Appeal made to Hyrcanus, who determines in favour of the brothers.

The malevolence of Herod's accusers.

They persist in their charge, and are severally punished.

C H A P. XXIV.

Antigonus tampers with the Parthians to depose Hyrcanus, and put the brothers to death. Divers adverse circumstances attend them in consequence of the contention of parties.

IN the year following Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, and Barzapharnes, a chief commander of that country, possessed themselves of Syria; and Ptolemy Mannæus dying at the same time, his son Lyfanius succeeded him, having contracted a particular friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, by means of Barzapharnes, who held him in great esteem.

Antigonus, who had long looked upon Herod with an eye of jealousy, had established an interest among the most leading persons of the Parthian nation, and contracted with them, for a thousand talents, and five hundred women, on their deposing Hyrcanus, putting him and all his party to death, and receiving him for governor in his stead.

Though the sum promised was not deposited, the

The Parthians, at the instance of Antigonus, enter Judæa.

They are joined by a number of Jews.

Parthians embarked in the undertaking, and marched with an army against Judæa; Pacorus at the head of one body, by the way of the coast, and Barzapharnes, the general, at the head of another, through the inland parts. The Tyrians opposed the entrance of Pacorus into the city; but the people of Sidon and Ptolemais opened their gates. Upon this he detached a troop of horse upon the scout, to take a view of the state of the country, and reinforce Antigonus, if occasion should require it. The Jews of Mount Carmel espoused his interest, by whole assistance he was induced to think he should become possessed of that part of the country which they call Drymæ. At the instance of others who came over to him, and thereby considerably augmented his force, he advanced even to Jerusalem itself, with a resolution to attack the brothers, Phasaël and Herod, in the royal palace. But a considerable part of their adherents fell upon them in the market-place, and driving them from their post, they fled into the temple. Herod placed a guard about the adjacent premises, for the better security of the sacred edifice; but the multitude impetuously breaking in, set fire to the buildings, and consumed both them and the guards. Herod, however, soon avenged himself on his seditious adversaries, in a defeat he gave them, with very great slaughter.

The partisans of Antigonus seize on both city and temple.

The brothers make a gallant resistance, and repulse the enemy.

Pacorus gains entrance into Jerusalem.

Lays a snare for Phasaël, who is cautioned by Herod.

They went on skirmishing from day to day, till the approach of the feast of Pentecost, for which the party of Antigonus waited with great impatience, on account of the vast numbers of people who resorted thither upon that solemnity. When the time came, many thousands were gathered together about the temple, some with arms, and others without. Indeed, they had seized on both city and temple. Herod still maintained the palace with a small party; the charge of the walls and the outworks being committed to Phasaël. The enemy, having posted themselves in the suburbs, Herod made a desperate sally upon them, in which he did great execution, driving several thousands before him, some into the temple, and some into the city, and forcing others to take sanctuary behind a rampart that was near at hand, while Phasaël acquitted himself as became a man of valour.

Pacorus in the mean time entered the city, at the instance of Antigonus, with a small party, under pretence of quelling the sedition, but, in reality, to effect the purpose for which the Parthians had contracted with him. Phasaël received him and his party courteously, which the other requited with an insidious practice upon his life; for he prevailed on him to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes, in order to ensnare him. But Herod was so averse to every idea of accommodation, that he advised his brother to cut off Pacorus and his whole party, to prevent further mischief, being well assured of the perfidy of the barbarians with whom they were engaged in a contest.

However, through some fatality, Hyrcanus and Phasaël went on the embassy, under the conduct of Pacorus, leaving a guard of two hundred horse with Herod, and ten of those people they call *freemen*. Upon their arrival at Galilee, the commanders of the several garrisons met them with their arms, but received them courteously, and none more so than Barzapharnes, though he was designed as one of the principal instruments of the plot. Phasaël and his train were conducted to a quarter upon the sea-side, where, being given to understand that the Parthians were to receive a thousand talents, and five hundred women, of Antigonus, to assist him against them, they became apprehensive of the design, in which they were presently after confirmed by notice given to Phasaël of their intention that very night, and there being a guard in readiness to seize on his person.

The plot is frustrated.

The plot would certainly have been carried into execution, had they not waited for the intelligence of Herod's being secured at Jerusalem by the Parthians, as had been previously concerted; for they inferred, that, if the other two had been secured first, it would of course afford Herod opportunity to escape.

The veracity of the information was soon evident, from the coming up of the guards who were to execute the design. Upon the discovery, Phasaël was advised to take horse, and betake himself to immediate flight. Ophellius, a man of the first rank and fortune in Syria, had detected the plot, and living near the sea, offered him the convenience of shipping for his departure. But Phasaël was too generous to abandon his friends in their distress, and chose rather to go to Barzapharnes, and reproach him with the indignity of so foul a practice, by representing to him, that, as money had been his object, so he was better able to gratify him than Antigonus; that he might have avoided entering on the commission of so horrid a deed on the persons of ambassadors, in violation of the laws of good faith, hospitality, and nations. The barbarian had the hardness to deny the foundation of his suspicion, affirming that it was mere conjecture, and then went to Pacorus, his confederate in the design.

Barzapharnes is reproached with perfidy, but denies the charge.

CHAP. XXV.

Hyrcanus and Phasaël are taken up by the Parthians. Herod's flight. Jerusalem besieged. Antigonus obtains the government. Phasaël destroys himself. Divers instances of the magnanimity of Herod.

BARZAPHARNES had no sooner departed, than a party of armed men took Phasaël and Hyrcanus into custody, amidst their exclamations against the perfidy of the Parthians. An eunuch was also dispatched to apprehend Herod, if they could decoy him out of his palace. But Herod, having intelligence of the perfidious conduct of the Parthians, eluded their designs, and immediately went and remonstrated with Pacorus, and his principal officers, on their ignominious proceedings, who also had the hardness to disclaim all concern in the plot, though they had been privy to every manœuvre. They told him, that "he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those who were bringing him his letters; for they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the success of Phasaël." But having heard so much of his brother's ill usage, and being confirmed in his suspicion of the Parthians, from the opinion of Alexandra, a woman of singular prudence, and whose daughter he was to marry, Herod governed himself by her caution and advice, in preference to all others. Upon this occasion the Parthians deliberated on the measures that were proper to be taken, not deeming it expedient to make an open attempt upon a person of such rank and eminence. But Herod, reflecting on the present distracted state of things, as well as the perfidy of the Parthians towards his brother, resolved to take advantage of the dusk of the evening to attempt his escape. He took with him all the troops he had about him, his mother, sister, and Mariamne, his contracted spouse, the daughter of Alexander, and niece of Aristobulus, with his wife's mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, the youngest brother, and the rest of the family. This was a spectacle that must have affected the most obdurate heart; for who, without commiseration, could have beheld the women, with their infant children, lamenting their fate, in abandoning their country, and being subject to the most poignant calamities that could befall human nature.

Hyrcanus and Phasaël are apprehended by the Parthians.

They follow their steps upon Herod.

Herod's caution.

He flies by night.

But Herod sustained this reverse of fortune with incredible magnanimity, and, by his advice and example, endeavoured to animate his friends and companions. He told them there was no hope, either of safety or of life, but in flight; and observed, that grief and despair were not only fruitless, but would be obstacles to their pursuing the means of their deliverance. Upon these words they formed a resolution necessary for the present occasion. They had not proceeded far, when an unfortunate accident happened in the overthrow of one of the carriages, that endangered the life of his mother. This disaster affected him to so great a degree, from the tender regard he had for his parent, and the apprehensions of being overtaken by the enemy through the delay

Caution on his journey.

delay it occasioned, that he had certainly cast himself upon the point of his own sword, had he not been prevented by his friends about him, who represented to him, that so rash an action would expose them to the fury of their enemies, and that it was not becoming a brave man to give way to despair. He then prosecuted his journey to the castle of Massada, with the utmost speed possible, though pressed on his passage by the Parthians, with whom he had many skirmishes, but still got the better. He was pursued by the very Jews themselves, who, coming up with him, when he had proceeded about threescore furlongs in his way from Jerusalem, assaulted him, but were repulsed and put to the rout.

When he afterwards came to be king of Judæa, he erected a famous palace upon the spot of ground where he obtained this victory; and built a city, which he called by the name of Herodium. Coming afterwards to Resa, in Idumæa, he was met by his brother Joseph, with whom he consulted on the most expedient means of getting rid of the multitude of useless and superfluous people they had in their train, as the castle of Massada, which they had fixed upon as their retreat, could not contain the whole body. He therefore dismissed about 9000, to provide, in the best manner they could, for themselves, up and down in Idumæa, and gave them money to purchase provisions, till they could find some residence. He took those who were fit for action, together with his near relations, into the castle, where he disposed of the women and their families, to the number of about 800 persons, and leaving them a competence of provision, hastened to Petra, the capital of Arabia.

As soon as the Parthians understood that Herod had fled from the city, they seized on all that he left behind him, and plundered the houses of the principal people, who had left them for the safety of their persons. They made booty of all the property they could find, and even seized the treasure of the royal palace; but the spoil was not so considerable as they expected; for Herod, being sensible of their rapacious disposition, had the precaution to remove his most valuable treasures; and his example was followed by all those who attended him to Massada.

Having plundered Jerusalem and the adjacent country, the Parthians put Antigonus in possession of the government, and then delivered to him Hyrcanus and Phasael in bonds. But the escape of the women was a mortifying disappointment to him, as the Parthians were, by contract, to receive the women with money. As for Hyrcanus, Antigonus ordered that both his ears should be cut off, in order that he might be incapacitated for ever after from becoming high-priest; blemished or maimed persons being deemed ineligible to the pontifical dignity. Phasael, knowing that his death was determined, put a voluntary end to his life and sufferings; and not having the liberty of his hands to dispatch himself, such was his resolution, that he beat out his brains against the walls of the prison. Some affirm that the contusion was not mortal; and that the surgeons appointed by Antigonus, under pretence of assisting him, were in truth to dispatch him; and that they applied poison to the wound instead of remedies. He lived long enough, however, to understand that his brother Herod was at that time safe, and out of the hands of his adversaries, which made his death more welcome to him, in the satisfaction of leaving one behind him that would avenge his blood upon the heads of his adversaries.

In the mean time Herod, so far from sinking under his misfortunes, seemed the better disposed to encounter them. His first application was to Malchus, king of Arabia, to borrow a sum of money of him, in his present state of distress, either upon credit and consideration, or upon the score of bounty and humanity; not doubting of a fair and friendly return from a prince who was already indebted to him for many signal obligations. At this time Herod was unacquainted with the death of his brother; and his principal view in going to the king of Arabia, was to obtain a sum of money from him

for his ransom, taking a son of Phasael's along with him as a security for the return of the money. But all his expectations proved abortive; for, before he reached Petra, he received a message from Malchus desiring him immediately to depart his dominions, as the Parthians were absolutely against receiving him. His answer was that he did not come with a view to put any person to trouble or expence, but to treat upon some important affairs of his own. Upon reflection, however, he thought it most prudent to depart, and therefore proceeded in his way to Egypt. In the evening of the first day he met with a number of people, who had taken shelter in a castle, and were friends to his interest; and the day following he arrived at Rhynocura, where he received the first information of the ill-treatment of Hyrcanus, and of the death of his brother Phasael.

In the mean time Malchus, being touched with remorse at his ingratitude towards Herod, dispatched messengers after him to solicit his return; but as he had reached Pelusium, he found that it was too late to repair the injury he had done him. The inhabitants of Pelusium refused him the liberty of embarking from that place; upon which he applied to the magistrates of the town, who granting him permission to take what course he pleased, he set sail for Alexandria. Cleopatra, who was at this time there preparing for an important enterprize, gave him an honourable and magnificent reception, in order to induce him to take up his residence there for some time; but he was so desirous of proceeding to Rome, that the earnest intreaties of the queen, the extremity of the season, and the danger of the seas, could not divert him from his purpose.

He accordingly left Alexandria, and, after a very hazardous voyage, at length landed at Rhodes, where he found public affairs in a very embarrassed state. He was here received in a very generous and hospitable manner by two friends, named Sappinas and Ptolemy; and though he was greatly distressed for want of money, yet he procured a vessel to convey him to Brundisium, from whence he repaired with all possible expedition to Rome. Upon his arrival he repaired to Anthony, to whom he related an account of all his adventures in Judæa, the seizure and murder of his brother Phasael, the imprisonment of Hyrcanus, and the contract of paying the Parthians a thousand talents, and presenting them with five hundred women, upon the advancement of Antigonus to the government through their assistance. He represented that, with much difficulty, he had effected the escape of the women, by night, into a place where they were since besieged, and in hourly expectation of falling into the hands of the enemy; and, having recited these particulars, earnestly intreated some assistance, that he might recover the right which Anthony had himself bestowed on him, and of which he had been unjustly and cruelly deprived by his enemies.

CHAP. XXVI.

Herod obtains the favour and interest of Augustus and Anthony. Is chosen king of Judæa. Honourably conducted to the capitol. Massada besieged by Antigonus, and hard pressed.

THE melancholy story of Herod's adventures excited the tenderest compassion in Anthony, who recollecting the former friendship that had subsisted, first with his father, Antipater, and afterwards with him, and at the same time, being exasperated against Antigonus, whom he looked upon as a man of a busy, turbulent spirit, and a professed enemy to Rome, determined to espouse the interest of Herod with all his powers. Augustus concurred likewise with Anthony in promoting his desire, partly on the score of acknowledgment for former services, and partly for the sake of the friendship that had subsisted between the two families; for his father and Antipater had served together in a military capacity in Egypt: he wished also to gratify Anthony, by serving the person of his recommendation.

The

The Parthians plunder the palace of Jerusalem.

Antigonus gains the government.

Phasael is to be killed.

Phasael puts end to his life.

Herod applies to the king of Arabia.

Is repulsed.

Goes for Egypt.

Herod embarks for Rome.

Arrives at Rome, and relates his whole adventures to Anthony.

Herod's cause espoused by Anthony & Augustus.

The matter was soon after brought before the senate; upon which occasion Messala and Atratenus presented Herod with a singular recommendation to their favour and esteem; both for his own and his father's services, and good affection to the state of Rome. At the same time they reproached Antigonus, not only for his past misdemeanours, but his late acceptance of the government from the hands of the Parthians, in contempt of the authority of the Romans. When the minds of the senate were inflamed by these representations, Anthony took occasion to give his opinion, that, considering the state of the present war with the Parthians, they could not do better than constitute Herod king of Judæa. The motion passed the assembly without opposition, and a decree was issued accordingly. This was an honour great beyond conception; and Herod's obligation to Anthony, in procuring it, much the more binding, for being conferred upon him, not only beyond his expectation, but likewise the rule of ordinary practice; for it was not the custom of the Romans to bestow royal dignities but upon the branches of royal families: nor did his ambition aspire to any thing more than to obtain it for Alexander, the brother of Mariamne, the nephew of Aristobulus, by the father's side, and of Hyrcanus, by the mother's, whom he caused afterwards to be put to death. This elevated promotion was effected in the space of only seven days, when Herod was presented with his royal commission.

He is unanimously voted king of Judæa by the Roman senate.

Upon the breaking up of the assembly, Anthony and Cæsar took Herod out of the senate-house betwixt them, accompanied by the consuls of the senators, who conducted him to the capitol, where they were to sacrifice in form, and deposit their decrees. Anthony congratulated the new king on his accession at a most splendid entertainment, upon the first day of his reign, in the 184th olympiad; Caius Domitius Salvinus, and Caius Ainius Pollio, consuls.

Attended in solemn form to the capitol.

Antigonus, ever since the departure of Herod, had laid close siege to the fortreis of Massada, where the garrison had plenty of all sorts of provision, water only excepted, of which they were in such want, that Joseph, Herod's brother, with a party of two hundred chosen men, had formed a resolution of making a sally out of the town, and attempting to force their way through the enemy, in order to get to the Arabians, being well informed that Malchus had repented of his late inhospitable behaviour to Herod. But, at the very interim, there fell so copious a shower of rain, that it filled all their cisterns and receptacles for water; so that, upon this seasonable supply, they maintained their defence with re-animated vigour, determined by no means to abandon the place. Indeed, this wonderful interposition of Providence inspired them with such resolution, that scarce a day or a night passed without a successful sally upon the enemy.

Massada closely besieged by Antigonus.

At the same time Ventidius, a Roman general, drove the Parthians out of Syria, and went afterwards into Judæa, under pretence of bringing succour to Joseph, but, in reality, to obtain money from Antigonus, which he fully accomplished by drawing his troops towards Jerusalem. Having carried his point, he drew the greater part of them off again, leaving only a small remainder under the command of Silo, to give colour to the stratagem; for Antigonus was under a necessity of coming to a composition with him, lest he should annoy him before the arrival of the Parthians, whom he expected to come up to his assistance.

Ventidius goes into Judæa.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod encounters Antigonus, and performs many valiant feats. Publishes an amnesty in Jerusalem. Suppresses a mutiny amongst the soldiers. Reduces Galilee. Surprising resolution of a man, who destroyed himself, his wife, and children, rather than accept of an act of grace. A number of Jews mas-

sacred by Machabeus. Herod repairs to Anthony, and is honourably received. His brother Joseph falls gallantly at the head of his troops. Herod lays siege to Jerusalem.

HEROD, having settled his affairs thus prosperously, left Rome, and landing at Ptolemais, with a considerable body both of his own people and auxiliaries, proceeded, by the way of Galilee, towards Antigonus. Silo and Ventidius had orders brought them from Anthony, to assist Herod in taking possession of the kingdom; but it so fell out that the latter was employed in quieting the tumults which an incursion of the Parthians had raised in several of the cities. Silo, indeed, was in Judæa, but had been bribed by Antigonus. Herod's army, however, increased very much on the march; and the far greater part of Galilee had declared in his favour. The object on which he was most intent was the raising the siege of Massada, in order to set his friends and relatives at liberty, who were blockaded therein. But Joppa was a main obstacle, and would be such a check upon him in his advancing towards Jerusalem, that its reduction was indispensable.

Herod advances against Antigonus.

Silo, upon this, marched off, and being closely pursued by the Jews, Herod fell in upon them with a small party, routed them, and brought off Silo just as he was falling into their hands. After this he made himself master of Joppa, and immediately posted to the relief of his friends in Massada, where the people resorted to him in great numbers; some for his father's sake, others for his own; some again from a sense of the obligations they had to both; but the major part from the hope of ingratiating themselves with the new king.

Reduces Joppa.

Antigonus, in the mean time, had laid several ambushes for him in his way, though with little effect; for Herod, as soon as he had raised the siege of Massada, relieved his friends, and taking the castle of Refa, he advanced directly towards Jerusalem with Silo's troops, and a great number of citizens, who stood in awe of his power, to attend him. He encamped with his army upon the west quarter of the town, where the defendants galled him as much as possible with arrows, darts, and vigorous sallies. Herod, in the mean time, made a formal proclamation by his herald, from place to place, round the walls of the town, that his sole design, in that enterprize, was the public good, and welfare of the city; and that he was so far from having any injury in contemplation, that he was ready to grant an indemnity, without exception, to any persons whatever, let their crime or indignity have been ever so notorious.

Raises the siege of Massada.

Takes Refa, and advances towards Jerusalem.

Issues a proclamation of indemnity.

Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, declared, in the presence of Silo, and the Roman soldiers, that it was highly unjust and unreasonable to pretend the advancing to the throne a private man, an Idumæan, a kind of half Jew, since it was totally repugnant to their established law, and right of succession. With respect to himself, he observed, that if they took any offence at his receiving the crown from the hands of the Parthians, and for that cause were induced to depose him from the dignity, there were others of the royal and sacerdotal line, who had deserved as well from the Romans, and had as fair a title to the government, and that, therefore, it would be an act of the highest injustice to deprive them of it.

Is highly reproached by Antigonus.

From these reproaches they came at length to acts of open hostility, inasmuch, that Antigonus commanded his men to force the assailants from the walls, which they did so effectually, by plying them with darts and arrows, that they were compelled in general to retire. It was now no longer a doubt but that Silo was corrupted; for he had so tampered with divers of his officers, that they encouraged the soldiers to mutiny, on pretence of the want of forage and provisions, more commodious quarters, and better pay. These seeming obstacles gave great uneasiness to Herod, who thought it prudent to apply, not only to Silo's officers, but likewise the common soldiers,

The soldiers are incited to mutiny.

foldiers, being fearful lest a general revolt should take place, and his expedition, instead of being attended with success, prove destructive to him and his adherents. He accordingly represented to them, that he had received his commission from Cæsar, Anthony, and the senate; and encouraged them to stand their ground and maintain their station, resting satisfied with this assurance, that they should want nothing they could reasonably desire for their satisfaction. He then appointed commissaries to procure a supply of provisions, which were immediately distributed in great abundance; and, in order to guard against a scarcity in future, he wrote for cattle, corn, oil, wine, and other necessaries, to be sent from Samaria, which was then under his protection.

But notwithstanding all this, he found some inconveniencies from the treachery of Silo, who giving notice to Antigonus of all that passed, he, with flying parties and ambuscades, about Jericho, and the crags of the mountains, frequently intercepted and cut off the convoys that were designed for the united army. Herod, on the other side, was as watchful on his part, and, with ten companies, one half Romans, the other Jews, together with a body of mercenaries, and a few troops of horse, proceeded towards Jericho. Upon his arrival he found the town abandoned, and that five hundred of the inhabitants, with their families, had sought refuge amongst the mountains.

The Romans rifled the city; and the booty, in money, jewels, and other articles, amounted to an inestimable value. After stationing a garrison in the place, he returned with his forces, assigning his army their quarters in his new conquests, as Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus, through the prevailing influence of gold, wrought upon Silo, so that part of the Roman army, through his means, might be quartered in Lydda, thinking thereby to conciliate the favour of Anthony.

But Herod, who could not remain inactive, dispatched his brother into Idumæa, with 1000 foot and 400 horse; and went himself to Samaria, where he provided for his mother, and the rest of his kindred, that he brought from Massada, and then proceeded to Galilee, to take in some garrisons which were then in the possession of Antigonus. Coming up to Sepphoris in a deep snow, he found the place wholly abandoned, but abounding with provision of every kind. The adjacent country being infested with robbers, who, from the fastnesses of the mountains, greatly annoyed the neighbourhood, Herod ordered out a squadron of horse, and three companies of foot, to drive them from their lurking places. About forty days afterwards he marched against them with his whole army, upon which they drew out, and made so vigorous a charge, that Herod's left wing gave way, till, upon a victorious reinforcement, with Herod himself at the head of it, he brought his own men on again, put the adversaries to a total rout, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan. This overthrow brought all Galilee over to Herod, those only excepted who had sheltered themselves in the recesses of the mountains. The intended operations being now over, Herod ordered the common soldiers an hundred and fifty drachmas a man, and the officers a sum in proportion to their rank, and they were dismissed to their winter quarters. Silo and his officers, who had been hitherto billeted upon Antigonus, now gave Herod to understand, that he not only refused to allow them more than one month's entertainment, but sent orders to all the country around to convey what they had to the mountains, and carry off, in fine, all the necessaries of life, so that the Romans might be starved out of their quarters. But Herod prevented this mischief, by committing the charge of providing for the army to his younger brother, Pheroras, with orders also to repair the fort of Alexandrion, which then lay in ruins; in both which commissions he acquitted himself much to his reputation.

Anthony was now at Athens, and Ventidius in Syria, where he ordered Silo to join him, with the

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auxiliary troops of the Parthians; but first to assist Herod, if occasion should require. Herod, however, sent away Silo and his people to Ventidius, and marched himself against the rovers, who lay lurking in their hiding places up and down the hills. These free-booters had so sheltered themselves in the caves and holes of the mountains, that it was no easy matter to come at them; because the deepness and cragginess of the mountains, made it impossible either to scale them from below, or from above to get down to them by any passage; and therefore, to ferret them out of their caves, Herod bethought himself of the following expedient: he caused several large cases, or chests of wood, to be made, and filling them with soldiers, let them down into the entrances of the caves, by chains from engines he had fixed above, by which means he either destroyed all that lurked in them, or reduced them to terms of submission. Desirous, however, to prevent a general destruction, Herod ordered proclamation to be made, that the lives of those who surrendered should be spared; in consequence of which they submitted in great numbers, and laid down their arms.

Many, however, rejected the offer; and some, who were even made prisoners, preferring death to the loss of liberty, put an end to their lives. There was, in particular, an aged man, whose wife and seven sons had intreated his permission to surrender themselves to the enemy, and the old man complied with their request; but planting himself at the entrance of the cave, he stabbed them one after another as they attempted to pass. He then cast their bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, choosing rather to lose his life than his liberty. Before he proceeded to this act of despair, he reproached Herod with the meanness of his extraction; though he endeavoured, by signs and intreaties, to divert the man from his purpose, but without effect.

Herod, supposing he had suppressed these depredations, deputed the government of that part of the country to Ptolemy, and marched at the head of 600 horse, and 3000 foot, into Samaria, with a design to bring Antigonus to a decisive battle. Ptolemy's command proved fatal to him; for he was let upon, and slain, by a party of those people who had formerly raised the tumults in Galilee. Upon the committing of this outrage, they betook themselves to places almost inaccessible for refuge, and from thence ravaged the whole country as opportunity offered: but Herod, on his return, retaliated the injuries their neighbours had sustained from them; for some he caused to be slain, and forced out of their strong holds, and put to torture, as well as their fortifications to be demolished; and when he had thus freed himself from his most formidable enemies, he imposed a fine of an hundred talents upon those cities who were suspected to harbour them.

The Parthians, in the mean time, having been overcome, with the loss of their king, Pacorus, in the action, Ventidius, according to his instructions from Anthony, sent away Machæras to Herod, with a reinforcement of two legions, and a thousand horse. But Machæras, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, was absolutely for going to him, under pretext of giving intelligence, and making discoveries. Finding, however, at his approach, that Antigonus was so far from trusting or admitting him, that he ordered his people to keep him off with slings and darts, he was convinced of the propriety of Herod's advice in dissuading him, and his own error, in not complying with it. Hereupon he returned to the city of Emmaus, and in the fury of his rage, put all the Jews to the sword he found in his way, without distinction of friend or foe. Herod was so irritated at this wanton barbarity, that he hastily withdrew to Samaria, with a resolution to inform Anthony of the outrage, and give him to understand, that he was sufficient of himself to cope with Antigonus, without the assistance of such as were more injurious to their own party than to the enemy. As he was advancing, Machæras

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posted

Extirpates the robbers who dwell in the caves.

Desperate act of a veteran robber

Herod proceeds to Samaria.

Ptolemy is slain by a party of rovers.

The Parthians overcome.

General massacre of the Jews at the instance of Machæras.

Herod supplies the army with provisions.

Jericho is pillaged by the Romans.

Herod sends his brother into Idumæa, and takes Sepphoris.

The robbers expelled, and Galilee reduced.

Herod supplies the Roman army with provisions when distressed by Antigonus.

Herod leaves the command of the army to his brother Joseph.

Goes to Anthony at Samosata.

Puts the barbarians to the rout in several encounters on the way.

Is honourably received by Anthony

Samosata delivered up

Joseph slain in action.

Revolt of Galilee.

posted after him, and overtaking him on the way, intreated him either to desist from his journey, or, if he was determined to prosecute it, to leave his brother Joseph behind, in order to carry on the war in conjunction with him against Antigonus. Herod, upon this importunity, granted him his request, and forgave what was past, leaving the army under the command of Joseph, with express orders not to run any unnecessary hazard, or enter into any misunderstanding with Machæras.

Affairs being thus settled, he marched away immediately with an auxiliary body to reinforce Anthony, who was at that time before Samosata, upon the river Euphrates. Upon his coming to Antioch, he found great numbers of people who were desirous of going over to Anthony, but were appalled by fear of being beset by a troop of merciless banditti, who had fallen upon and slain many as they passed the road. Herod, however, putting himself at the head of them, and undertaking both for their conduct and protection, they prosecuted their march; and when they were advanced within two days journey of Samosata, they fell into an ambush of the enemy's horse that lay close behind the bushes, upon the entrance into the plain, to prevent any succours from passing that way to Anthony. They suffered the front to move forward towards the plain; but, upon Herod's coming up with the rear, fell furiously upon him with about five hundred horse, and broke through the first rank. But the king pressing violently upon them with his guards, he beat them from their ground, rallied his own scattered troops, and followed the pursuit till he made himself master of the booty they had taken, in prisoners, horses, mules, carriages, and all the baggage, which was very considerable. After this feat, Herod continued his journey to Anthony, but not without other encounters on the way, with troops of barbarians, that sallied out of the woods and thickets upon him in his progress. However, he defeated and cut them to pieces in every attempt, till, in the end, the way was safe and open to him, without any difficulty or hazard, the people revering him as their general protector.

Anthony, having heard of the exploits of Herod upon the barbarians, and how gallantly he had acquitted himself upon several other occasions, sent out the flower of his troops to receive him on his approach to the town, with all possible honour and respect, both for his person and services, admiring him for his extraordinary abilities; and, in fine, treating him with a dignity suitable to the royal character he had himself conferred upon him. In a short time after this, Antigonus delivered up the place, and, in so doing, put an end to the war. Anthony committed the government of the province, and the command of the army, to Sosius, with orders to assist Herod upon all occasions, and went himself into Egypt. Sosius hereupon sent away two legions with the king towards Judæa, for the guard of his person, and marched after them himself with the rest of his army.

During these transactions, Joseph, in the absence of his brother, was slain in Judæa, through want of attention to his order, when he went to Anthony. He marched towards Jericho with his own troops, and five companies which he had from Machæras, and encamped upon the mountains. The Romans with him were but raw and undisciplined troops, and the greatest part newly raised, so that the enemy took advantage both of the place where he was posted, and the inexperience of the men under his command, and falling upon them, surprized and routed them, entirely destroying six companies, and cutting Joseph to pieces, fighting valiantly at the head of them. Antigonus being master of the field, and finding Joseph among the dead bodies, caused his head to be cutoff, although his brother Pheroras would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. This rout was followed with the revolt of Galilee, and the throwing as many of Herod's friends as they could lay hold on into the lake, besides divers seditious connections in Judæa. Machæras, in the mean time, fortified the castle of Gath.

The news of these disasters was brought to Herod at a place called Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch; and it was the less surprising to him, from some foreboding dreams he had a little before, which manifestly pointed at the death of his brother. From this place he went to Mount Libanus, and taking eight hundred of the people along with him, and a Roman legion, advanced to Ptolemais. In passing by night through the country of Galilee, he was set upon by the way, but repulsed the enemy, forced them back into the castle out of which they came the day before, immediately invested the place, and disposed the troops early next morning for an attack. A violent tempest, however, arising at that instant, he was obliged to draw off into some of the adjacent villages for shelter. Just as this happened, another legion arrived from Anthony, which reinforcement so alarmed the garrison, that they evacuated the place, and retired through favour of the night.

Herod, impatient to revenge the death of his brother, hastened with all expedition towards Jericho, where he treated, with great magnificence, all the grandees of the place upon his arrival. When the entertainment was over, he dismissed his guests, and retired to his own chamber. He had no sooner departed than the roof fell in; but no damage was sustained in point of life; it was deemed a singular interposition of Providence in his deliverance from such imminent danger.

The next day a party of six thousand of the enemy came suddenly down from the mountains, and resolutely falling upon Herod's forces, the Romans were thrown into such a consternation, that they immediately retreated. The enemy seeing this, pursued them, and a warm engagement ensued; but no material advantage was obtained on either side, only that Herod received a wound in the side from an arrow.

Antigonus, at this time, sent Pappus, his general, away to Samaria, with some troops under his command, being desirous of shewing the enemy his strength, and that he had men to spare. While he and Machæras were preparing for an encounter, Herod got possession of five towns, put two thousand men to the sword that were there in garrison, and leaving them all in ashes, went back in quest of Pappus, who was then encamped at a place called Ifanus, where he was joined by great numbers, who came over to him from Jericho and Judæa. Herod perceiving the enemy disposed for a battle, put it immediately upon that issue, and gave them a total rout, doing execution upon them in revenge of his brother's death, in the very town they fled to for sanctuary. The houses were presently crowded with soldiers from top to bottom, some in one place, and some in another; but, upon taking off the roofs, by means of stones and various missile instruments, those within were all laid open to an universal slaughter. The most dismal part of the spectacle was the piles of dead bodies that lay in heaps in the chambers above and below, which could not fail of striking the spectators with horror.

The miserable remainder of their broken troops fled in such disorder, and in such numbers, that, had it not been for a furious tempest at that very time, the victors had marched directly up to Jerusalem, and put an end to the war; for Antigonus was already upon the point of resolving to abandon the city. It was now too late in the evening, and Herod had ordered his soldiers to supper, while he retired into a chamber to use the bath, as he was much fatigued after the engagement. As he was naked in the bath, with only one attendant, out started three soldiers with swords in their hands, and crossing the room in haste, rushed out at the door. Such was their consternation, however, that they hurried away, as it were, to save themselves, without dreaming of doing any violence to the king, whom they might have most easily destroyed. The body of Pappus being found among the slain, Herod the next day ordered his head to be struck off, and sent it to Pheroras, as a kind of consolatory revenge.

revenge for his brother Joseph, whom Pappus put to death with his own hand.

Herod lays
before Jeru-
salem.

When the rigour of the season was over, Herod removed his army, and encamped near Jerusalem, taking up his quarters on the temple-side of the town, as Pompey had done long before him, and as the spot that lay fairest for an attack. When he had collected his pioneers, with all necessary materials, and given orders for the casting up the trenches and bulwarks, and made every proper disposition for the siege, he went to Samaria, to consummate his marriage with Mariamne, to whom he had been some time contracted, as already observed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Sofius and Herod march with a considerable army against Jerusalem, and lay siege to the city. The inhabitants, far from being dismayed, make a gallant defence. Herod takes measures to subvert the design of the Jews. The latter make various sallies, and set fire to the enemy's works. Their astonishing resolution, and military prowess. The Romans scale the walls of the city. Jerusalem taken. The Romans commit the most horrid cruelties on the Jews. Antigonus vanquished and disgraced, and afterwards put to death. The end of the Asmonean family.

Great force
brought
against Je-
rusalem, by
Sofius and
Herod.

AFTER the celebration of the nuptials, Sofius sent away his troops before him, being a considerable body of horse and foot, soon after following them himself by way of Phœnicia. The king also returned from Samaria with a reinforcement of about 30,000 men, which being joined, the whole army drew up together towards the walls upon the north quarter of the town, to the number of 11 legions of foot, and 6000 horse, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The two generals were Sofius and Herod; the former sent by Anthony, as an assistant; the other acting on his own account, with a view of settling himself in the possession of a kingdom, which the senate had conferred upon him, on the overthrow of Antigonus, the professed enemy of Rome.

The Je-
ws
make a gall-
ant defence.

The Jews within the city were numerous and resolute, and made a very obstinate defence; for the whole nation may be said to have been gathered together at this important crisis. They animated each other by exclaiming incessantly, "*The temple of the Lord! The temple of the Lord!*" and some uttered such presages of victory, as seemed prophetically to foretell their deliverance. Nor were they wanting in their endeavours, by frequent excursions, and laying waste the country, to distress the assailants; for they swept it so bare, that there scarcely remained any sustenance either for man or beast. But Herod soon remedied this inconvenience, partly by the ambushes he laid to ensnare the pillagers, and partly by commissaries and convoys he employed far and near for the supply of the camp. The season being remarkably favourable, and an extraordinary number of hands employed, the pioneers soon finished the approaches, and the assailants advanced to the battery, leaving nothing unattempted to carry their point. The besieged, on the other hand, made a stout resistance, opposing stratagem to stratagem, and by one invention frustrating another. They made many desperate sallies, and set fire to divers of the enemy's works, as well those that were finished, as those that were only begun. Their courage and resolution were in no respect inferior to the Romans; but, in point of military skill and experience, they were greatly surpassed by them. As fast as one wall was thrown down, the defendants supplied it with a retrenchment that served for another. They counterwrought mine against mine, and, in short, with undaunted resolution, opposed fatigue, danger, and difficulty, making a most gallant and desperate resistance. This bravery they evinced in defiance

of a formidable enemy before the city, and a dearth of provisions, and other necessaries, within the walls; for they were now in the sabbatical year, when it was unlawful for them to till the ground.

Upon the fortieth day after breaking ground, twenty chosen men scaled the first wall, and were seconded by some of the centurions under the command of Sofius. The second wall was scaled fifteen days after, and several galleries about the temple set on fire, which Herod imputed to Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. When the out-quarter of the temple, and the lower town, were taken, the Jews betook themselves into the inner court of the temple, and the upper part of the town; and, lest the Romans should interrupt them in their daily oblations, they desired permission of Herod, by their ambassadors, only to bring in so many beasts as should be necessary for that service. Herod readily granted their request, hoping it might prevail with them in his favour; but finding his mistake, and that they were more and more sanguine in their attachment to Antigonus, he fell on immediately with his whole strength, and took the city by assault.

The Ro-
mans scale
the walls.

The Romans were so exasperated by the opposition and the delay, and the Jews, in the interest of Herod, so averse to those of the other party, that they put all to the sword without mercy, as well in the streets as in the houses, without regard to age or sex. Nay, the very temple itself was no longer a sanctuary to those who fled to it. Never was exhibited so shocking a spectacle of blood and slaughter; for the soldiers were transported, betwixt fury and revenge, to such a degree of implacable inhumanity, that, notwithstanding the injunction of Herod, on their allegiance, to withhold their rage, they continued the massacre; and death triumphed in all its horrid forms.

The city
and temple
taken.

An horrid
massacre.

The conduct of Antigonus was unworthy the dignity of his station; for, as soon as he found all was lost, he came down from the tower, and, in the humblest manner, cast himself at the feet of Sofius, who, instead of pitying, insulted him in the highest degree, saluting him by the name of *Antigona*, in token of contempt of his pusillanimity and dastardly behaviour. But, though he gave him a feminine appellation, he did not treat him like a woman; for he was put in chains, and kept in close custody.

Antigonus
delivers
himself up
to Sofius.

Though Herod had gained a compleat victory over his enemies, he had still more difficulties to encounter. The foreign auxiliaries were so pressing and importunate to be prying into the temple, and the very sanctuary itself, that neither authority, intreaty, threatening, or even force itself, could hardly restrain them. Indeed, he would have deemed his success worse than a defeat, if conquest had proved the cause of exposing the sacred and incommunicable mysteries of religion to the curiosity of the prophane multitude.

Being desirous that the city should not be plundered, Herod informed Sofius, that if the treasure was seized, and the town depopulated, he should be sovereign of a desert, and that he would not purchase the government of the universe at the price of so much blood. Sofius replied, that it was according to justice, and common practice, upon taking of a place by assault, to allow the soldiers the advantage of the booty. Herod admitted the force of Sofius's plea as to what concerned the plunder, and declared that every man should be duly recompensed out of his own private coffers. According to promise, he rewarded both private men and officers in proportion to their respective stations and deserts, and presented Sofius with gifts worthy his rank and character. In short, the liberality and munificence he displayed on this occasion, afforded universal satisfaction.

Herod pre-
vents the
desolation
of the city.

This

The date at which the city was taken.

This memorable event happened in the consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Canidius Gallus, on the 185th olympiad, in the third month, and upon the day of a solemn fast, being the very anniversary of their destruction by Pompey; for the city was taken upon that very day 27 seven years before.

Sofius, after making a handsome present for the service of the temple, departed from Jerusalem, taking the pusillanimous Antigonus with him in bonds to Anthony, and leaving the courageous Herod in full possession of the sovereignty of Judæa. Herod entertained doubts that Anthony would not take away his life, and, of course, apprehension, that, on his appearing at Rome, and preferring his claim to the government to the senate, as he was of the blood royal, and himself only a plebian, it might still tend to his degradation. He was conscious that he might suggest, that, though, for his own part, he could not pretend to deserve the dignity, having been in arms against the Romans,

yet he might hope they would not punish his innocent sons for the guilt of their father, but admit them to the succession. Impressed with these suspicions, he prevailed with Anthony, for a considerable sum of money, privately administered, to have Antigonus dispatched, which being done, restored his tranquillity.

Antigonus is put to death at the instance of Herod.

With this prince ended the reign of the famous and illustrious house of the Asmonæans, after being in possession of the government an hundred and twenty-six years.

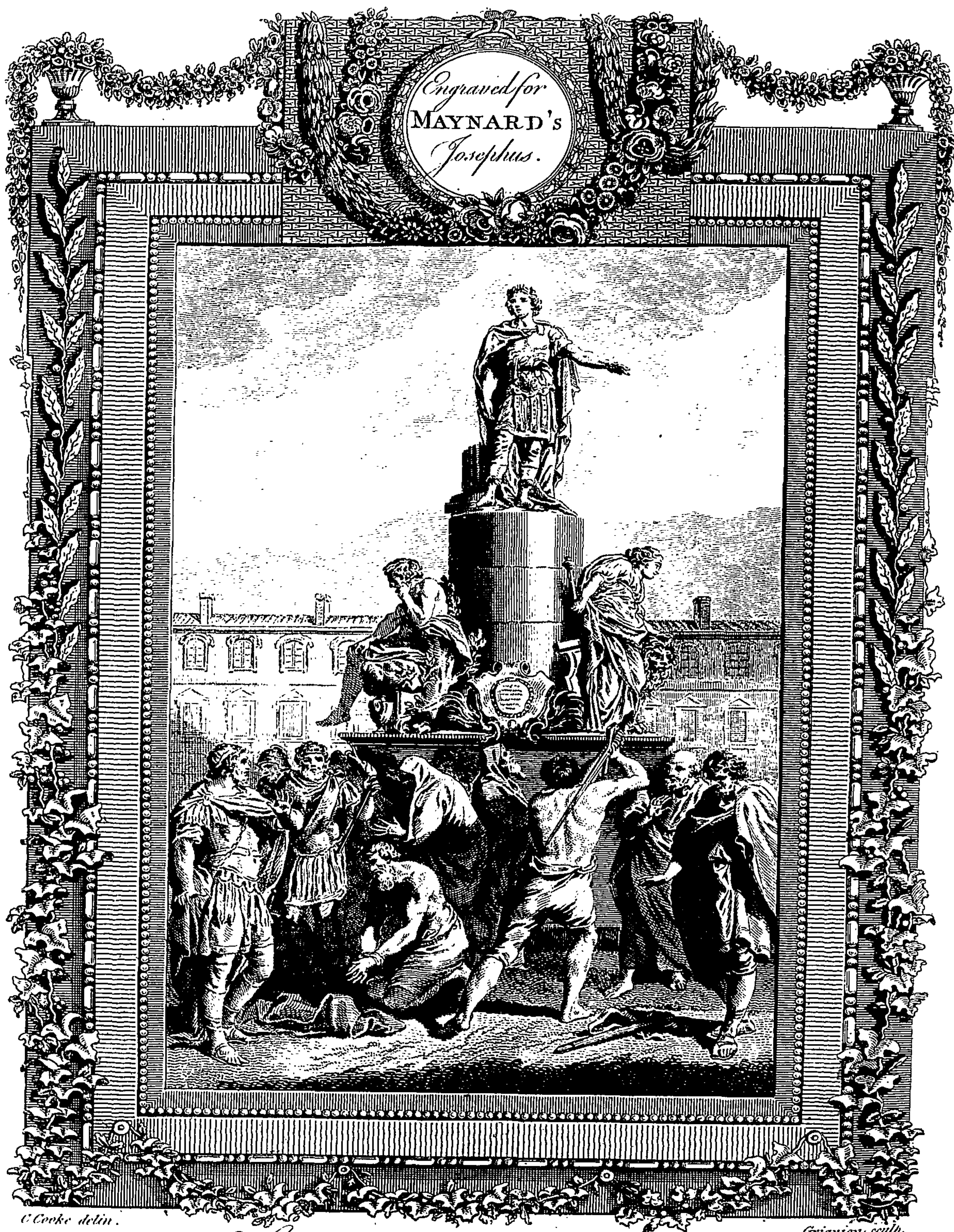
This family was illustrious in itself, for the long continuance of the regal and sacerdotal succession in it, and for the signal services which they and their ancestors, from time to time, had rendered our nation. But, through intestine broils, the administration was transferred from them to Herod, the son of Antipater, a person who had no claim from lineal descent, or dignity of extraction.

The Asmonæan family extinct.

End of the FOURTEENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS



J. Cooke delin.

Grignon sculp.

ANTIGONUS *King of the Jews* BEHEADED at ANTIOCH,
by order of Anthony.

Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke N^o 7 Paternoster Row.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XV.

[Including a Period of about Twenty-six Years.]

CHAP. I.

Herod, having obtained possession of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, gratifies his friends, and revenges himself on his enemies.

Herod promotes his adherents, and revenges himself on those of Antigonus.

AS soon as Herod obtained the sovereign rule of Judæa, he made it his business to promote and provide for those who had espoused his interest while he was in the rank and condition of a private man. He also took care to revenge himself on those whom he knew to have been his enemies, inasmuch that hardly a day passed without a capital execution upon some one or other of them.

The Jews are spoiled of their wealth.

Pallio, the Pharisee, and his disciple, Samæas, were highly in his favour, for the good offices they did him, in advising the citizens, when he lay before Jerusalem, to open the gates and receive him. This Samæas was the person who formerly foretold to Hyrcanus, and the rest of the judges, upon the questioning of Herod for his life, that, if they acquitted him, the time would come, when he should as certainly take away their lives, as they might then take away his; and the prediction was verified in the event.

No sooner was Herod in possession of the city, than he got together all the royal ornaments, with the rich booty, in goods, gold, and silver, that had been taken away by the wealthy citizens, and commanded the whole to be conveyed to the royal palace, out of which he made a magnificent present to Anthony, and divided the rest amongst his friends and favourites.

He ordered 45 leading men, in the interest of Antigonus, to be put to death, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out but their dead bodies. They also searched the dead; and whatever was found, either of gold or silver, or other treasure, was carried to the king. There was, indeed, no end of the miseries brought upon them by a penurious prince; for their whole possessions were not sufficient to satisfy his avarice.

No. 20.

They were also in their sabbatical year, and had consequently no harvest to supply their wants.

Anthony, having, at this time, Antigonus in bonds, thought to expose him publicly in honour of his triumph; but when he heard that the Jewish nation grew seditious, and that, from their aversion to Herod, they continued to bear good will for Antigonus, he caused him to be beheaded at Antioch, as we have before observed towards the close of the last book. This is attested by Strabo, of Cappadocia, who thus writes: "Anthony ordered Antigonus, the Jew, to be brought prisoner to Antioch, and there to have his head struck off: the first king that ever the Romans put to death in this manner: but he had this to offer in his own behalf, that the Jews would not acknowledge Herod for their king while Antigonus was living. Nay, so great a reverence had they for their former prince, that they were not to be wrought upon, even by torments, to allow Herod so much as the name of a king. But Anthony proposed to himself, by this dishonourable proceeding, to blast the memory and reputation of the one, and soften the popular aversion to the other."

Antigonus is beheaded.

Testimony of Strabo.

CHAP. II.

Hyrcanus is set at liberty by the Parthians. Returns to Herod, and is favourably received. Ananel is advanced to the pontificate. Alexandra, disgusted thereat, causes disturbances. Ananel being at length deposed, is succeeded by Aristobulus.

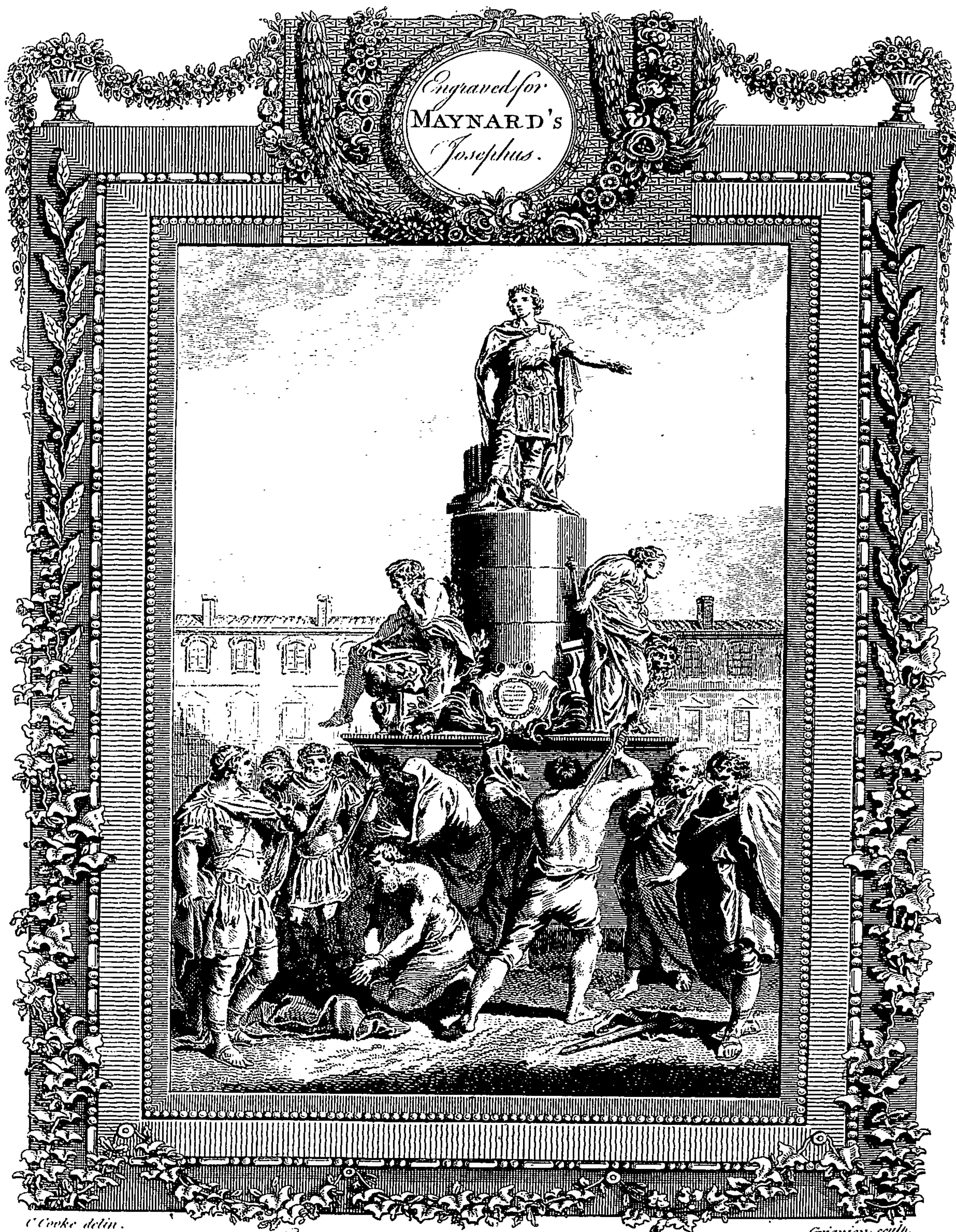
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Hyrcanus, the high-priest, a captive in Parthia.

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N n n

to

to be taken off, and allowed him the freedom of the city of Babylon, where there were many of his own sect, and where he had the same reverence paid him, not only by the Jews of that city, but those likewise on the other side of the Euphrates, as if he had actually been their governor and high-priest; circumstances which could not but afford him considerable satisfaction.

Hyrchanus
intends to
visit Herod.

When he came to understand that Herod was advanced to the government, judging of the disposition of others from his own, and flattering himself with mighty expectations from Herod in his exalted situation, as an acknowledgment to the preserver of his life and honour, he determined to pay him a visit, but not without first advising with his particular friends. Having informed them of his design, after some deliberation, they unanimously opposed it, alledging, "that as long as he was amongst them, he might assure himself, from them, and all their people, of a reverence and obedience suitable to the dignity of his character, which he could never expect in his own country, by reason of the maim he had received from Antigonus, which disqualified him for such a claim." They also observed, that, in point of good offices and reciprocal services, it was not with princes as with private persons, since their elevation, in general, diverted their attention from past transactions. But these remarks, though pertinently suggested by his friends, had no weight with Hyrcanus, who nevertheless persisted in his resolution.

Receives an
invitation
from Herod.

Herod, indeed, gave him an invitation, by letter, to come over to him, and take his part in the government, persuading him to desire Phraates, and his brethren, the Jews, not to envy him so great a happiness, as he had now an opportunity of shewing his gratitude to the person to whom he stood indebted for his very existence. To enforce the matter, Herod sent Saramalla upon an embassy to Phraates, with persuasive arguments, and magnificent presents, to conciliate his favour towards his worthy patron and dearest friend. But this zeal in Herod did not flow from principle, but from a caution, as being an usurper, to secure himself from every change of state, and, for that consideration, either to get Hyrcanus into his power, or put him out of the world, as the event afterwards proved.

Goes to Je-
rusalem, and
is honour-
ably re-
ceived by
Herod.

Hyrchanus, having at length obtained his discharge from Phraates, and being amply supplied with money and necessaries by the Jews in Babylon for his journey, proceeded to Jerusalem, where he was received with every token of singular honour and respect. Herod appointed him the first place at all public meetings and entertainments, treated him in the style of a father, and maintained such an appearance of amity, as could not fail to elude all doubt and suspicion of the integrity of his disposition. In fine, he omitted nothing that could give a favourable opinion of his regard for Hyrcanus, till at length he sullied all he had done before, by an act that caused the greatest disturbance in his own family. Being cautious of having any man of honourable extraction advanced to the pontificate, he sent to Babylon for one Ananel, a person of obscure condition, and constituted him high-priest. The promotion of this mean person greatly disgusted Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and mother of Aristobulus, (brother to Mariamne, the wife of Herod,) to whom, by right of birth, the office of high-priest belonged. In order, therefore, to resent the affront offered her family in setting aside her son, and obtruding a foreigner into the pontificate, she wrote to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who had an absolute authority over Anthony, to request that honour for Aristobulus.

Herod ad-
vances an
obscure per-
son to the
pontificate.

Alexandra
applies to
Cleopatra
to obtain it
of Anthony
for her son.

Anthony, at first, did not attend to the matter. It happened, however, that one Gellius, a particular friend, being in Judæa about some affairs of his own, by chance saw Aristobulus and Mariamne, the symmetry and beauty of whose person so attracted his eye, that he could not refrain from complimenting Alexandra as the mother of two such finished productions of nature, and recommending her to present their pictures to Anthony, as the most

effectual means of securing her best services. Alexandra accordingly sent the pictures; and Gellius, being disposed to inveigle Anthony into a passion for Mariamne, exaggerated the representation in the drawings, and in words described them as of angelic form.

Anthony
sends for
Aristobulus.

Anthony deeming it imprudent to send for the wife of a prince who was his friend, and fearful of giving Cleopatra any ground for jealousy, wrote to Herod, informing him of his desire to see Aristobulus, if a convenient opportunity should offer. Herod did not think it proper to send a youth of so attractive a person to Anthony, with whose eccentric passion he was well acquainted; so that he put him off, with a pretence that the Jews were so seditious, and bent upon the experiment of another king, that if Aristobulus should leave the kingdom, it would excite dangerous commotions.

Herod puts
him off with
an evasion.

Herod, having thus excused himself to Anthony, kept up appearances with Aristobulus and Alexandra; his wife Mariamne pressing him, upon every occasion, to do her brother justice in the instance of the pontificate, urging withal, that it was his interest so to do, and that the duties incumbent on the office would excuse him beyond all exception from taking the journey. Herod, incensed at this spirited exertion, called his friends about him, and, in the severest terms, inveighed against Alexandra, telling them she had entered into a conspiracy against him, and influenced Cleopatra to prevail with Anthony to dispossess him of the government, and transfer it to her son, in which, he said, she was the more to blame, as she could not, in that instance, assert the cause of Aristobulus without degrading her daughter, and paving the way, by intestine feuds, for dethroning her son-in-law, and removing him from a dignity he had acquired by so much toil and hazard. Upon the whole, he declared himself ready to forget and forgive all injuries; and, as a proof of the reverential regard he had for his mother, and all her relations, he would immediately vest her son with the exercise of the office, which he never would have conferred on Ananel, had he been of proper age to have executed.

Herod in-
veighs
against A-
lexandra.

This declaration, intended merely to amuse the women and friends around him, very much embarrassed Alexandra, who was so greatly affected by the joy of having accomplished her wishes on the one hand, and a concern of finding herself suspected on the other, that, in a transport of passion, she thus vindicated her conduct, declaring, that, with respect to the pontificate, she was hurt by the affront put upon her son; that she was determined to leave no lawful means unattempted to do him right; but as to any design she had of raising him to the throne, it was so far from her, that if offered, she would have refused it. Her ambition, she said, went no farther than to see justice done to her son in that station, in which the honour of her family was concerned; and as that point was to be settled, she was so sensible of the king's gracious regard to her in the person of Aristobulus, that she would ever retain a most dutiful sense of the same; and if she had, in any instance, exceeded the bounds of respect and moderation, through a mistaken punctilio of honour, she implored the pardon of the royal personage who might be offended. This pertinent address soothed the king; and the parties re-assumed at least the appearance of friendship.

Alexandra
plea in be-
conduct is
altering the
right of her
son Aristobulus.

CHAP. III.

Herod is still suspicious of the designs of Alexandra. Causes Aristobulus to be taken off. Exhibits a proof of consummate hypocrisy.

THE king deposed Ananel from the office of high-priest, alledging, as the cause, that he was a foreigner, and of the race of the Jews that were formerly carried away by the Syrians beyond the Euphrates, many thousands of whom took up their habitations in Babylon. He was, indeed, of sacerdotal extraction, and a friend of Herod's, who, upon Herod's coming to the crown, had created him high-priest,

priest, and afterwards deposed him, though contrary to law: for the high priesthood is an office for life, and not to be taken away, when duly conferred. The first who brake in upon that rule was Antiochus Epiphanes, who removed Joshua, to make way for his brother Onias. Aristobulus was the second, who took that dignity from his brother Hyrcanus; and Herod the third, who deposed Ananel, and conferred the pontificate on Aristobulus.

Alexandra is suspected and watched by Herod.

By this expedient Herod thought to have healed the divisions in his family; but it appeared, from consequences, the reconciliation was not so permanent as might have been expected; for he entertained suspicions that Alexandra would be no longer quiet, than she had an opportunity of compassing her ends by reviving dissent. For this cause he confined her to her palace, and absolutely forbade her interfering in public concerns. He also set guards over her, that the least transaction might not pass without his knowledge. This method of proceeding highly disgusted her; for, being a woman of spirit, nothing touched her so near as this officious scrutiny into her conduct, inasmuch, that, rather than endure so abject a life, in being deprived of the liberty of speech, she was determined to run any hazard to deliver herself from it. Thus resolved, she fully stated her case in a letter to Cleopatra; and requesting, at the same time, her advice and assistance, received, from that princess, an invitation to come away privately, with her son, to her in Egypt. Alexandra approved the counsel, and bethought herself of an expedient to put it in execution. She ordered two coffins to be provided, caused herself and son to be put in them, and appointed the servants, who were privy to the contrivance, to see them carried out by night, and put on board a ship that lay ready at hand to transport them into Egypt.

She prepares to go into Egypt.

Is betrayed, and surprized in her escape.

But this stratagem miscarried through the treachery of one of the servants, who communicated the whole scheme to a man named Sabbion. This person had been suspected of assisting in the death of Antipater, the father of Herod, and therefore, in order to obviate the consequences that might follow, he divulged the whole secret. The king suffered them to go some way from the city, and then surprized and brought them back; but fearing the power and influence of Cleopatra, he suspended his design, and making a virtue of necessity, pretended, with great clemency, to pardon in both what he dared not punish. It was not long, however, before he embraced the opportunity of taking a fatal revenge on young Aristobulus.

Aristobulus universal-ly lamented.

The feast of tabernacles (which is one of our principal festivals) now approaching, Herod seemed disposed to celebrate it with the utmost mirth and good humour: but a circumstance occurred, that induced him to execute his design upon the life of the youth sooner than he intended. Aristobulus, who was to officiate as high-priest upon the occasion, possessed a most engaging person and demeanour, and was in the eighteenth year of his age. Having advanced towards the altar, he discharged his duty with so becoming a reverence, and the splendour of the pontifical robes added such a lustre to the gracefulness of his person, that, by both these, he captivated the affections of the people, inasmuch, that they could not forbear expressing the love, honour, and esteem, they bore, in the warmest prayers and acclamations, and accompanying those tokens of joy and affection, with the most grateful acknowledgments of the many obligations they had to his noble family. This raised Herod's jealousy to such a degree, that he immediately meditated a scheme for taking away the life of Aristobulus, which he effected as follows.

Shared by Herod.

As soon as the feast of tabernacles was over, Herod went to partake of an entertainment with Alexandra at Jericho, where he took Aristobulus, in point of complacency, to bear him company in the diversion of the day. The weather being too warm for exercise, the company withdrew into the cool of the shade, near certain fish-ponds, in which several of them proposed to bathe. Aristobulus was pre-

pared on to be one of the party; and no sooner had he plunged into the water, than those who were in it before, ducked and dipped him according to the direction of Herod, and, under pretence of sport and play, kept him so long under water, that he was at length actually drowned. Thus was this accomplished youth taken off, through the base device of a wicked king, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the first of his pontifical office, which was immediately restored to Ananel. When this lamentable disaster was known to the women, distraction sat on every countenance, and despair and horror reigned around. It was so public a loss, as to be mourned throughout Jerusalem; for every family seemed to have a concern in it. But Alexandra was more deeply affected than all; and it was an aggravation of her calamity, that, though she was convinced of the treachery of the act, she found herself under a necessity, for her own security, to pass it over in silence. Such was her despair at intervals, that she resolved to lay violent hands on herself; but, on cooler reflection, she checked her passion, hoping she might live to revenge so flagitious an act, on the guilty head of the perpetrator. With this view she maintained a fair appearance, and seemed to have no knowledge of the transaction.

And drowned.

Aristobulus is universal-ly lamented.

Excessive grief of Alexandra.

Diffimulation of Herod.

Herod, to wipe off all suspicion of so foul a deed, affected more than ordinary tokens of sorrow, fell into tears, and exhibited an apparent confusion of soul. He might probably be seized with a momentary remorse for spilling the blood of the innocent in the prime of youth; but as he held the death of the one necessary for the security of the other, his main point was to keep himself clear of suspicion. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence, which he attended himself as chief; a piece of chicane which excited the astonishment, and, in some degree, appeased the inward rage, of those who were inconsolable for the loss they had sustained in the death of Aristobulus.

CHAP. IV.

Herod is cited to appear before Anthony on an accusation for the murder of Aristobulus. His project for the death of Mariamne is discovered by Joseph. Joseph is put to death, and Alexandra imprisoned.

NOTWITHSTANDING external appearance, Alexandra could not suppress her grief, any more than her desire of obtaining revenge; for which purpose she again had recourse to Cleopatra, whom she acquainted with the untimely death of her son, and the manner in which it was effected. She represented the villainy of Herod in such a light, and pictured her own distress in such feeling terms, as moved the compassion of the queen, who resolved to do the utmost in her power to procure some redress. She accordingly made immediate application to Anthony, pressing him, with the utmost importunity, to see justice done on the perpetrators of so barbarous a murder. She represented to him the disgrace he would incur by suffering a king, whom he had raised to the throne, and who was the usurper of the right of another, to commit so horrid an outrage upon the lawful heir with impunity. Anthony, harrassed by the incessant solicitations of Cleopatra, was at length prevailed upon to call Herod to account, and accordingly repaired to Laodicea, where he cited him to appear before him, in order to clear himself of the imputation laid to his charge for the death of Aristobulus.

Alexandra informs Cleopatra of the treachery of Herod in the murder of her son.

Anthony sends for Herod to answer for himself.

Herod was too sensible of his guilt to trust to the merits of his cause; and dreading the influence of Cleopatra, who had incensed Anthony against him, he was greatly perplexed in what manner to proceed at so critical a juncture. He well knew, however, that it was in vain to dispute the will of the all-powerful Anthony, and therefore determined at all hazards to appear. He committed the care of the government, in his absence, to his uncle Joseph, giving him privately in charge, if Anthony should put him to death, immediately to destroy Mariamne; for

Herod privately enjoins Joseph to destroy Mariamne on certain conditions.

for such was his attachment to her, that he could not bear the thoughts of her being in the possession of another even after his death; besides, he had received intimation that the fame of her beauty had captivated Anthony. Having given these orders, he took his departure with a mind fraught with the most dismal apprehensions.

Joseph discovers the secret.

A false report about Herod's death.

Herod obtains favour with Anthony.

Joseph, being now vested with the administration of affairs, attended to his trust, and made frequent visits to Mariamne, partly on business, and partly from the respect due to her character as queen. At these interviews he would frequently take occasion to insinuate the very affectionate regard Herod had for her, representing him as the tenderest and most loving of husbands. The women, and particularly Alexandra, treated his declarations with raillery, which rendered Joseph so zealous in the cause, that, to confirm the character he had given him, he insisted, as an indisputable argument of his affection, "That as he found he could not live without her, so he was resolved that death itself should never part them." But the women, as was natural, did not esteem this declaration as an evidence of love; they rather construed it to be an intimation of a tyrannical purpose he had assumed, in case of his own death, not to suffer them to survive him. A rumour was spread at this time, by some persons who bore the king ill-will, that Anthony had caused Herod to be put to the question, and after that to death.

The whole court was alarmed at it, and particularly the women, inasmuch, that Alexandra proposed to Joseph to fly for protection to the Roman legion, under Julius, that was then quartered without the city, and to take them along with him. She observed, that if there should be any broils in the palace, the Romans would take care of them; or if ever Mariamne should come to the sight of Anthony, he would deny her, nothing that she should ask him, though it were the kingdom itself, or all the royal privileges she could pretend to.

While this affair was under deliberation, letters arrived from Herod, that invalidated the late report; for it appeared that Anthony, by force of presents and fair words, was so far brought over to his interest, that Cleopatra could no longer prevail with him to the prejudice of Herod; for he not only exculpated him from every imputation of having been accessory to the murder of Aristobulus, but gave him repeated tokens of favour; nay, he publicly declared, that kings were not to be accountable to their subjects for their actions. Herod displayed in his letters, the honours Anthony had done to him, setting forth, that he had called him to his councils, and to his solemn feasts, in despite of all the calumnies of Cleopatra, who had a design upon the government herself, and did all she could to effect his destruction. Anthony, he averred, was a prince of honour and justice; and told them they might expect him back again in a short time, better established in the possession of his kingdom, and in the assurance of Anthony's friendship, than ever, Cleopatra being entirely detached from him, through her acceptance of Cœlo-Syria as a present, upon condition never to trouble him more in Judæa.

An accusation brought against Joseph and Mariamne.

Upon Anthony's advancing on his expedition against the Parthians, Herod returned to Jerusalem; and his mother and sister, Salome, informed him of what had passed. The latter accused Mariamne of having had too great a familiarity with Joseph, her husband, whom she was willing to sacrifice, rather than not obtain her revenge on the innocent Mariamne. This arose from some disagreeable words between Salome and the queen, who reproached her with the meanness of her original, in comparison of the royal stock of the Asmonæns, from whom she was descended.

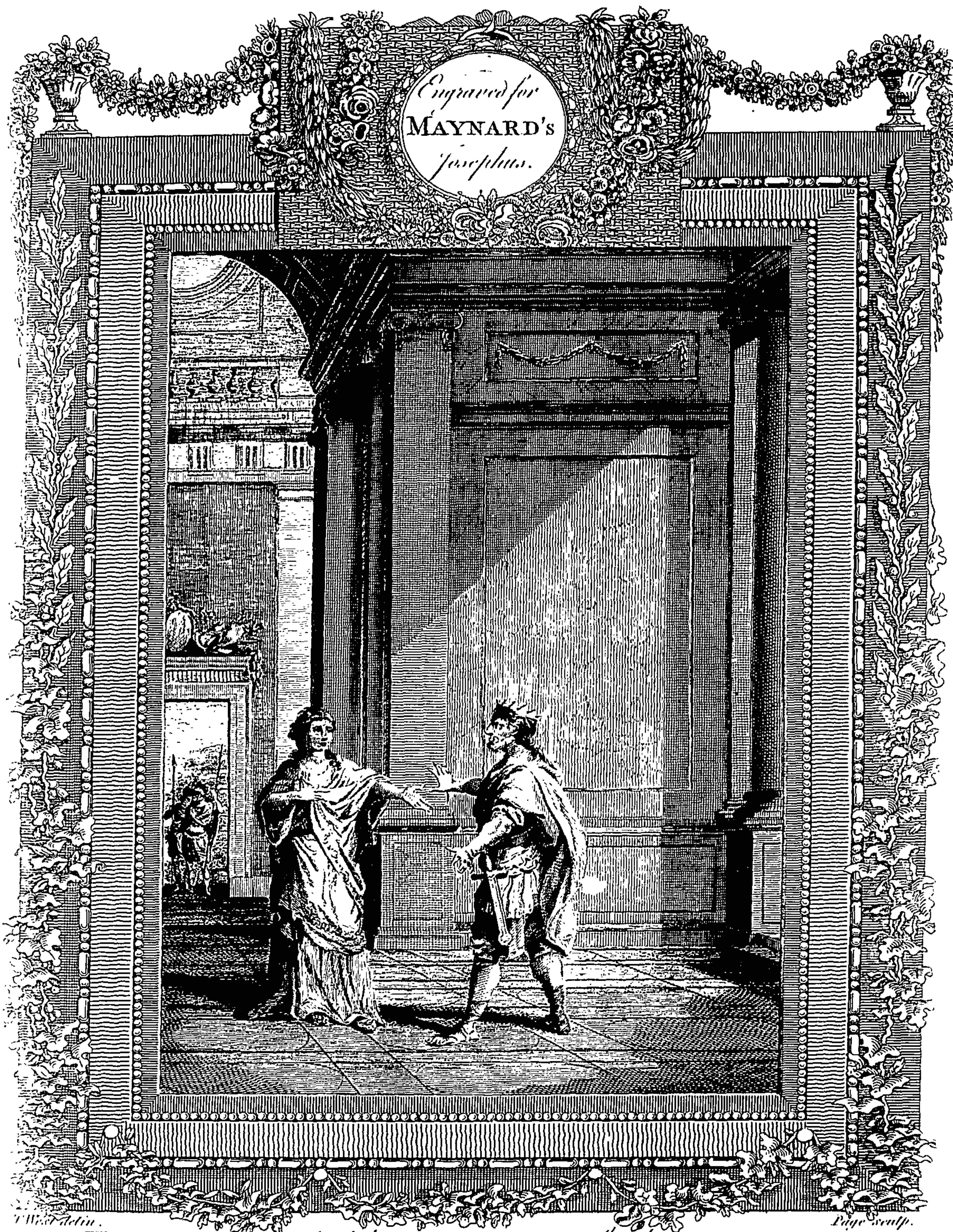
This accusation, however, threw Herod into the utmost transport of rage and jealousy, so that it was with the greatest difficulty he could restrain his passion within the bounds of discretion. However, on cool reflection, he took Mariamne aside, and clearly examined her respecting her intimacy with Joseph.

She said every thing in vindication of herself, that it might be supposed innocence could dictate, insisting, that, as for any thing that might look criminal or dishonourable in her conduct, she was not only innocent with regard to Joseph, but (except himself) to all mankind. The king, enamoured with the charms of his wife, and overcome by the extremity of his passion for her, relaxed, by degrees, from the violent rage into which he had been thrown, and not only absolved her from all suspicion of the crime that had been imputed to her, but confessed himself perfectly convinced that she had not given the least cause of offence. He likewise repeatedly intreated her pardon for that inconsiderate haste, which induced him to give credit to a report, by which she had been so vilely traduced, and, with tears and embraces, besought her pardon for his indiscreet conduct.

Notwithstanding all this appearance, Mariamne had some doubts of the reality of Herod's regard for her; but the more she seemed, by her expression and manner, to entertain this notion, the more anxious was he to give her every testimony he could of his sincerity. At length, however, she exclaimed, "Truly, you give abundant proof of the tenderness of your regard, as a husband, by ordering an innocent wife to be put to death, in case you should happen to die first." She had no sooner uttered these words, than Herod broke from her arms in the utmost rage, and cried out, with all the fury of a madman, "It is now evident, beyond a doubt, that the purity of my wife has been corrupted by Joseph; for nothing less than the confidence arising from such an intimacy, could have induced him to give up so important a secret, which had been committed to his care with such solemn injunctions not to reveal it."

In the impetuosity of his passion, Herod had almost determined to put Mariamne to death on the spot; but, after some violent struggles on his part, the warmth of his affection prevailed for her preservation. With regard to Joseph, however, he gave instant orders for his being put to death, even without suffering him to speak a word in his own defence; and directed Alexandra, whom he considered as the cause of all the mischief, to be committed to close confinement.

At this time great tumults prevailed in Syria, through means of Cleopatra, who having absolute power over Anthony, was incessantly persuading him to take the dominions from the several princes, and bestow them on herself. Her avarice and ambition, in fine, were so insatiable, that she attempted to gratify them at all hazards. She dispatched, by poison, her brother, a youth about fifteen, to prevent his being king of Egypt. She prevailed on Anthony to have her sister Arsinoe taken off at Ephesus, at her very devotion in the temple of Diana; so that neither temple, sepulchre, or sanctuaries, escaped her, when there was money or spoil to be got by a sacrilegious violation of them. In fine, the world would have been too small to gratify the ambition and avarice of this licentious woman, for which cause it is no matter of wonder that she instigated Anthony to take from others that which she coveted herself, and that she no sooner set her foot in Syria with him, than she formed projects to gain possession of it. By suggesting that Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, was a friend to the Parthians, she caused him to be put to death. She obtained also from Anthony, Judæa and Arabia, from the princes who had them in possession. Anthony, indeed, was so entirely at the command of this woman, that he may be said to have been enslaved by her, and subjected to many instances of conduct that sullied and debased his character. To avoid more trouble and importunity, he gave her some certain parts of both provinces, and all the cities from the river Eleutherus to Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which have ever been free; but this did not prevent her from harrassing Anthony with solicitations to procure them.



W. West delin.

Page sculp.

HEROD reproached by MARIAMNE for his CRUELTY,
whom he throws from his arms with scorn and indignation —
falsely accuses her with inconstancy and orders her to be put to death.

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CHAP. V.

Cleopatra comes into Judæa, and is honourably received by Herod, who afterwards is disposed to put her to death, but prevented by his friends. He then conducts her on her way to Egypt. She is loaded with presents by Anthony.

WHEN Cleopatra had obtained these acquisitions, and accompanied Anthony, in his expedition into Armenia, as far as the Euphrates, she returned, and took Apamia and Damascus in her way to Judæa, where she was honourably received by Herod, who treated with her for the revenue of that part of Arabia and Jericho which had been granted her; the latter being famous for balsam, which is the most precious of all gums, and likewise for the fairest palm trees in the world. Upon her arrival, she attempted to form an intrigue with the king; nor did she affect secrecy, but exhibited evident and open tokens of passion for him, though most probably with a treacherous design. Herod, who well knew her abandoned and dissolute character, was, in some degree, fortified against her; but when she made such advances as exceeded the bounds of decency, he determined to repulse her, and called a consultation of his friends upon it. The question he put to them was, "Whether it was not most prudent to make sure of this base woman, now he had her in his power, as it would be both a satisfaction to those she had abused heretofore, and a better security from her abuse hereafter." He observed, that Anthony himself would derive an advantage from it, as she was the common enemy of mankind, and would prove false to him, if ever he should oppose her will.

Herod was absolutely for taking her off; but those about him were no less positive against it, as a thing beneath the dignity of a prince. They therefore besought him not to think of acting so rashly, as Anthony would resent it, however conducive it might be to his advantage. They observed, that the losing of his mistress, by force or secret practice, would but tend to enhance the value he had for her before, and irritate him to revenge. That with respect to palliating a violence upon the person of a princess of her illustrious quality, it would by no means be admitted. They represented to him the tumult and confusion which would inevitably follow, both in the kingdom and the royal family, if he carried his proposal into execution; and that he was justifiable in rejecting the inordinate importunities of the woman, upon every principle of reason and sound policy. Through dint of argument, and the confidence reposed in their judgment, Herod was brought over to an acknowledgment of his error, and was diverted from his desperate resolve; so that, as an instance of conduct totally reverse, he bestowed rich presents on Cleopatra, and conducted her some part of the way to Egypt.

Anthony, having subdued Armenia, sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, prisoner into Egypt, with the princes his sons, and presented them to Cleopatra, together with the immense booty he had taken there. Artaxias, the eldest son of Artabazes, who fled out of the country at the breaking out of the war, succeeded his father; but was afterwards driven out by Archelaus and the emperor Nero, who put Tigranes, the youngest brother of the family, into his place.

With respect to the revenue of the country, which Anthony had given to Cleopatra, Herod made a point of paying it most punctually, being well assured that it was his interest to keep upon pacific terms with her. The Arabians, considering that Herod had the levying of the tax, made due payment, from time to time, at the proportion of two hundred talents a year; but this did not long continue, for it gradually fell off, till at length it was reduced to less than one half.

CHAP. VI.

Herod makes war upon, and conquers, the king of Arabia. But Athenion afterwards gives the Jews a total overthrow.

IN consequence of this deficiency of payment on the part of the king of Arabia, Herod held himself in readiness to take revenge himself by a war; but was prevented by the civil broils of the Romans. The battle of Actium was now drawing on, which, it was apprehended, would put an end to the competition between Augustus and Anthony for the empire. This fell out in the 187th olympiad.

Herod having been now a long time, through favour of Anthony, master of a rich and populous country, raised a very powerful army, with which he immediately marched to the assistance of his patron: but Anthony, instead of accepting his services against Augustus, appointed him to proceed against the Arabians, whom he knew to be a false and faithless people, and from whom he had reason to expect some danger. This appointment was according to the counsel of Cleopatra, who had a project in design, by setting the Jews and Arabians at variance.

In obedience to the direction of Anthony, Herod marched back with his army, and soon after fell into Arabia, having under his command a very considerable body of horse and foot. The Arabians, having received intelligence of Herod's motions, were waiting to give him battle near a place called Diospolis. As soon as the two armies met, an engagement took place, which was, for some time, maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, till at length victory declared in favour of the Jews, great numbers of the Arabians being slain, and the rest put to flight.

Soon after this the Arabians raised another considerable army, at a place called Cana, in Coelosyria, of which Herod having received authentic information, and being advised that they were upon their march, advanced with the main body of his troops to that part of the country, intending there to encamp, and fortify himself, till he should have a favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy with a fair prospect of success. But the soldiers were so elated with the consideration of their former victory, and so well assured of the resolution, state, and condition of their army, that they besought Herod not to suffer time to be lost, but give the command to fall on immediately. Nay, such was their impatience, that they were ready to break through all the bounds of discipline to obtain their desires.

This uncommon ardour and alacrity of the troops, gave Herod so much satisfaction, that he was determined to encourage their humour, and not to check that eagerness of disposition which he thought might most probably lead on to victory. He therefore immediately put himself at their head, grasped his sword, gave the word of command, and begun the attack, telling them to follow his example. Hereupon they marched forward to the combat with such ardent resolution, that the Arabians were astonished at their courage before the encounter began. For a little time, indeed, they made some faint shew of resistance; but, soon after the first onset, they gave way, and the greater part fled in the utmost confusion.

This rout would, in all probability, have occasioned the total destruction of the Arabian army, had it not been for Athenion, Cleopatra's general in that quarter. This Athenion, who had long been an inveterate enemy to Herod, had been in a kind of neutrality, but with his men drawn up in order, attending the issue of the battle. Finding the Arabians worsted, and the Jews not only spent and wearied out with action, but seemingly careless and secure in the confidence of victory, Athenion, with a considerable body of the natives, took the Jews off their guard, attacked them by surprise, dispersed

Herod marches with success to Anthony.

By his direction makes war upon the Arabians.

Obtains a victory.

Overthrows the Arabians a second time.

The Jews are at length routed through the perfidy of Athenion.

dispersed them with much difficulty, pursued them through the woods, and other places of rugged passage, and put great numbers to the sword. Upon this defeat, the Arabians took courage, rallied, and renewed the action; and made such terrible slaughter in the pursuit, that a very small party of this great body escaped with life.

After this melancholy issue, Herod posted away with all possible speed for relief; but, before he could bring it, the Jewish camp was taken and pillaged. This fatal catastrophe was owing to a sudden and unexpected surprize, through confidence and carelessness on the part of the Jews. Herod, in consequence of this disaster, was compelled to have recourse to the making depredations and incursions upon the Arabians, as opportunity would admit, and, by small advantages, gain some compensation for the capital defeat his army had sustained. But the time thus spent was not absolutely thrown away; for the troops were hereby kept in perpetual exercise, instructed in the duties of military discipline, inured to hardships and fatigues, and, in some degree, qualified to redeem their lost honours at a future period.

C H A P. VII.

A tremendous earthquake in Judæa. The Jewish ambassadors are put to death by the Arabians.

THE hope of Herod's being able to conquer his enemies, was greatly checked by a dreadful earthquake, that happened in Judæa, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod, and the year of the famous battle of Actium. It destroyed prodigious numbers of cattle; and, by the falling of the buildings in the several towns and villages, it was computed that not less than 10,000 people lost their lives: but the soldiers, who were in the open fields, escaped with much less injury; for though most of their tents were thrown down, yet little other damage took place, than some being maimed, and the whole greatly frightened.

Though this providential calamity was sufficiently terrible in itself, yet it was greatly magnified by report; and the Arabians, imagining the Jews to be utterly ruined, cherished the flattering idea, that no difficulty would attend their possessing themselves of a province, which now had not a sufficient number of inhabitants to sustain a defence. The Jews, in the height of their distress, dispatched ambassadors to the Arabians, humbly soliciting terms of accommodation, and that a peace might be established between them. But the Arabians not only put the ambassadors to death, but, in a short time after, marched, with a powerful army, into Judæa, in full confidence of making themselves masters of that country.

As soon as the Jews understood that the Arabians had entered Judæa, they were thrown into the utmost consternation. Their spirits were greatly depressed, by the reflection of their late calamities; and they despaired of being able to make any resistance against their enemies. The king seeing this, did all in his power to raise their spirits; begged of them to dismiss their unreasonable anxiety; and intreated an exertion of as much courage as might be necessary to prepare themselves for their own defence. Some of the more timorous sort of his people felt their misfortunes so severely, that, while the sense of them was recent in their minds, they could not be easily prevailed on to attend to the arguments of prudence and wisdom: but Herod, having brought them at length to a more tractable temper, in order to encourage and support, addressed them to the following effect:

C H A P. VIII.

Herod's animating address to the army inspires the Jews with courage, who totally vanquish the Arabians. In their distress, for want of water, they sue to Herod for protection.

Herod's
speech to
encourage
the soldiers.

“ YOU are not unacquainted, my fellow soldiers, that we have had, not long since, many accidents, that have put a stop to what we intended

“ to accomplish; and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished for their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances. But since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing, that hath happened; is of such a nature, but it may, by yourselves, be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action, I have proposed to myself, both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time, some information. Both which parts of my design will tend to this point, that you may still retain your own proper fortitude. I will, then, in the first place, demonstrate to you, that this war is a just one on our side; and that on this account, it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries: for if you are once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you. After this, I will farther demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under, are of no very great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I say. You are not ignorant, certainly, of the wickedness of the Arabians; which is to that degree, as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shews the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have affronted us, have arisen from covetousness and envy; and they have attacked us in an insidious manner. What occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? It was the friendship I had with Anthony, and his kind disposition towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone; Anthony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness. But when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that, by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations; while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more, which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute. This they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable. But although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved. Nor is it fit that they, who have professed, and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due; and this while we have been still not their enemies, but their friends: whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary. This is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any way whatsoever; and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it. Is it, therefore, a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just, but necessary, in wars between several nations. For these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, whom they have beheaded; while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable. As for ourselves, we have learned, from God, the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by missionaries, or ambassadors. For this name brings to mankind the knowledge of God, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness, then, can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? and when such

" have been their actions, how is it possible they can
 " either live securely in common life; or be success-
 " ful in war? In my opinion this is impossible.
 " But, perhaps, some will say, that what is holy,
 " and what is righteous, is, indeed, on our side;
 " but that the Arabians are either more coura-
 " geous, or more numerous, than we are. Now
 " as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to
 " say so; for with whom is what is righteous, with
 " them is God himself. Now where God is, there
 " is both multitude and courage. But to examine
 " our circumstances a little: we were conquerors
 " in the first battle; and when we fought again,
 " they were not able to oppose us, but ran away,
 " and could not endure our attacks, or our cou-
 " rage. But when we had conquered them, then
 " came Athenion, and made war against us with-
 " out declaring it. And is this an instance of their
 " manhood? or is not a second instance of their
 " wickedness and treachery? Why are we, there-
 " fore, of less courage on account of that which
 " ought to inspire us with much stronger hopes?
 " And why are we terrified at those, who, when
 " they fight upon the level, are continually beaten?
 " and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain
 " it by wickedness? If we suppose that any one
 " should deem them to be men of real courage, will
 " not he be excited by that very consideration to
 " do his utmost against them? For true valour is
 " not shewn by fighting against weak persons, but
 " in being able to overcome the most hardy. But
 " then, if the distresses we are ourselves under, and
 " the miseries that have come by the earthquake,
 " have affrighted any one; let him consider, in the
 " first place, that this very thing will deceive the
 " Arabians, by their supposal, that what hath be-
 " fallen us, is greater than it really is. Moreover,
 " it is not right that the same thing that emboldens
 " them should discourage us; for these men do not
 " derive their alacrity from any innate virtue of
 " their own, but from their hope, as to us, that
 " we are quite cast down by our misfortunes. When
 " we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull
 " down their insolent conceit of themselves, and
 " shall gain this by attacking them, that they will
 " not be so insolent when we come to the battle.
 " For our distresses are not so great; nor is what
 " hath happened an indication of the anger of God
 " against us, as some imagine, because such things
 " are accidental, and adversities that come in the
 " usual course of things. If we allow that this was
 " done by the will of God, we must allow that it
 " is now over by his will also, and that he is satis-
 " fied with what hath already happened: for had he
 " been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he had
 " not so soon put a stop to our calamities. As for
 " the war we are engaged in, he hath himself de-
 " monstrated, that he is willing it should go on,
 " and that he knows it to be a just war: for while
 " some of the people, in the country, have perished,
 " all you, who were in arms, have suffered nothing,
 " but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes
 " it plain to us, that, if you had universally, with
 " your children and wives, been in the army, it had
 " come to pass, that you had not undergone any
 " thing that would have much hurt you. Con-
 " sider these things; and what is more than all the
 " rest, that you have God at all times for your
 " protector; and prosecute these men with a just
 " bravery, who, in point of friendship, are unjust,
 " in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors
 " impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

Herod hav-
 ing anima-
 ted his men,
 advances
 against the
 Arabians.

This speech had the desired effect; the soldiers
 shaking off all despondency, and resuming their na-
 tural courage and alacrity. Herod, having sacri-
 ficed in form, marched away immediately towards
 the Arabians beyond the river Jordan. Between
 the two armies was a castle, of which the contend-
 ing parties were equally desirous to get possession.
 A party of Arabians attempted to gain the castle;
 but the Jews, without much difficulty, repulsed
 them, and soon after took possession of the hill.
 Herod daily arranged his men in order of battle, and
 took every possible method to provoke the enemy
 to an engagement. In point of numbers, the Ara-

bians had the superiority; but the Jews were by
 far the most courageous and intrepid. A general
 consternation appeared in the Arabian army, which
 so animated the Jews, that they pushed them to their
 very trenches, where, for a time, they made a faint
 shew of resistance, while despair was evident from
 their looks and actions. They maintained, how-
 ever, a kind of fight, partly as encouraged by their
 numbers, and partly as compelled by inevitable ne-
 cessity; till at length, after a long contest, and
 much bloodshed, they were put to a total rout, and
 with so terrible a slaughter, that, betwixt those who
 fell by the enemy's swords and their own; and those
 that were trodden to death in the crowd, there were
 missing 5000 of their number. The rest made
 their way to their camp, but with a miserable pro-
 spect before them, being destitute of all the neces-
 saries of life; and, to add to their desperate condi-
 tion, they were so blocked up by the Jews, that
 there was no possibility either of relief or escape.

The Ara-
 bians send
 ambassadors
 to Herod.

In this extremity they sent deputies to Herod, re-
 questing that he would either grant them peace, or
 free them from their present distress for want of
 water. But he would admit neither of proposal
 or request, till at length their thirst became so in-
 tolerable, that, in the space of five days, no less
 than four or five thousand came out, and surren-
 dered themselves prisoners, to avoid the insupportable
 calamity of a raging drought. On the 6th day all
 the rest made a sally, by consent; and attacked the
 besiegers, chusing rather a present certainty of death,
 than to perish gradually and ingloriously. Having
 taken this resolution, they issued out of their camp,
 but without either strength or spirit to sustain so
 desperate an action; so that, on the first attack,
 there fell above 7000, by which the rest were taught
 that Herod was a skilful commander; and being
 thus effectually humbled, they submitted them-
 selves to the protection of the conqueror.

A great
 slaughter of
 the Ara-
 bians.

CHAP. IX.

*The battle of Actium. Hyrcanus put to death by He-
 rod, who repairs to Cæsar, and commits his govern-
 ment to his brother Pheroras.*

THE reduction of the Arabians highly grati-
 fied the ambitious Herod, who went back to
 Jerusalem in full possession of his utmost wishes.
 But this sunshine of prosperity was greatly eclipsed,
 by his receiving intelligence of the defeat of An-
 thony, at Actium, by Augustus; for both friends
 and foes were agitated at his situation, as it was by
 no means probable that he, who had shewed so
 much friendship for Anthony, should remain with-
 out punishment. The former did not affect to dis-
 guise their apprehension of his ruin; while the lat-
 ter, under a pretence of condoling with him, in-
 wardly rejoiced at the pleasing prospect they had of
 a change in affairs. It occurred to Herod, that
 Hyrcanus, being the only surviving branch of the
 royal family, it would be much for his interest to
 have him taken off, whatever might be his own fate,
 with respect to Cæsar, since, whether he escaped his
 resentment, or fell under it, he thought it necessary
 to remove his own fears, by cutting him off from
 the succession. While Herod was ruminating on
 this horrid design, the very family of Hyrcanus
 furnished him with an opportunity of executing his
 purposes. Hyrcanus he knew to be of an easy and
 indolent disposition, averse to business, and content
 in every station of life. But his daughter Alexan-
 dra, on the contrary, was of an aspiring, turbulent
 spirit, and exceedingly anxious for a change in the
 government. Seeing her father careless and uncon-
 cerned at the degraded state of their family, she re-
 presented to him the disgrace of suffering the indig-
 nities which Herod daily put upon them, and ad-
 vised him to apply to Malchus, at that time gover-
 nor of Arabia, requesting him, if there should be
 occasion, to receive him into his protection; adding,
 that, if Herod should fall under the displeasure of
 Cæsar, which might reasonably be expected, he
 could not fail of being restored to his dignity, hav-
 ing

Anthony is
 defeated at
 Actium.

Herod
 meditates
 the death of
 Hyrcanus.

ing an indisputable right and title, and the goodwill of the people manifestly on his side.

Hyrcanus is prevailed on by Alexandra to retire to Malchus in Arabia.

Perfidy of Dosithus.

Hyrcanus at first turned a deaf ear to the solicitations of his daughter; but her importunities at length prevailing, he wrote to the Arabian, and committed the charge of the letter to one Dosithus, whom he considered as a confidential friend to himself, as well as an inveterate foe to Herod. The purport of the letter was, to desire that Malchus would send him a party of horsemen to the lake Asphaltites, about three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. But he was greatly mistaken with respect to the confidence he reposed in Dosithus, who choosing rather to form an interest with the present king, no sooner received the letter, than he carried it to him. When Herod had read the contents, he made his acknowledgments to Dosithus for his good office, and requested that he would seal the letter up again, carry it forward to Malchus, and receive his answer, as it would afford him the highest satisfaction to know how he would act in so interesting a business.

Dosithus executed his commission with the utmost punctuality, and brought back the Arabian's answer, which was to this effect: "That he was willing to give entertainment to Hyrcanus and his family; that if he chose to bring with him all those Jews who remained true to his interest, they should likewise be received in the most hospitable manner: that he was ready to send a proper force to conduct them with safety, and, in fine, heartily disposed to afford Hyrcanus all possible assistance in any way he might require."

Hyrcanus is put to death.

Herod, upon the receipt of this letter, sent for Hyrcanus, and demanded of him whether he held any correspondence with Malchus. Hyrcanus answered in the negative; upon which Herod produced the letter, read it publicly, and ordered Hyrcanus to be put to death. This is according to the account contained in the commentaries of king Herod. Other historians record, that he was put to death for a conspiracy, and not for the crime that is here related. They write, that Herod and Hyrcanus, being once at an entertainment, the former, without any apparent suspicion, asked the latter whether he had received any letter from Malchus? and when he answered in the affirmative, but that the contents were merely complimentary, he was again asked if he had ever received any presents from him? to which he also replied in the affirmative; but they were only four horses for his recreation. They add, that Herod charged those upon him as crimes of corruption and treason, and gave orders for his immediate execution. To demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was brought to this end, they alledged the peculiar complacency of his temper, which he ever maintained from his earliest youth; and that even when he came to be king, he committed the management of the greatest part of the public affairs to Antipater, the father of Herod; that he was now upwards of fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state, and himself on the wrong side of the Euphrates, having left his friends behind him, and all this in submission to Herod's dominion. From these considerations they infer the incredibility of his attempting any enterprize, by way of innovation, and thence conclude that it was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

History of Hyrcanus.

Thus ended the life of Hyrcanus, a life long and troublesome, and chequered with a vast variety of fortune. He was advanced to the pontificate during the reign of his mother Alexandra, and continued to discharge the duties of it nine years, at the expiration of which his mother died, and he assumed the reins of government. He had not, however, been in possession of the sovereignty above three months, when he was expelled by his brother Aristobulus. After this he was restored to his former station by Pompey, who put him in possession of all his dignities, and, for the space of forty years, he continued in the enjoyment of them; but was at length dethroned by Antigonus, suffering the pains and disgrace of having his ears cut off, and being

carried away prisoner among the Parthians. After remaining some time in this situation, he obtained his liberty, and returned home, flattering himself with great advantages from the friendship of Herod. But in this hope he was so disappointed, that the latter caused him to suffer an ignominious death at a most advanced age, after having experienced so many of the malicious turns of fortune. He was distinguished by the candour and moderation of his disposition, as well as by his regard to the laws of equity. He was remarkable for his love of ease, and generally entrusted the administration of public affairs to the care of others, from a conviction, that he was himself ill calculated for the management of them. This easiness of disposition laid the principal foundation of the fortunes of Antipater and Herod; yet, in the end, it so happened, that he fell a sacrifice to that very goodness of temper which ought to have been his protection.

Herod, having obviated all grounds of fear by the death of Hyrcanus, prepared to wait on Cæsar; though he had no reason to expect any favour from him towards a man who had so heartily espoused the interest of Anthony. He had a strong suspicion of Alexandra; and not knowing what advantage she might take of his absence to occasion some tumult, committed the care of the government to his brother Pheroras; placed his mother Cypris, with his sister, and other relations, in the castle of Massada; laying strong injunctions on his brother, if any misfortune should befall him, to maintain his authority, and continue the administration in his own name. His wife Mariamne, and her mother Alexandra, he secured in the castle of Alexandrion; as such animosity prevailed betwixt his wife, his mother, and sister, that they could not possibly live together in peace. He put the government of the fort into the hands of two friends of approved trust, Joseph and Sohemus, under pretext of doing honour to those princesses; but with private orders, if any violence was offered to his person by Cæsar, immediately to put them to death, and use their endeavours to fix his brother and sons secure in the government.

Herod commits the care of the government to his brother Pheroras.

CHAP. X.

Herod addresses Cæsar, by whom he is confirmed in his government of Judæa. Magnificently entertains Cæsar at Ptolemais.

HEROD, having given these directions respecting what he would have done in his absence, left Jerusalem, and proceeded with all expedition to wait on Cæsar, who was at this time at Rhodes. Upon his arrival, he immediately made application for being admitted to an audience of the emperor, which being granted, before he entered into his presence, he laid aside his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity. As soon as he came into the presence of the emperor, without needless apologies, as is common in such cases, he frankly addressed him in words to this purport:

"Illustrious Cæsar, (said he,) I wait not upon you to disavow the sincerity of a friendship I have always entertained for Anthony: and I must be free enough to declare, that, if it had been in my power to have made him master of the world, he had not wanted that distinguished station. I acknowledge, great prince, that I am indebted to Anthony for the regal state I at present enjoy; and had not my duty called me against the Arabians, I would have manifested my gratitude by being personally with him in the last battle. I did, however, my utmost to serve him, by supplying him with soldiers, provisions, and money. Notwithstanding the unfortunate event at Actium, I still entertain for Anthony the greatest warmth of friendship, and venerate him as a generous patron. Though I could not attend him in person, yet I gave him such advice, that, had he pursued it, would have been of the most material advantage. I urged him to abandon Cleopatra; telling him that while his connection with her

He goes to Cæsar.

" her subsisted, he would be in continual danger;
" but he chose to proceed in another mode, and
" has promoted your interest rather than his own,
" for want of an exertion of that prudence which
" his situation demanded. Now, though you may
" have conceived the less favourably of me, be-
" cause I attached myself to the interest of Anthony,
" at a time when you was his professed enemy, yet
" I shall not, on that account, hesitate to make
" known, and defend the services I have done him,
" and the perfect esteem I have ever had for him.
" If you will, for a moment, advert to his rank,
" and the friendship I bore him, without retrospect
" to the peculiarities of his situation, I conceive
" that you will see so much of gratitude and good
" faith in my conduct, that you may think the ac-
" ceptance of my friendship worthy your notice;
" for the dignity of my character will suffer no al-
" teration, whether I vow this friendship to Cæsar
" or to Anthony."

Herod delivered this speech with such an air of magnanimity, and such grace of demeanour, that Augustus, who possessed a natural benignity of mind, was not able to resist its power. He treated Herod with singular instances of regard and esteem, directed him to re-assume his crown, and be the same friend in future to himself, that he had formerly been to Anthony; giving him also to understand, that Capidius had made him sensible of the good offices Herod had done him in the affairs of the gladiators. When Herod had obtained so kind a reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, been reinstated in his kingdom, more securely than ever, by a decree of the Roman senate, upon Cæsar's immediate application, he could not but be affected with a degree of transport, and take every opportunity of testifying the sense he entertained of such liberal sanction. Upon this consideration he attended Augustus into Egypt, treating himself, and his friends, upon the way, with a magnificence suitable to his dignity of character, and due acknowledgment of obligation. He interceded with the emperor on the behalf of Alexander, a friend of Anthony, in order to obtain his pardon; but Augustus, having bound himself by solemn vow not to spare him, his request could not be granted.

The Jews who, on Herod's departure, had given him up for lost, were now so astonished at his return with a greater degree of reputation and splendour than that with which he had left them, that they looked upon him as a person under the peculiar care of Providence, which turned to his advantage all those circumstances that appeared to lead him only into disgrace and danger.

When Cæsar was upon his return from Egypt, Herod went out to meet him at Ptolemais, where he treated him with most superb magnificence, and amply supplied his whole army with necessaries. Upon this occasion Cæsar gave him every token of friendship and familiarity, insomuch, that they ordinarily rode out together while their troops were mustering. Having a train of 150 attendants, richly habited, and perfectly instructed in the duties of their office, Herod appointed them to wait on Cæsar and his friends in their passage, and take care that neither himself, or his army, should want either wine or water, over the dry and barren desert, which gained him great reputation amongst the soldiers. Besides, he presented Cæsar with five hundred talents; and gave so universal a satisfaction, that they held him in the highest veneration. Having thus improved a signal opportunity of demonstrating his generosity to divers Romans, of the first rank, in their passage out of Egypt, he acquired the character of one of the most illustrious princes upon earth.

C H A P. XI.

Distracted state of Herod's family. Deaths of Anthony and Cleopatra. Herod causes Sohemus to be put to death. Pusillanimity and hypocrisy of Alex-
No. 21.

andra. Death and character of Mariamne. Herod is inconsolable for the loss of her. A great pestilence in Jerusalem. Alexandra endeavours to possess herself of several strong fortresses in the neighbourhood of the capital. Is put to death by order of Herod. Cruelty of Herod to his friends. Herod rules with despotic sway.

THE satisfaction which Herod felt, in consequence of his very great success in his late expedition, was greatly eclipsed by the disturbances he found among his own family on his arrival at Jerusalem. Mariamne, his wife, as well as his mother-in-law, had been very unhappy on account of the situation in which he left them at his departure, considering themselves rather as prisoners in the castle of Alexandrion, than as being lodged there for the security of their persons. His wife was strongly possessed with an opinion, that, in the whole of his professions of regard to her, he had no farther view than the consulting of his own convenience. But the circumstance she held most heinous, was her husband's resolution not to suffer her to survive him in case of his death. Being apprehensive that he might have left orders for the execution of his sanguinary purpose both with Joseph and Sohemus, she tried various means to discover if her suspicions were justly founded. For some time Sohemus remained true to his trust; but on Mariamne's treating him with great complaisance, and presenting him with several very valuable articles, he began to recede by degrees, and at length discovered the whole secret with which Herod had entrusted him. Mariamne was so shocked with these conditional orders which Herod had repeatedly given respecting her, that she conceived the greatest antipathy against him; and such was the horror and dread of her mind, at the thought of living with a man who could harbour such a design, that she made it the subject of her daily prayer that he might never return to her alive; and, at a future period, when she had it not in her power to conceal her sentiments any longer, she acknowledged this circumstance in the most open and explicit manner.

As soon as Herod returned from Cæsar, he immediately repaired to Mariamne, and delivered to her the happy tidings of his success, at the same time embracing her with an apparent tenderness of affection. But while he was relating the circumstances of events which he thought would afford her the highest satisfaction, she looked about her with an air of the greatest indifference, without paying the least attention to what he said. She was, in fact, entirely unreserved in her neglect; and being a woman who prided herself in acting without disguise, took no pains to assume a look foreign from her heart, but gave Herod the opportunity of reading in her countenance, that his good news and endearments gave her more pain than pleasure.

This apparent aversion in Mariamne tortured the mind of Herod, who, partly through the indignation he felt at finding his love rejected, and partly through his confusion from the transports of his rage, was for a time almost distracted. He saw no means of gratifying his love without offering violence to his resentment, and at the same time dreaded giving a scope to his vengeance more than the opposite extreme; for he felt a principle of self-love in his breast, which told him, that, should he take vengeance on his wife, the most unhappy consequences would arise to himself, when future experience should convince him, that life was not to be supported without the endearments of her conversation.

The restless anxiety of Herod's mind leaving him in doubt how he should conduct himself with regard to Mariamne, his mother and sister thought this a fit opportunity of increasing the difference between them, by doing all kinds of ill-offices, and propagating every species of calumny, that might tend to promote that hatred which had already taken possession of the breast of Herod. In consequence of this, Herod became daily more and more discontented.

Mariamne and Alexandra bear ill-will to Herod.

Sohemus discovers the design upon Mariamne's life.

She treats Herod with the coldest indifference

Herod is much agitated thereby.

Is confirmed in the government of Judæa.

Entertains Cæsar sumptuously at Ptolemais.

Acquires great popularity among the Romans

tented in his mind, and behaved with a greater degree of severity to his wife. On the contrary, Mariamne took not the least pains to disguise the discontent which rankled in her heart; so that the excessive regard that Herod entertained for her, was, by degrees, converted to the utmost rancour and hatred; and it is probable she might have fallen an immediate sacrifice to his resentment, had he not, just at this juncture, received intelligence of the deaths of Anthony and Cleopatra, and that Egypt was then in the possession of Cæsar. Upon this information Herod hastened away to Augustus, leaving his family in the greatest disorder, and once more committing Mariamne to the care of Sohemus, with acknowledgments for his care and fidelity, and the grant of a command in Judæa, as a gratification.

Augustus obtains the government of Egypt.

Confers additional favours on Herod.

When Herod arrived in Egypt, he was received, by Cæsar, with the greatest kindness and respect; and having, on his return, accompanied him to Antioch, he so far ingratiated himself with the emperor, that he put him in possession of that part of the country which Anthony had bestowed on Cleopatra, with the additional government of Gadara, Hippen, and Samaria; towards the sea of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the Tower of Straton; which was no small accession to his royal state.

Mariamne reproaches Herod for the murder of her grandfather and brother.

But prosperous as Herod was in his affairs abroad, on his return, he found nothing but trouble and vexation at home. Mariamne still retained her resentment for the cruel commission given to Sohemus; so that when Herod offered her his caresses, she not only rejected them with the utmost aversion, but reproached him, in the bitterest terms, with the deaths of her relations, which enraged Herod to such a degree, that he could hardly forbear laying violent hands on her. This fit of rage, Salome, the sister of Herod, and most implacable enemy of Mariamne, took the advantage of, and sent in the king's cup-bearer, whom she had before suborned for that purpose, to accuse the queen of having tempted him to give him poison, under pretence of administering a love potion. Herod had heretofore met with sufficient cause of vexation, but the astonishment with which he was struck at this information, drove him to the very verge of distraction; so that he ordered immediately the putting a particular confidant of Mariamne to the torture, taking it for granted she would do nothing that was material without his privacy. Obedience was paid to this order; but nothing could be extorted from him, till, in the last extremity of his anguish, he dropped some words, intimating, that the uneasiness of Mariamne arose from something that had been communicated to her by Sohemus. The sufferer had hardly pronounced these words, when Herod burst out into the most passionate exclamation, declaring, that "Sohemus, who had hitherto been so loyal a subject, and approved himself so true a friend to his king and country, never could have betrayed a secret of so important a nature as that with which he had been entrusted, but in the confidence of illegal formalities with Mariamne." He therefore gave immediate orders that Sohemus should be put to death; having done which, he directed that his wife should be summoned to take her trial before a court of justice, and appointed for her judges, a number of persons devoted to his will.

Sohemus is put to death by the command of Herod.

Mariamne is sentenced to death.

When the day of her trial arrived, the charge exhibited against her was, having conspired to poison the king. Herod was more violent against her, both by his words and actions, than was consistent with the conduct of any man in a court of justice: and the judges, observing the disposition of the king, followed his example; and Mariamne was pronounced guilty of the charge exhibited against her. Herod, however, as if he relented of his conduct, observed, that it would be more prudent to spare her life, and detain her in prison, than put her to death; which proposition was approved of, not only by the judges, but the greatest part of the assembly. It was at length over-ruled by Salome and her adherents, who were violent in their exclamations for immediate justice; and, in consequence of what

they urged, that a revolt would happen among the people, if the queen's life was spared, Herod was prevailed on to agree to her execution, and a day accordingly appointed for the tragical scene.

As soon as Alexandra found to what extremity the proceedings against her daughter had been carried, she had every reason to apprehend that her own life was in danger. In order, therefore, to avoid the dreadful consequence, she descended to a conduct that was altogether derogatory to the dignity of her character. Her fears, at this juncture, induced her to go such lengths, and she was so desirous of not being thought to have combined with her daughter, that she sought every opportunity of traducing her, representing her as the most base and ungrateful of women, and extolling the justice of that sentence which had doomed her to death for conspiring the destruction of a husband, to whose tenderness she lay under such unbounded obligations.

Puillani, mity and hypocrisy of Alexandra.

Alexandra carried this hypocritical behaviour to such a degree, that she became universally despised, as one who could condescend to insult her daughter during the extremity of her misfortunes. But Mariamne, even while she was conducting to the place of execution, passed by all her mother's unnatural behaviour, though her countenance testified the sense she entertained of the shameful part her mother had acted. In short, she maintained her spirits with the greatest degree of firmness and constancy, not exhibiting, even by the change of her complexion, that she was in the least terrified at the thought of approaching death. In a word, she died in the same manner she lived, a patron of courage, disdaining fear, and proving herself capable of sustaining the most severe trials.

Mariamne is put to death.

Mariamne was a woman who would have been superior to all her sex, but that she had too great a mixture of pride and passion in her disposition. Her beauty was so great, the graces of her person so extraordinary, and the charms of her conversation so singular, as not simply to render her superior to all other women, but so much so, as not to admit of any degree of comparison. Now these super-eminent gifts and qualifications tended, in a great degree, to the advancement of her misfortunes, by occasioning the unhappy life she led with her husband. He was enamoured of her beyond all description: he neither opposed her will, or denied her any thing, but permitted her to do what she pleased, and indulged her in every gratification she chose. This, perhaps, might give rise to those frequent and inconsiderate reproaches which she cast upon Herod, without reflecting that she was thereby destroying her own happiness; for, by this kind of conduct, she rendered herself obnoxious to the mother and sister of her husband, and finally to himself, whose affection she conceived to be so excessive, that it could not, by any circumstance whatever, be alienated, more especially to such a degree as to affect her life.

Her character.

After the death of Mariamne, the passion which Herod had entertained for her in her life-time, displayed itself with redoubled violence. When he came to reflect upon the sentence which he had ordered to be carried into execution, he broke out into the strangest and most unmanly exclamations, frequently repeating the name of Mariamne, and saying, that her blood cried aloud for vengeance. The agonies of his mind increased to such a degree, that he sought to divest his melancholy by feasting, company, and a variety of entertainments. But all these endeavours proved fruitless, and, instead of finding any relief, he grew delirious, talked in a raving manner, and, while the fits of phrenzy were on him, would frequently call for Mariamne, and direct that she should be brought before him.

Herod is confounded upon the death of his wife.

While Herod was in this distracted state, a most dreadful plague broke out in Jerusalem, which raged with such prodigious violence, that people of all ranks and degrees fell sacrifices to its rigour, and many thousands were taken off in a very short space of time. This dreadful calamity was universally considered, by the people, as a just judgment consequent

A pestilence in Jerusalem.

quent on the murder of the unfortunate and innocent Mariamne.

Herod's
dilemma
between
his duty
and his
passions.

Herod's disorder daily increasing on him, he withdrew to a solitary retreat, and had it given out that he was gone to take the exercise of hunting. Before, however, he had been long in this retreat, he was attacked with a disorder much more violent than the former, and attended with such a racking pain and inflammation in the head, that he was not master of his own conduct. The prescriptions applied for his relief were found to do him more injury than service, so that his case was considered as no other than hopeless. The difficulties that arose in the attempt to conquer this disease, the peculiar situation of the patient, and the impossibility of relieving him in the regular way, being considered, the physicians reflected that it would be in vain to interpose their advice any longer, and therefore left him entirely to his own management, and the event to Providence only, directing that he might be gratified in every thing he desired. This was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

Alexandra
attempts to
get some
thing holds
of her
husband.

The wretched situation of Herod being made known to Alexandra, who was then at Jerusalem, after reflecting on the circumstance, she began to consider whether or not it might be possible for her to obtain possession of the strong fortresses in the vicinity of the capital. She was particularly desirous of becoming mistress of two above the rest; one of which was situated in the city, and the other close adjoining to the temple; being assured that the people must be altogether at the mercy of the party who should be in possession of these two towers. For the Jews are so attached to their religion, that they will on no consideration dispense with their daily sacrifices; and it must have been at the option of whoever commanded these turrets, whether they should have any sacrifices or not. Alexandra, therefore, pursuant to her design, made application to the governors of these respective forts in words to this effect: "I need not inform you of the very deplorable state of the king's health; wherefore I intreat you that the two fortresses may be given up to the possession of the mother of the king's wife, and the children of Herod and Mariamne, lest, in case of his death, a different family should succeed to the throne; and even if the king should recover, the hands of his nearest relations are those in which the government may with most safety be trusted."

which
is slain.

The governors, (one of whom was named Achiab, and nephew to Herod,) partly from a sense of their duty, but chiefly from an enmity to Alexandra, refused to acknowledge the force of her arguments for delivering up the towers, telling her, it would ill become them to make a kind of prejudication of the king's life, for whom, during many years, they had entertained the most perfect friendship and loyalty. No sooner was their conversation ended, than Achiab repaired to his uncle, and gave him a particular account of the proposal made by Alexandra. Herod, who was by this time much recovered from his illness, was enraged to the highest degree, and, without admitting Alexandra into his presence, or suffering her to say any thing in her own defence, sent immediate orders that she should be put to death.

it be-
came
to
ends.

This fit of sickness, of which Herod recovered with the greatest difficulty, produced a very strange and singular effect both in his body and mind, particularly the latter. His disposition was totally altered; and he became so extravagantly cruel and ferocious, that the least trifle ruffled his temper, incited him to acts of the greatest barbarity, and either friends or foes were equally the objects of his vengeance. For instance, Costobarus, Lyfimachus, Antipater, otherwise called Gadia, and Dositheus, were taken off upon various pretences.

Costobarus was an Idumæan by birth, a man of the first rank, and descended from a family whose ancestors had formerly officiated as priests of Coze, a deity they held in great veneration, till, in the days of Hyrcanus, they embraced the religion of the Jews. Herod no sooner obtained the government,

than he gave this Costobarus the command of Idumæa and Gaza, with his daughter Salome to wife, whose husband Joseph he himself had caused to be slain. This promotion, so much beyond the hope or pretence of Costobarus, rendered him so haughty and insolent, as to dispute the authority of his master; deeming it a condescension unworthy of the Idumæans, to own themselves the subjects of the Jews, in consequence of embracing their ceremonies and worship. He therefore sent deputies to Cleopatra, reminding her that Idumæa had been still under the administration of her forefathers, and that she would do well to make application to Anthony for the command, professing himself, at the same time, at her entire devotions. He was not induced to pursue this measure from any preference he gave to the government of Cleopatra, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain for himself the government of the Idumæans, as he had two probable grounds for expectation of success; the dignity of his birth, and the immense riches he had acquired through the gratification of a most insatiable avarice. Cleopatra tried her influence with Anthony, but without effect; and this design coming to the knowledge of Herod, would have proved fatal to Costobarus, had it not been for the intercession of his mother and sister, by which means he obtained his pardon, though he was never afterwards exempt from suspicion.

Costobarus
and Salome
disagree.

Some time after a disagreement prevailed betwixt Costobarus and Salome, who, in consequence, sent her husband a bill of divorce, though directly repugnant to the custom of the country, and a manifest usurpation of the privilege of the husband, who has a legal right to discharge the woman, and exclude her from her title to marry again without his consent. Such, however, was the power of Salome, that she was suffered to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, alledging, that she loved her brother and sovereign more duly than she did her husband, with whom she parted, from an assurance, that he, in conjunction with Lyfimachus, Antipater, and Dositheus, was forming a conspiracy against him. As an evidence of what she advanced, she cited an instance of his kindness to the sons of Babas, whom he had now kept twelve years under his protection. When Herod, upon an enquiry, discovered the truth of this allegation, it impressed him in an extraordinary manner; for he had long formed a resolution of having them taken off as known enemies to his interest, but incidents occurred that diverted him from his purpose. The antipathy arose from the following cause.

She accuses
him with
having pre-
served the
inveterate
foes of He-
rod.

When Herod was before Jerusalem, in the time of Antigonus, the besieged were so distressed by the miseries of famine, and the toils of the siege, that the greater part were for opening the gates, and letting Herod into the town. The sons of Babas, who were dignified by birth, and had acquired great popularity, as friends to Antigonus, contended for persevering to act on the defensive, and maintaining the government in the royal line. Upon the taking of the city, Herod gave charge to Costobarus to keep strict watch upon the avenues of the city, nor suffer any of the party inimical to his interest to escape. Costobarus, sensible of the esteem in which they were held by the multitude, and supposing that their preservation might conduce to his interest, in case of a change in the administration of affairs, caused them to be secretly conveyed to a place of safety. Herod suspected the matter at the instant, and put him to the question; but the other assured him, upon oath, that he knew not what was become of them. A proclamation was then published, and other means followed, to detect the offence the king had received in the disobedience of his orders, but without any effect; for, after the first denial, there was no retracting, but at the most imminent danger of life.

At length the whole plan was laid open by Salome; and the king having ordered the most diligent search to be made for the principal and accomplices, they were found, and all cut to pieces, so that the whole race of Hyrcanus was extirpated.

Costobarus,
and the sons
of Babas,
are all slain
by order of
Herod.

Herod

Herod had no sooner established an absolute power, than he gradually departed from the ancient constitution and laws of his country, by the introduction of foreign inventions and innovations. He appointed games to be celebrated, every fifth year, in honour of Augustus, and, for that purpose, erected a theatre in Jerusalem. He also built a stately amphitheatre without the walls of the city; and these fabrics were wonderfully magnificent, and attended with an enormous expence. But these edifices were opposite to the Jewish laws and customs, which give no sanction to the exhibition of games and public spectacles. To add to the magnificence and extent of these entertainments, Herod caused them to be proclaimed far and near, with large promises of reward to such as should excel in the different performances. By these means he brought in competitors, in the various kinds of exercise, from all quarters, and the greatest adepts in the several professions; not only wrestlers, but musicians, vocal and instrumental, horse racers, charioteers, &c. In fine, it was his peculiar care that nothing might be wanting to contribute to the pleasure, ornament, and curiosity of the main design. He imitated whatever was superb and sumptuous in other nations, from an ambition of giving public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations he had conquered, made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself. To diversify the entertainment, he provided lions, tigers, and such other wild beasts as were extraordinary either for ferocity, vigour, agility, or any quality of a singular nature. Some of these beasts of prey were turned loose upon each other, while others were selected to encounter condemned criminals.

Herod exhibits magnificent spectacles to the people.

Foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted with these spectacles; but to real Jews, they appeared no other than gewgaws, introduced to the dissolution of those ancient customs they held in the highest veneration: for what can be more horrid than to take pleasure in the brutal practice of sacrificing men to beasts, and spilling human blood in sport and derision? Besides, they deemed it the most egregious folly, as well as impiety, to change good old customs for frivolous new ones. But, above all, the Jews were most disgusted with the trophies, which they imagined to be images of men covered with armour, and consequently totally repugnant to the institutions of their country. They discovered their aversion to these trophies in such animated terms, that Herod chose rather to overcome their prejudices by mild than rigorous means; but all the allurements he could throw out had no effect; for they unanimously exclaimed against the iniquity of his proceeding, declaring they could submit to any thing except the introduction of images (meaning the trophies) into the city, which was absolutely contradictory to the laws of their country.

The trophies offend the Jews.

Herod, finding their disgust prevail more and more, and that they were not to be pacified, either by the force of authority or persuasion, took some of eminent rank to the theatre, shewed them the trophies, asked their opinion of them, and what they took them to be. Upon their exclaiming they were the images of men, Herod gave orders that they should be stripped of the outward ornaments, and exposed as naked stumps of wood, which turned their suspicion into ridicule, because they had ever before held the ornaments of images in contempt and derision.

Though Herod, by these means, amused the multitude, and allayed the vehemence of their indignation, there were many who persisted in their abhorrence of the introduction of foreign customs, esteeming a violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischief. For this cause they held it their duty, at the hazard of their lives, to assert these laws against the infringements of Herod, who, under the sanction of royal authority, would act the part of an enemy, in thus imposing on their consciences and liberties.

Ten citizens conspire against Herod.

The people were at length so inflamed with this innovation, that ten citizens entered into a conspi-

racy against the person of the king, in defiance of all danger that might attend the enterprize. Having preconcerted the matter, they concealed daggers, under their garments, ready for the execution of their resolve. They then went, by common consent, to the theatre, with full resolution to stab the king; and, in case of disappointment, with respect to himself, of making such havock amongst his attendants, that their example would render him odious; and that this instance of their bravery, in the vindication of their religion and discipline, would be an incitement to others to follow their steps.

As Herod was just entering the theatre, one of his spies, who had found out the whole affair, discovered it to him; whereupon, being conscious to himself of the odium he lay under, he retired to his palace, and sent for the conspirators every man by name. Being now, as it were, surprised in the fact, and bereft of any probable means of escaping, they sustained the shock with undaunted resolution, confessing and justifying the charge exhibited against them, at the same time that they produced the very daggers with which they were to have done the execution, alledging, "that they were not engaged in any criminal combination to gratify any passion or interest, but in a solemn league, for the common good, and the defence of their laws, which the Jews, in general, were bound to maintain with their lives." After this frank and spirited declaration, they were led away to execution by the king's guards, and underwent, with resignation, all the exquisite torments that were inflicted on them, till death came to their relief. Nor was it long before the spy, who had discovered them, was seized on by some of the people, from the detestation in which they held him, by whom he was not only slain, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and thrown to the dogs, and that in the presence of numerous spectators. Yet not one man concerned in this matter was detected for a considerable time, till, upon Herod's making strict search for them, and threatening the severest tortures, certain women confessed what they had seen done, upon which the authors, agents, and their whole families, were destroyed for this rash attempt. The multitude, however, stood firm in the vindication of their laws and customs; so that Herod, apprehensive of the danger of this mutinous disposition, determined to take effectual means, in due time, for the prevention of a revolt.

The conspiracy is detected.

Free confession of the conspirators.

They are put to death.

Vengeance taken on the informer.

Having, therefore, two forts in the city, the one at his palace, and the other (Antonia) which served for a guard to the temple, he fortified Samaria (otherwise called Sebaste) for a third, which served to keep the whole country in obedience. It was about a day's journey from Jerusalem, and commodiously situated for quelling broils in the city. There was also another strong hold that lay opportune for his purpose, formerly known by the name of Straton's Tower, but, by Herod, called Cæsarea. He built a castle also in the great plain, round about which he placed a select body of horse. These fortifications were so advantageously situated up and down the country, that it was impossible for the people to enter into any plot or practice against the state, as they were ready, upon any occasion, either to obviate sedition or crush it. He made it his first business to settle affairs in Samaria, as a place naturally strong and fit for his purpose. To this end he drew a great body of troops into the city, both foreign and domestic, partly for the security of the temple which he proposed to build there, and partly for the reputation of the work, but principally for his own safety, which, under the pretext of magnificence, was abundantly provided for. He changed the name of the town of Samaria to that of Sebaste, and divided it amongst the inhabitants of the country about it, by which means, the lands being fruitful about it, they soon became rich and easy. He surrounded the city with a strong wall, and enlarged it in such a proportion, as to render it not inferior to the most famous cities. It was five and twenty furlongs in circumference, and a furlong and an half in the middle, which he reserved for a temple, and accordingly erected one, that, for size and magnificence, was not inferior to any fabric whatever.

Herod fortifies the city.

whatever. In a word, he made such daily improvements in the city, as not only conduced to his own personal security, but transmitted to posterity monuments of the glory of his reign.

CHAP. XII.

Dreadful calamities in Judæa. Prudence of Herod in procuring provisions for the inhabitants. He builds a castle, cities, and temples.

A grievous famine in Judæa, succeeded by a pestilence.

IN the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities fell upon Judæa; whether from the effects of Divine vengeance, or, according to natural causes, we shall not undertake to determine. The first instance of distress was a long continued drought, which rendered the soil so barren, as totally to obstruct vegetation. The want of food, as well as unavoidable change of diet, through a dearth of corn, brought on innumerable diseases, which terminated in a pestilence; and, to aggravate so dire a calamity, the sick were almost abandoned, and left without remedy, or any means of consolation. So universal was the mortality, that each individual was in hourly expectation of dissolution. The last year's stores being expended, and no hopes of supply remaining, the case was desperate; and pining want stared them in the face, and seemed to threaten a total extirpation of their race. The miseries of the first year followed them in the second, as what seed they had sown perished from the same cause as the former, an extremity almost productive of the madness of despair.

Nor was the king by any means free from general distress: his revenue, large as it might have been, was not at this time adequate to his maintenance, his tributes being sunk, and his funded stock expended on buildings and fortifications. As an aggravation of his private distress, abstracted from the popular calamity, he was subject to calumny, as having, in many instances of his late conduct, been supposed to have caused the infliction of such severe judgments.

Herod desires means of raising a supply of provisions.

In this deplorable situation Herod deliberated with himself on the means of procuring some relief, which, at first, appeared a matter of insurmountable difficulty. His neighbours were in the same condition with himself, so that no supply could be expected from them: nay, could they even have furnished him, his finances were so reduced, that he had it not in his power to defray the expence.

Obtains from Petronius, governor of Egypt.

Obtains credit with the people.

Determined, however, to persevere in his endeavours to assist his people in the very extremity of their despair, as the last and only resource, he melted down all his plate, both silver and gold, useful and ornamental, reduced the whole mass into one aggregate sum, and sent it away into Egypt, where Petronius at that time governed under a commission from Cæsar. Petronius had been harassed by people from different quarters, who, urged by the most pressing necessity, had most importunately solicited his aid and assistance; but, from a particular regard to Herod, and an anxiety for the preservation of his people, he gave him, in preference to all others, a grant for the exportation of corn; and gave him all possible assistance, both in the purchase and conveyance. By procuring this very seasonable relief, he not only obviated the ill opinion the people had entertained of him, but enhanced himself in their esteem, as a prince of consummate wisdom, generosity, and humanity.

Takes an equitable distribution of the supplies.

His first care, on the receipt of this succour, was to make an equal and impartial distribution of it, in proportion to the number and condition of those who were to reap the benefit of it. Those who, by reason of age, or any infirmity, could neither fetch their corn, or prepare it for food, were supplied with such as was ready for immediate use. He also took care that they should be provided amply, not only with food, but also raiment, to secure them from the inclemency of the season; as they had been as destitute of wool for clothing, as of corn for food.

No. 21.

When he had competently provided for his own people, he took under consideration the necessities of his neighbours, and furnished the Syrians with a quantity of grain-seed for the ensuing season. This act of benevolence turned greatly to his own advantage; for the supply of seed arriving at the critical time of sowing, yielded so prodigious an increase of the following crop, that he sent 50,000 men, whom he had preserved from famine, to help them in with their harvest. By this means he repaired the afflicted state of his own country, and afforded assistance to his neighbours, who laboured under the same calamities: for none applied to him in vain, whether strangers, soldiers, citizens, rich, or poor; inso-much that it appeared, upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attic medimni each, which were distributed amongst foreigners, amounted to 10,000; and the number distributed in his own kingdom, to above fourscore thousand.

Sends assistance to the Syrians.

This seasonable and effectual interposition of the king had so prevailing an influence upon the Jews, as entirely to wipe off that stigma he had affixed to his character, by encroachments on their laws and discipline, having, in their estimation, amply atoned for his former misconduct. Nor was his character less respectable abroad than at home, since, from his compassionate regard and humanity towards strangers, they formed a judgment of his principles that did him the highest honour, as it was the total reverse of what they had held before.

Acquires universal fame.

About this time he sent Augustus 500 chosen men out of his own guards, as auxiliaries, which served under Elius Gallus, in the Arabian war, with much honour. The state of Judæa being now composed, and affairs in a flourishing condition, Herod took into contemplation the erecting a superb and extensive palace in the upper part of Jerusalem, with apartments elegantly fitted up, for the reception of numerous assemblies, and decorated with ornaments of gold and marble, of exquisite workmanship, and inscribed to the several great personages to whom he wished to pay honour, such as Cæsar, Agrippa, &c.

Herod builds a magnificent palace.

While he was intent on this undertaking, he became disposed to take another wife, from the following occasion. There was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of Boethus, an Alexandrian, and a prince of great eminence in his country. This Simon had a daughter of such exquisite beauty as to acquire an universal fame. Herod, upon the sight of her, become enamoured; but, determined to make no tyrannical use of his authority, made proposal of an honourable marriage. It was, indeed, an alliance beneath his dignity, though, in his opinion, too estimable to be rejected. To ballance, therefore, the inequality in some degree, by augmenting the honour of the family, and therefore qualify him for the proposed alliance, he deposed Jesus, the son of Phabes, from the pontificate, conferred the dignity on Simon, and then married his daughter.

Herod deposes Jesus from the pontificate, advances Simon, and marries his daughter.

When the nuptial ceremonies were solemnized, Herod erected a stately castle upon the spot where he formerly defeated the Jews in the war he had with Antigonus. This citadel is about sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, and so strong by nature, as to be capable of being rendered impregnable. The hill rises in a gradual ascent, as if artificial: the figure of it is round, and the castle encompassed with several towers, and 200 stone steps up to it. The apartments are stately and magnificent, and the whole structure firm and elegant. At the bottom of the mount are several buildings worthy of aspect, and particularly the famous aqueducts, which, with infinite labour and expence, were brought thither from a vast distance. The plain about the city is covered with edifices, to the proportion of a considerable city, having the hill above it, in the form of a castle.

Builds the castle called Herodium.

Herod having now succeeded in his designs in general, supposed himself totally free from future commotions and tumults. He kept his people in due subjection, partly by awe and fear, and partly through

Herod's disposition.

through attachment and interest; for he was a prince of most inflexible severity in the punishment of delinquents, as he was of most unbounded liberality in promoting the public good. He maintained such a guard upon himself, and kept every thing in such a posture of defence, as to render it apparent that the prince and people must stand or fall together. He deputed himself with affability to all around him, and, upon occasions, exhibited instances of munificence worthy of an emperor. By these means he acquired a general esteem, that greatly facilitated the accomplishment of his designs.

But the ambitious affectation of conciliating the favour of Augustus, and the most powerful men of Rome, induced him to swerve, by degrees, from the customs and discipline of our forefathers, in the erecting of cities and temples to the honour of his patrons. This was not done in Judæa itself; for the Jews would not have suffered it; as we are forbidden to pay any honour to images after the manner of the Greeks: so that he built these cities only upon the borders of the province, and not within the jurisdiction of it; offering, as an apology, that he was not incited to these acts by his own inclination, but purely from a motive of obedience to the higher powers, and particular Cæsar and the Roman state. Whatever desire he might have of securing the favour and protection of those potentates of the earth, his main view seems to have been directed to the promotion of his own interest, and the gratification of his ambition, in perpetuating his name by these memorials of his magnificence and liberality.

C H A P. XIII.

Herod erects divers spacious and elegant edifices. Sends his sons Aristobulus and Alexander to Rome, where they are honoured by Augustus Cæsar, who, in divers instances, displays his bounty to Herod.

Herod builds Cæsarea.

HEROD, observing a certain place near the sea-side, formerly called Straton's Tower, which he considered as a very commodious spot to raise a city upon, drew his model, employed artificers, and compleated his design. The buildings were, in general, of marble; but the master-piece was the harbour, equal in size to the Pyræum at Athens, replete with all conveniencies, and a secure station for shipping against all winds and weathers. The work was the more remarkable, because all the materials were conveyed from a great distance at an enormous expence.

Model of a mole.

This city is situate in Phœnicia, in the passage, by sea, into Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, two miserable sea-ports, where vessels cannot ride at anchor with the wind at south-west, as it beats so furiously upon the shore, that merchant-men are frequently obliged to keep out at sea, lest they should be run aground. To rectify this inconvenience, Herod ordered a mole to be made in the form of an half moon, and large enough for ships of war to ride in. He directed also vast stones to be let down there in twenty fathom of water. These stones were fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth; some greater, and some less, than those dimensions.

The Tower of Drusus.

This mole was two hundred feet in extent; the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves; the other half served for the foundation of a stone wall, fortified with turrets, the largest of which was called Drusus, from Drusus, the son-in-law of Augustus Cæsar, who died in infancy. There were several arched vaults, in which the mariners dwelt occasionally. There was likewise a quay or landing place, with a large walk upon it round the harbour, accommodated to the purpose of healthful exercise and recreation. The port opens to the northward, which is the clearest quarter of the wind. On the left side of the entrance there was a turret erected upon a large platform, with a sloping bank to shoot off the walking of the sea; and on the right

hand were two stone pillars opposite to the tower, both of an height. The edifices about the harbour were erected upon an uniform plan, and composed of the most excellent kind of marble. Upon an elevation in the middle stood a temple dedicated to Cæsar, which was of great use to mariners as a land-mark. There were in the temple two statues or images, one of which was that of Cæsar, and hence the city took the name of Cæsarea, which was no less celebrated for the materials than the workmanship. Nay, the subterranean vaults and cellars were finished specimens of architecture, as well as the buildings above ground. They were laid at equal distances one from the other, and so discharged themselves into the sea. Herod built also a stone theatre; and, upon the south side of the harbour, an amphitheatre, with a commanding prospect of the sea. This work was brought to perfection, at immense labour and expence, in the space of twelve years.

A temple dedicated to Cæsar, called Cæsarea.

When Herod had finished his design with respect to the cities of Sebaste and Cæsarea, he dispatched his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, to Rome, to pay their respects to Cæsar. Pallio, who was Herod's particular friend, provided them with accommodation; though Augustus had given positive orders for their being entertained in his own palace. He received them with the greatest cordiality; and, after the additional bounty of conferring upon Herod the three provinces of Trachon, Batanea, and Auranitis, gave him his choice which of his sons he would appoint to succeed him in the kingdom of Judæa. This particular favour arose from the following cause.

Herod sends his two sons to Rome.

One Zenodorus had taken upon him to farm the lands of Lysanias, and not contenting himself with the lawful advantage of the agreement, became partner with the free-booters in Trachon, a set of men who live upon the spoil they take from the people of Damascus. Those of the country who were great sufferers, applied themselves to Varro, who was at that time governor of the province, for a letter to Cæsar, complaining against Zenodorus. Cæsar was so averse to their mal-practices, that, in his answer, he recommended them to destroy those nests of robbers, and commit the command of the province to Herod, to keep the Trachonites in order for the future. It was very difficult to restrain them, as they had been long accustomed to this mode of pillaging; nor had they towns, houses, or possessions, but lived, like brutes, in dens and caves. The entrance into their hiding places was so narrow, that no more than one person could pass at a time; but the receptacle was large beyond imagination, and the roof plain and flat. They are, in fine, a people of so rapacious a disposition, that, when they have not opportunity of preying upon their neighbours, they prey upon one another; insomuch, that they are guided by no principle of justice, or common humanity. When Herod had received this grant from Cæsar, and was come into the country, he procured skilful guides, put a stop to their lawless depredations, and set the neighbours at rest. Zenodorus was so irritated at this proceeding, from the loss of his commission, on the one hand, and the envy he bore Herod on the other, for having supplanted him, that he hastened to Rome to prefer an accusation against him, but returned without effecting his design.

During these transactions Augustus sent Agrippa into Asia, to take upon him the command of the provinces beyond the Ionian Sea. Agrippa being a particular friend of Herod, he met him on his way at Mitylene, and then returned to Judæa. However, some of the Gadarenes came to Agrippa to accuse Herod, when they were not only dismissed without a hearing, but sent back to the king in chains.

Zenodorus and the Gadarenes accuse Herod.

Notwithstanding the prevailing interest of Herod, the Arabians, from an ancient grudge, attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and upon an occasion speciously justifiable. Zenodorus, finding his affairs grown desperate, agreed to consign over to the Arabians a certain proportion of his principality, on consideration of an annual payment of fifty talents.

The Arabians mount-
ed to Herod.

talents. But as this was included in Cæsar's grant to Herod, the Arabians contested the point, sometimes by law, and sometimes by force; and, to render the latter means more coercive, they engaged a party of soldiers, of desperate fortunes, who were willing to exert themselves in any cause that might retrieve them. Herod was well apprized of the design, but deemed it expedient to counteract it rather by mild than rigorous measures, in order to prevent fresh commotions.

Augustus
charges
into Syria.

The Gadarenes accuse
Herod.

In the seventeenth year of Herod's reign Cæsar came into Syria, where he was immediately applied to by the greater part of the inhabitants of Gadara, with clamorous accusations against Herod, as a most insupportable tyrant and oppressor. They were instigated to prefer these complaints by Zenodorus, who had bound himself by oath never to quit the prosecution of Herod, till he was dispossessed of his dominions, and they reverted to Cæsar. Thus instigated by Zenodorus, they became more and more vehement in their exclamations, and especially because those prisoners, that were delivered up to Herod by Agrippa, continued unpunished. Indeed, lenity towards the injuries of strangers was a striking trait in Herod's character, however inexorable he might have been towards the delinquents of his own subjects. The misdemeanours with which he was charged were, rapine, oppression, the violation and demolition of temples, with others of a similar nature.

Their conduct is con-
sidered as
an evidence
of guilt, and
Herod is ac-
quitted by
Cæsar.

Herod boldly presented himself in justification, and was treated with every token of respect and honour by Cæsar, notwithstanding the clamours of the multitude; insomuch that the Gadarenes, finding his powerful interest with the emperor, and thence expecting that they would fall into his hands, had recourse to suicide, by various means, to prevent the infliction of severer torments; and Cæsar thence inferring they had condemned themselves, acquitted Herod of every part of the accusation.

Death of
Zenodorus.

Cæsar's fur-
ther bounty
to Herod.

A combination of events, at this time, seemed to favour Herod, and particularly the death of his implacable enemy Zenodorus, by a violent dysentery, at Antioch, in consequence of which he obtained, from Cæsar, a considerable part of his domains between Galilee and Trachon, comprising Ulatha, Panuim, and the adjacent country. He was also vested with a sovereign command over the governors of Syria, who were accordingly under his sole rule and direction.

Herod erects
temple to
Augustus.

Herod was now advanced to such a pitch of good fortune, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal confidant. Cæsar preferred no man to Herod besides Agrippa, nor did Agrippa any one to Herod besides Cæsar. By virtue of this interest, Herod obtained a tetrarch's commission, in Judæa, from Augustus, for his brother Pheroras, upon whom he bestowed an annual income of an hundred talents out of his own proper revenue, to obviate the consequences of any contingencies that might reduce him to a dependence on his children. After this, Herod waited upon Cæsar, till he saw him embarked; and, on his return, erected, to his honour, a most beautiful temple, of white marble, upon the domains of Zenodorus, near the cave they call Panias, which is at the bottom of a mountain famous for being the source of the river Jordan. The cavern is very steep, and the springs of water in it perpetually bubbling. The mountain is famous for a delightful prospect, but more especially so for the magnificent temple of Augustus Cæsar.

It means
event
its.

The king took an opportunity, at this time, of ingratiating himself with his people, by remitting a third part of their taxes, under pretence of compassionating the distresses they had undergone during the time of the late famine, but, in reality, to conciliate their good will. The innovations he had introduced, in violation of their laws and religion, gave universal disgust, and were loudly complained of; so that, to preserve order and decorum, he enjoined every man diligently to attend to his own

concerns, prohibiting select assemblies, and fixing spies in all places of resort, to take into custody all who should disobey these orders, and cause them to be punished with the utmost rigour. The very roads, streets, and avenues, were beset: nay, so anxious was he for the detection of any that might violate his injunctions in this particular, that, in the night, he would mix himself, in disguise, with the rabble, in order to learn how they stood affected. Those who could by no means be brought to acquiesce with his scheme of government, were prosecuted with the greatest severity; while such as were more moderate, were put to an oath of allegiance, and dismissed. By this means he brought the majority, out of fear, to a compliance with him; but those who had the resolution to contend the point, and stigmatize his conduct, were taken off by some device or other. He endeavoured to impose this oath upon Pallio, the Pharisee, and Sameas, together with their disciples; but though they peremptorily refused it, he declined urging it by any harsh means, out of the regard he bore to Pallio. The Essenes were also exempted from this oath. These Essenes were a sect in some respects resembling the Pythagoreans among the Greeks; and though we have already described the peculiar tenets they hold, it will be necessary, on this occasion, to point out the causes for which they were paid so distinguished a regard by Herod.

There was one amongst these Essenes whose name was Manahem, a man of singular piety and virtue, who was endowed with the gift of prophecy. This person meeting Herod in his puerile days, going to school, greeted him with the salutation of "Hail! king of the Jews." Herod, either not knowing him, or thinking him in jest, told him he was not descended from a family to attain such a dignity. Manahem, smiling, and laying his hand gently on his shoulder, replied, "You are to be king, and you shall rule happily; for it is the Divine will that it shall be so. Retain these words of Manahem in your memory, as they give you to understand the change of your fortune. It will be your duty to govern with justice and equity; but, by a secret impulse, I learn that your conduct will not be regulated by those excellent maxims; as, in divers instances, you will swerve from them; though, in other respects, you will be fortunate, and worthy of much commendation. Remember your crimes cannot be concealed from the pervading eye of the Almighty, who will most severely punish you for them."

Prediction
of Manahem, an
Essene.

Herod, at that time, was totally regardless of what Manahem predicted, having no reasonable view of such advancement. But when he afterwards came to the throne, and attained to the summit of his glory, he sent for Manahem, and asked him how long he thought he should reign? Manahem returning an indefinite answer, Herod put the question whether he thought he should reign ten years? He replied, yes, and twenty, and thirty, but did not assign the determinate limits of his reign. Herod, resting satisfied with what he had heard, dismissed him in a friendly manner; and, from that time forwards, paid great honour to the sect of Essenes. We have related this circumstance, strange as it may appear, as another proof of the many instances in which the secret purposes and counsels of the Divine Being have been revealed to men of simple piety and virtue.

C H A P. XIV.

Herod rebuilds the temple, raises it higher, and renders it more magnificent than it was before.

AFTER so many signal transactions, and the finishing of so many sumptuous edifices, Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, turned his attention towards the erecting of a temple in honour of the true God, in every respect larger and more stately than the former. This work he was persuaded would perpetuate his memory beyond all

Herod pro-
poses to re-
build the
temple.

he

he had accomplished heretofore. But as he knew many of the people might be reluctant to assist him in so vast a design, he thought proper to call them together, and address them, upon the occasion, to the following purport:

"It would be time lost, my friends and countrymen, to give you the history of my transactions since I came to the crown: therefore let it suffice, that I have more attended to your benefit and security, than to my own particular interest. You know what care I have taken for you in your greatest extremities, and without any regard to my own profit. You know, likewise, that you yourselves have had the greatest share in the advantage of all the mighty works which, by God's blessing and assistance, I have brought to perfection; inasmuch, that Judæa is in a better state at this day than ever; wherefore, there will be no need of citing the particulars of the cities, castles, palaces, &c. that I have either built, fortified, or repaired, in Judæa, and the tributary provinces. But the sum of my present business is religion, and what concerns the reputation of your country. You will do well to observe that this temple, that was erected by our forefathers at their return from Babylon, wants sixty cubits of the height of Solomon's: though this was no fault of our ancestors; for it was not owing to them that it came not up to the proportion of the first, being raised according to the express model of Cyrus, and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, under whose dominion they then lived, as afterwards under the Macedonians; so that they had it not in their power to advance that monument of their piety and zeal up to the measures of the original. But since God hath now pleased, in his gracious providence, to put the government into my hands, and, at the same time, to furnish me with all necessary means for the accomplishing of my end, as peace, leisure, a large competency of revenue, and, which is more than all the rest, we are friends with the whole world, (that is to say, the Romans,) it shall be my care and business to supply those defects which it was not possible for our predecessors, under their circumstances, to prevent; and to do that right, in fine, to the glory of God, in which we have hitherto failed, with all due reverence to his holy name, and with a gratitude suitable to the mercies we have received."

This speech raised much anxiety, and many doubts, in the minds of the people, particularly with respect to the demolition of the old temple, till they were assured of another being erected in its place, which, in fact, they despaired of as an enterprize almost impracticable. In this state of perplexity the king encouraged them with the assurance, "that he would not pull down the old temple till all the materials were fully prepared for building the intended new one."

Makes the necessary preparations

Pursuant to his word, he ordered a thousand carriages to be in readiness to bring stones, chose ten thousand of the most skilful artificers, purchased a thousand sacerdotal garments for that number of priests, and caused them to be instructed in the different branches of workmanship, in order to superintend the general concern.

Description of the temple as rebuilt by Herod.

Having made all necessary preparations, both as to artificers and materials, Herod caused the old foundations to be removed, and others to be laid, upon which basis they raised the superstructure of a temple an hundred cubits in length, and an hundred and twenty in height; but the twenty cubits sinking afterwards, it fell so much short of the original design, which our ancestors had in contemplation to raise again in the days of Nero. The whole fabric was composed of stones, white and durable, in length twenty-five cubits, in height eight, and in breadth twelve.

The front of this magnificent structure bore the resemblance of a palace, the middle being much higher than the sides, and exhibiting such a view over the fields, as was very agreeable to those who either resided directly opposite to it, or were travel-

ling towards it. This view extended several furlongs into the country. The porch, in elegance, was proportionate to the rest of the building; the upper part being adorned with variety of rich tapestry and delicate purple flowers, with pillars interwoven, and a golden vine creeping and twining about them, the branches of it laden with clusters of grapes pendant from the cornices.

The golden vine.

Round about the temple were large cloisters, not inferior to the rest of the building in magnificence, but much exceeding all that went before them for symmetry and elegance. Two of these cloisters were supported by strong walls, a work as singularly curious as had ever been executed.

The cloisters.

The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the eastern parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This is the hill which Solomon a long time before, by Divine direction, encompassed with a wall, that was of excellent workmanship, upwards and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley. This wall was compacted of large stones, cramped together with iron, including the whole, and reaching down to the bottom of the hill. The form of the work was square; and, considering the magnitude and depth, it was an incomparable performance. The immensity of the stones in the front was plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inner parts were preserved by joints immovable.

Temple walls.

When the foundation was finished in the manner described, Herod caused it all to be wrought into one outward surface, filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level. There was also within the square another stone wall, carried round the top of the hill, with a double porch to the eastward, facing the portal of the temple that stands in the middle. This portal was magnificently adorned by the munificence of many princes in former times; and round about the temple itself, were spoils and trophies taken from barbarous nations, all of which had been dedicated by Herod, with the addition of others of later date he himself had taken from the Arabians.

On the north-side was built a citadel, the work of some of the Asmonean race, who, for a considerable time before Herod, had executed the authority of prince and high-priest. They called it Baris, or the Tower; and there were deposited the vestments of the high-priest, which were never taken out but at the time he was to offer sacrifice. Herod applied it to the same use; but, after his death, it came to be lodged in the hands of the Romans, till the time of Tiberius Cæsar, in whose reign Vitellius, being appointed governor of Syria, and going to take upon him the command, was so magnificently received at Jerusalem, that, in acknowledgment of the honour done him by the Jews, he prevailed with Cæsar, at their earnest request, that they might have those sacred vestments under their own immediate deposit. They continued in the custody of the Jews till the death of king Agrippa, when Cassius Longinus, governor of Syria, and Caspius Fadus, procurator of Judæa, enjoined to deposit those vestments in the town of Antonia, insisting that they ought still to be in the power of the Romans as they were formerly. Hereupon the Jews sent deputies to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede for their continuance with them. The young king Agrippa, happening to be at Rome upon the arrival of the deputies, obtained the grant of the request from the emperor, who accordingly sent orders to Vitellius to deliver them up. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high-priest, and treasurer of the temple, who, upon the eve of a solemn festival, applied to the commanding officer of the Romans, shewed him their seal, and took out the vestments, which, when the festival was over, they brought to the same place, and there deposited in the presence of the officer. I have been thus minute in this particular point, because its various changes have essentially affected the concerns of our nation. As to the Tower itself, when Herod had fortified it more firmly, in order to secure the temple, he gave it the

Baris, or the Tower.

the name of the Tower of Antonia, in honour of his great friend Anthony, who once prevailed over the Romans.

In the western quarter of the enclosure of the temple were four gates. The first led to the king's palace; two more to the suburbs of the city; and the last to the city itself; with a descent of many steps down to the valley; and an ascent, on the other side, of as many steps, up to the top. The city stood over against the temple, in the manner of a theatre, encompassed, towards the south, with a deep valley. In the middle of the square was another gate, equi-distant from the two angles, with stately royal cloisters, with three walls, that reached, in length, from the east valley to the west; for they could not possibly reach any further. This afforded a most extraordinary spectacle; for the valley was so very deep, and the height of the building over it so stupendous, that it caused a giddiness in the brain to look down from the top of the battlements. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows, equi-distant, with a stone wall wrought up betwixt those of the fourth rank. The pillars were as much as three men could fathom; being seven and twenty feet in length, and upon a double base. The number of them was one hundred and sixty-two. The chapiters were exquisite beyond description, and the sculpture of Corinthian workmanship. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister, two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner, the breadth of each being thirty feet, the height fifty feet, and the length a furlong. The roof was adorned with curious sculpture, representing a variety of figures.

This was the first enclosure, in the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, upon an ascent of a few steps, with a partition of stone, and an inscription upon it, prohibiting any strangers from en-

trance, upon pain of death. It had, on its southern and northern quarters, three gates, equi-distant; and on the eastern quarter one large gate; where men, who were purified, had admittance with their wives, but the women were not permitted to pass any farther.

There was a third enclosure, into which it was lawful only for the priests to enter. This was the temple itself, before which stood the altar, where the sacrifices were offered up. Into neither of these three did king Herod presume to enter, because, not being a priest, he was prohibited by the law, so that he committed the care of the holy work to the priests themselves, which they finished in eighteen months, when he himself was eight years in finishing the rest.

The temple finished.

The people were transported with joy at the completion of so glorious a work, returning thanks to the Almighty for his blessing upon the undertaking, and extolling the king for the alacrity he had shewn in the execution of it. The event was celebrated with festivity. The king sacrificed three hundred oxen, and the people according to their respective abilities; so that the number of oblations could hardly be computed. This memorable dedication of the temple fell upon the day of the king's inauguration, which added greatly to the solemnity.

Dedication.

There was an occult passage built for the king, leading from fort Antonia to the eastern gate of the inner temple, over which he erected a tower; this passage being designed as a private and safe retreat, either for himself or his successors, in case of any sedition against the government. It is reported, that, during the building of the temple, it never rained but in the night, so that the work was not hindered. This tradition has been handed down to posterity, and is, by many, deemed a peculiar interposition of Providence in favour of the work.

End of the FIFTEENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XVI.

[Including a Period of about Six Years.]

C H A P. I.

Herod enacts a law against theft, goes to Rome, and is graciously received by Cæsar, who restores him his two sons. They are calumniated on their return to Jerusalem, but without effect.

Herod makes a law against house-breakers.

The people murmur at it.

AS Herod was very zealous, in the administration of government, to promote the impartial execution of justice, throughout, both in town and country, in public and in private, he made a new law for the punishing of housebreakers, to this effect: "That all offenders of that kind should be sold for slaves to any that would purchase them, without exception even to strangers." This law was by no means approved by the people in general, who did not animadvert upon it as it immediately respected the malefactor, but as it manifestly encroached on the laws and customs of the nation, by subjecting the Jews to the impositions of those who lived according to different rules and measures, which they therefore considered as a violation of the institutions of their forefathers, rather than a punishment to those who were found to have offended. Such punishment was avoided in our original laws, which ordains that the felon should make a fourfold restitution; or, if insolvent, shall be sold; but not to strangers, nor into perpetual slavery; and at the end of seven years discharged. This new law was construed as a deliberate contempt, in Herod, against an established practice and discipline not becoming a king, but an unjust and oppressive tyrant, a character to which he again exposed himself by carrying the penalty into execution.

Herod's journey to Rome.

He is graciously received by Cæsar.

Herod about this time made a voyage to Italy, to pay his court to the emperor, and enquire into the circumstances and situation of his sons, who had been sent to Rome to finish their education, where he had the happiness to find them accomplished in the different branches of polite literature. He was received with singular honour by Cæsar, who delivered to him the young princes in a much more im-

proved state than he received them. They were tall and graceful in figure, affable and winning in conversation and deportment; so that it might be said, the endowments of their minds were not inferior to their personal accomplishments.

Having paid his respects to the emperor, and had leave to depart, Herod returned to Jerusalem with his sons, where they no sooner arrived, than they attracted the admiration of the multitude, as youths possessed of every quality that could adorn their elevated rank and station. But they were objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and the whole party, who had raised calumniating reports to effect the destruction of Mariamne. Indeed, they beheld them with awful dread, as instruments whom Providence had raised up to revenge the death of their mother, and made this apprehension a motive to scandalous reports against them. They gave it out, that they would never endure the conversation of their father, after imbruing his hands in the murder of their innocent mother. They supposed that slanderous insinuation was the most effectual means of prejudicing the father against the sons, and accordingly practised it with all the art and subtlety that envy and malice could possibly suggest; hoping, in the result, so to work upon the mind of Herod, as to destroy that natural affection which is the basis of all the ties of consanguinity, as well as of reciprocal duty and regard.

C H A P. II.

Herod marries his sons. Pays a visit to Agrippa.

THE artful design of Salome, and her party, had not yet prevailed on Herod, so as to withdraw his paternal affection and confidence from his sons, to whom he continued to behave with his usual openness and cordiality, without any reserve or suspicion. His first concern was to form princely alliances for them, by marrying Aristobulus to Berenice, the daughter of Salome; and Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. When

When Herod had dispatched these affairs, he received intelligence that Marcus Agrippa had left Italy, and was gone into Asia, where he therefore immediately repaired, with a generous tender of all respect and service, and earnestly intreated of him the honour of a visit. Agrippa complying with his request, Herod, on his part, omitted nothing that could contribute to the entertainment of his noble guest. He shewed him all the stately edifices that he had lately erected or repaired, carrying him to Sebaste, the port of Cesarea, and the forts of Alexandria, Herodion, Hircania, &c. where he treated him and his retinue with the utmost splendour and magnificence. After this tour he conducted him to the city of Jerusalem, where he was received, by the whole multitude, with all the acclamations and pomp of a solemn festival. Agrippa, upon this occasion, made an oblation of an hecatomb, and feasted the people in the most sumptuous manner. His journey and entertainment afforded him to much pleasure and satisfaction, that he was desirous of protracting the visit; but the winter approaching, and those seas being dangerous, he was under a necessity of returning to Ionia, for which he took his departure, laden with presents and honours.

C H A P. III.

Herod revisits Agrippa, and many offices of friendship pass between them.

HAVING passed the winter at Jerusalem, Herod made another voyage, on the opening of the spring, to visit Agrippa, who, according to intelligence received, was gone upon a campaign towards the Bosphorus. He embarked for Lesbos, with expectation of meeting him there; but, after he passed Rhodes and Coos, he was driven, by contrary winds; upon the isle of Chios, where he was detained for some days. During the course of this voyage, he had many visits made him, which he returned in a suitable manner; and observing, on his short stay upon this island, that several public buildings lay yet in ruins ever since the Mithridatic war, for want of money to repair them, he gave them credit for a sum sufficient to accomplish the work, with an express charge to put it hand, and finish it as soon as possible.

Upon the change of wind, Herod sailed to Mytilene, and then to Byzantium; and hearing that Agrippa had already passed the Cyanean rocks, he followed him with the utmost speed, and joined him at Sinope, a city of Pontus, at a juncture that Agrippa had no expectation of such assistance. This interview was equally agreeable to both parties, and reciprocal tokens of friendship passed between them. In fine, they seemed to be actuated by the same views, with respect both to enterprize and pastime. When Agrippa had dispatched his affairs in Pontus, he took his way upon the return over land; so that they passed through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the Greater Phrygia to Ephesus, and thence, by sea, to Samos. Herod displayed many instances of generosity during the passage, as well as of the great power and influence he had with Agrippa, whose favour he had conciliated in the highest degree. All became intercession with him in behalf of the people of Ilium, against whom he had been highly incensed; and paid arrears, which were due from the people of Chios, to the emperor, provided them many privileges, and rendered them, in divers particulars, the most essential services.

C H A P. IV.

Agrippa, at the instance of Herod, and through the prevailing arguments of Nicolaus against the natives of Ionia, in favour of the Jews, confirms their laws, and assures them of his protection.

WHEN Agrippa and Herod arrived in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, of that province, embraced the opportunity of laying before them

the injuries they had sustained from the natives, in the infringement on their laws and worship, their depriving them of the money they used to lend to Jerusalem, forcing them to bear arms, and pay public duties out of their subsistence money, and all this contrary to common faith, and the liberties and exemptions granted them by the Romans. Herod, desirous of using his influence in behalf of the Jews upon this interesting occasion, prevailed with Agrippa to grant them a hearing; and procured them one Nicolaus, an advocate of most distinguished abilities, and his most intimate friend, for their counsel. At a court called upon the occasion, Agrippa himself being present, together with a bench of Romans of great rank, Nicolaus thus opened and enlarged upon the cause of the Jews:

“Whither, most illustrious Agrippa, should the miserable and oppressed fly for sanctuary and relief, but to those princes that are able to protect and relieve them? This is the case of your humble supplicants; and we must presume to appeal from your authority to your justice, in a full confidence of your royal goodness: for we have nothing more to desire at present, than the possession and enjoyment of what you yourselves have granted us already, and which our fellow-subjects are now endeavouring to take from us. If the favours we enjoy be great, we doubt not but you will now think us as worthy to retain them, as you found us before to receive them. If the benefit be small, it reflects upon your honour to imagine that you are not able to make it good. Neither is this a greater injury to us, than it is an indignity to yourselves, in the contempt of your judgment, and in the disappointment of your pious intentions. If it were put to these very people, whether they would rather part with their lives, or with their laws, customs, discipline, sacrifices, festivals, &c. in honour of their God, I think, with submission, that we may safely answer for them, they would chuse the former. It is a common thing to take up arms for religion: and what is the great blessing of the peace and freedom the world enjoys under the Roman empire, but that every man may live and worship after his own way? What pretence is there for people to impose that upon others, which they will not submit to themselves? As if it were not all one whether we hinder another man from doing his duty, or neglect our own. It is a thing farther to be considered, that there is no city, people, or nation, extant, that does not depend on the administration, and the power of Rome; for all the happiness they can pretend to? Will any thinking man deem it his interest to frustrate your bounties, when every man living, some way or other, will be a loser by it? Our enemies are not aware, that while they labour to invalidate our rights, they destroy their own: for why should the same concessions be good to them, and void to us; and that inestimable privilege among the rest, of living at ease and liberty, under the protection of the Roman emperors, while several other nations lie groaning in a state of servitude, at the mercy of rigorous kings? Neither is ours, at the best, a condition to be envied: for, as to other matters, we desire nothing more than a common share of advantage with the rest of our fellow subjects, provided we may but be allowed to worship God after the manner of our forefathers; which, as it is innocent in itself, on the one hand, so it is for the service of those that permit it on the other: for God not only loves those that worship him themselves, but those also who encourage the worship of him in others. What is there in our way of holy offices that any moderate man can take offence at? or, in truth, that is not, in all respects, agreeable to piety and justice? We make no difficulty of owning the rules of our lives and profession. The Seventh Day is a day of rest from all our labours, and a day that we set apart for the study of the law, as a discipline that much conduces to the rectifying of our manners. Now these customs are

Pleading of Nicolaus in behalf of the Jews.

“not

"not only blameless in themselves, even upon the
 "strictest examination of them, but venerable
 "even for their antiquity, (all cavils to the con-
 "trary notwithstanding); so that there can be no
 "cause for controverting the authority of laws
 "that have stood the test of so many ages. The
 "injuries we complain of are these: they sacrile-
 "giously make seizures of monies dedicated to
 "holy uses. They impose taxes upon people that
 "ought, in right, to pay none. They hurry them
 "up and down to courts of justice, and other com-
 "mon attendancies, upon our days of solemnity
 "and religious worship; and for no other end but
 "to turn our piety and devotion to scorn; and
 "these practices they know to be unwarrantable
 "and causeless. Your wisdom consults indiffe-
 "rently the common welfare of all your people, in
 "the promoting of peace, and the preventing of
 "feuds. It is against these injuries, most excellent
 "Agrippa, that we crave to be relieved; and that
 "we may be allowed the same liberty hereafter,
 "that we have enjoyed heretofore; and that our
 "adversaries may have no more advantage over us,
 "than we pretend to over them. We take this to
 "be justice, not only in the reason of the thing, but
 "in the right which your goodness has given us to
 "it, by declaring in our favour; to which purpose
 "there are, at this day, to be seen in the capitol,
 "several decrees of the senate, in tables of brass,
 "for its perpetual memory. These monumental
 "records were undoubtedly grounded upon the
 "experiment of our faith and loyalty to the state.
 "Beside, that the obligation would be yet sacred
 "and inviolable, even without any antecedent me-
 "rit on our part; for your generosity hath been
 "ever so far from lessening or revoking the boun-
 "ties you have once bestowed (and that not only
 "to us, but to all) that it hath been your practice
 "rather to amplify and enlarge them, even beyond
 "every thought and expectation, as I could give
 "instances abundantly, if time would permit.
 "But not to value ourselves too much upon our own
 "services, let our royal master's friendly offices
 "speak for us. Where did he ever fail, to the ut-
 "termost of his power, to oblige your nation?
 "Has not his faith and zeal for your interest been
 "tried over and over? Has he not made the ad-
 "vancing of your honour his business and his
 "study? Were your affairs ever in any difficulty;
 "and he not espouse them as his own? So that if it
 "were but for our king's sake, we might pretend
 "to some sort of consideration. We must not for-
 "get the services of his father Antipater, nor the
 "reinforcement of two thousand auxiliaries, that
 "he brought to Cæsar in Egypt, where his beha-
 "viour was so signally brave, and so much to the
 "advantage of the empire, that he had the repu-
 "tation of being not inferior to any commander,
 "either at sea or land, for conduct and courage.
 "We might appeal to the glorious presents that
 "Cæsar made him, or rather to the letters recom-
 "mendatory that he wrote to the senate, in his fa-
 "vour, upon this occasion, by which he obtained
 "for him the privilege of a citizen of Rome, with
 "other additional honours. This single argu-
 "ment, great prince, might be sufficient, even of
 "itself, to evince that those favours were at first
 "well bestowed, which we are now imploring may
 "be confirmed. Beside that, considering the pre-
 "sent league of friendship betwixt yourself and
 "our royal sovereign, we rather hope for an aug-
 "mentation of your bounty, than fear any abate-
 "ment of it. I might enlarge upon your holy
 "vows and sacrifices at Jerusalem, the splendor
 "of your entertainments, and the satisfaction you
 "were pleased to own in the reciprocal exchange
 "of offices of hospitality and respect, which were
 "all evident proofs of an affectionate regard, and
 "an amicable understanding betwixt the Jews
 "and the Romans, confirmed and ratified under
 "the very roof of the king himself. Now our
 "final request to the majesty of Agrippa, and in
 "the presence of the king of the Jews, is only this;
 "that we may reap the fruits of your own boun-
 "ty, without being made a prey to others."

When Nicolaus had finished his speech, in vindication of the rights of the Jews, there was no reply on the part of the Greeks; for it was not a matter of enquiry, as in a court of justice, but a petitionary complaint, to prevent violence from being offered to the Jews. They did not attempt to dispute the fact. Their pretence was, that the Jews were strangers, and would be a burthen to them; while the Jews, on the contrary, averred, that they were not strangers, but a people who lived according to their own laws and customs, without giving offence to any man. Agrippa, thus convinced that they were oppressed, declared in their favour, as well from the justice of their cause, as from the respect he bore to Herod. He said, he thought their request so reasonable, that if it had been more extensive, he would have granted it, so far, at least, as was consistent with his duty to the senate and state of Rome. He then made this formal declaration: "I do here-
 "by pronounce a confirmation of the claim the
 "Jews make of their privileges, as specified in the
 "representation of their counsel; and pledge my-
 "self, that so long as they keep themselves within
 "the bounds of their profession and discipline, they
 "shall not be molested for the future." With these words Agrippa dismissed the assembly; when Herod stood up and made acknowledgment of the favour, in the name of the whole Jewish nation; which done, he and Agrippa, after mutual salutations, took their departure from Lesbos.

Agrippa
 confirms the
 Jewish
 privileges.

CHAP. V.

Herod, upon his arrival at Jerusalem, calls an assembly of the people, and gives them a relation of his late transactions in Asia.

HEROD, having taken his leave of Agrippa, embarked for Cæsarea, where, through means of favourable winds, he landed in a few days, and from thence immediately proceeded to Jerusalem. As soon as convenient, after his arrival, he summoned a general assembly, strangers as well as citizens, and laid before them a particular account of his voyage, and the very important grant he had obtained for the Jews in Asia, by which they were exempted from the impositions of the Ionians, and fully confirmed in their ancient national privileges. He represented to them the several and great advantages they had derived from his government, and pointed out that the welfare of his subjects was the grand spring of his actions. As a peculiar gratification, he remitted them a fourth part of their taxes for the last year; a circumstance which, added to his most agreeable representation of affairs in general, conciliated the universal esteem of the people, who, with loudest acclamations, testified their loyalty, and most fervently prayed for the prosperity of their king.

Herod
 a state of
 his trans-
 actions
 before
 the mul-
 titude.

CHAP. VI.

Great disturbances prevail in Herod's family, through the contrivance of Salome and Phœroras, who irritate him against his sons Aristobulus and Alexander, and induce Antipater to endeavour to supplant them in the government. Herod treats the two princes with great severity, and discovers a partiality for Antipater, who attends Agrippa to Rome.

DURING these transactions abroad, great domestic animosities prevailed at home, through the artful practices of Salome, against the two young princes, Aristobulus and Alexander, to whom she had a mortal aversion. As she had succeeded to her utmost wishes in her calumnies upon the mother, she proceeded with greater confidence in her design upon the sons, determined that none of her posterity should be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The design was carried on with some prospect of success; for the young princes gave instances of a refractory behaviour towards their father, and let fall rash words, expressive of

Salome
 her
 design.

of their resentment at their mother's cruel treatment, with threats of revenge upon those who had been the authors of it. Two factions now prevailed; that of the two princes, and that of Salome and Pheroras, the sister and brother of Herod. They cast the bitterest reproaches on each other, and had recourse to all the means of calumny and traduction. But though their hatred was equal on both sides, their manner of gratifying it was different. The young princes were explicit in their profession of aversion, and the real cause of it; while the others had recourse to the arts of insinuation, and oblique suggestion. The princes, in the heat of blood, and simplicity of their hearts, did not hesitate to execrate the authors of their mother's death; but Salome and Pheroras gratified their malice by provoking them to extravagant exclamations, in order to ensnare them. They said they deemed it the highest honour to be the sons of such a mother, insisting on it that she was basely murdered. This expression was a sufficient ground for calumny, as it would bear a construction of deliberating a revenge with their own hands. These animosities now became the topic of conversation throughout the city; and, as is usual upon such contests, the inexperience of the youths was admitted as a palliation of the warmth of their expressions, which Salome artfully improved to her own purposes. They were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that they would frequently exclaim, "That, next to the deplorable fate of that unhappy princess, they looked upon their own circumstances to be most miserable of all others, in the necessity of associating with murderers, and, in some measure, becoming partakers of the crime, by communicating with the company."

These disorders increased greatly; and the king's absence had afforded opportunities for fomenting the animosities that prevailed between the parties. When the king returned, and addressed the multitude upon the occasion, Pheroras and Salome dropped words, insinuating that his life might be in danger, as the young princes openly vowed vengeance on the authors and abettors of the death of their mother. They added another circumstance, which was, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, by whose means they might be admitted to an audience of Cæsar, and to prefer their accusations against their father. This information alarmed Herod, and the more so, because it was confirmed by the assurance of many others. Upon this occasion, he could not but reflect on the calamities that had heretofore been the result of faction in his family, and deprived him of his dearest friends, and most beloved wife. These considerations almost reduced him to a state of despair. He had been fortunate abroad beyond expectation; but he had been no less miserable at home; so that, upon a balance of the extremes, it became to him a matter of doubt, whether or not he might have been happier in a private station, which could not have subjected him to either.

In this state of anxious perplexity it appeared to him expedient to introduce a son, whom he had educated privately, into the gay circle of the court, in order to deprecate his haughty and insolent brothers. His name was Antipater. He had no intention, at that time, of advancing him to the first dignity; but had recourse to those means, as a check upon the conduct of the sons of Mariamne, and to bring them to sober reason, as they would thereby be convinced, that, at all events, the government would not want a successor. With this view Herod gave Antipater the countenance of trust and authority, and paid him such honours as if he had been actually appointed to the succession, not doubting but, by these means, to bring his sons to an acknowledgment of their duty. The event, however, proved otherwise; for they resented it as the highest indignity; and, instead of a check, it became a provocation. Antipater was both shrewd and ambitious; so that when he had once attained to this degree of elevation, and began to form towering prospects, he was determined to pursue the path into which his father had conducted him. To that end

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he exerted every effort of calumny to supplant his brothers in the affection of their father, who was so credulous and open to his artifices, that he gained his point to his utmost wish, and wrought in him an aversion, that daily grew more and more implacable. His whole aim was to keep up this alienation in the breast of his father, and, at the same time, evade suspicion with respect to himself; so that he employed such instruments as he knew would work upon the credulity of the king, as well as obviate a discovery of the chief agent.

Antipater now had such an ascendancy, that many of the first rank paid court to him, as the road to preferment; while the whole design was covered under pretext of zeal for the service of Herod. The plot being revealed to a junto of confidants, they took advantage of the heat of passion which the young princes could not suppress, and which transported them, beyond all bounds of reason and moderation, into bursts of tears, inordinate exclamations, and the severest remonstrances, on the insufferable injuries they had sustained; as well as positive accusations of their father with palpable injustice to them. Such sallies of passion, with their outrageous effects, were all minutely observed by these incendiaries, who, to widen the breach, represented them in so exaggerated a light, as to exasperate the king so highly, that, in order to avenge himself on Alexander and Aristobulus, he heaped more honours on Antipater, who, at length, prevailed with him to admit his mother to court, and give him recommendatory letters to Cæsar, highly conducive to his credit and advantage. Upon Agrippa's return to Rome, after ten years administration in Asia, Herod sailed from Judæa, accompanied by Antipater only, to compliment and present him with many valuable presents. When they parted, he obtained of Agrippa permission for his son to attend him to Rome, and a promise of introducing him to Cæsar. This partiality was shewn to Antipater, to point out to his brothers their father's resolution of cutting them off from the succession.

They prevailed with Herod.

C H A P. VII.

Herod exhibits an accusation against his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, before Cæsar.

ANTIPATER's voyage to Rome, with the sanction of recommendatory letters from the king his father, greatly tended to his honour and interest. His only source of disquiet arose from his being deprived, by a remote situation, of the opportunities he had of perpetually circulating his calumniating reports to the prejudice of his brothers. His chief fear was, lest his father should be wrought upon to change his mind, and thereby induced to act with more moderation towards the children of Mariamne. To prevent this as much as possible, he maintained an epistolary correspondence with his father, and thereby took opportunities of insinuating the anxiety under which he laboured for his safety; though his real motive was to preserve in his mind, the antipathy he had caused him to conceive against his brothers. But notwithstanding he was incensed in the highest degree against Alexander and Aristobulus, by the artful practices of their brother Antipater, Herod thought it most prudent, before he proceeded too rashly, to go to Rome, and there openly exhibit an accusation against his sons before Cæsar. In his way he happened to meet with the emperor at the city of Aquileia, and having obtained audience in form, preferred an accusation against them in terms to the following effect, stating to Cæsar, "That he had not only made him master of his sons' destiny, but that the very laws of the Jews declared, that, if a son was accused by his parents, and they put their hands upon his head, all who were present should stone him, and put him to death; and therefore, though he might treat his sons in this manner, after the crimes of which they stood convicted, yet he chose rather to have their opinions upon the matter, not doubting but that they would join with him in giving an example to future ages, of that just severity,

Herod appears to Cæsar in the case of his sons.

S s s

“ severity, which ought to be ever used upon unnatural children.”

The princes are much affected by their father's accusation.

This was the main point of accusation brought by Herod against his sons, who, during the time of his speaking, were so affected, as to burst involuntarily into tears. Though they were conscious of their innocence, yet, being accused by their father, they were sensible of the necessity of exculpating themselves from the crime alledged against them, or remaining under the censure that had been brought upon them by means equally fallacious and wicked. Cæsar, observing their confusion, and that the reluctance with which they proceeded on their defence, did not arise from conscious guilt, but the prevalence of modest diffidence, was disposed to judge with candour of their cause, as was, indeed, the whole assembly present.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander's defence. The princes are acquitted by Cæsar. Herod calls a council at Jerusalem, and declares his successor.

IT being by this time evident that they had excited the commiseration both of Cæsar and their father, and that all present expressed concern for the unfortunate situation of the young princes, they were emboldened to hope for the prosperous issue of an event, which, at first, appeared to them replete with the greatest disaster. Alexander, the elder, therefore, thus addressed his father upon the subject of the charge:

Alexander's address and defence.

“ We cannot, Sire, but take it for a clear evidence of your good intentions towards us, that you have brought us to this place, before so great and just a judge, and so gracious a prince, for the decision of our cause, without employing either your regal, or your paternal, power, over your own children and people. But, in referring us to Rome, by way of appeal to Cæsar, it is given us manifestly to understand, that you have a desire and purpose to preserve us; for men do not use to carry those to temples and altars that they intend to destroy. Yet, after all this, as an aggravation of our misfortune, we are conscious to ourselves, that we are not worthy to live, if we had but done any thing that looks like disloyalty or ingratitude towards so good a father; and we had much rather die innocent, than survive the scandal of such a suspicion. If Providence should enable us to defend the truth, the proof of our innocence will be a much greater comfort to us, than the deliverance of our persons; but if calumny should prevail, a life, under those infamous circumstances, would be worse than a thousand deaths. The pretext of an ambitious design upon the government, is well accommodated to the inordinate passions of young men; and the instance of our unfortunate mother furnishes more colour for it. But whose case, I beseech you, Sire, may not this be as well as ours; and why may not the children of all other princes, under our circumstances, be charged with the same design, if suspicion shall pass for a proof? For here is only an invidious accusation, without the least shadow of evidence, or so much as a probability to support it. Why is not the poison itself, or the accomplices and instruments of the practice, produced? Where are the conspirators, the conspiracy, the bribery, or the defamatory letters? But the whole story, in fine, is founded on invention and slander, without any countenance to give it credit. A divided court, it is true, is a great misfortune; but the hope of preferment, which you are pleased to call the reward of virtue, proves often an incentive to all sorts of wickedness. Nay, we insist so far upon our integrity, that we defy the whole earth to disprove it. As for scandals, there is no refusing them, where the ear is open to the calumny, and deaf to the defence. If we have

“ talked at large, it was not meant against yourself, but against your tale-bearers. If we have passionately lamented the loss of our dear mother, it was not purely for the death itself, but out of a zeal to the honour of her memory, which we found blasted where she least deserved it. And to what end again should we aspire to the government in the life-time of our father? For, if we already enjoy the honours belonging to the royal family, (as effectually we do,) what have we farther to struggle for? Or, if we are at present barred of our right, may we not presume to wish and hope for it? Can it be imagined that the murderers, in such an instance, should ever set up for successors, when sea and land, after so flagitious a villainy, would conspire against them? How would it consist with the piety of the subject, or with the religion of the country, to set up parricides for kings; and to see the holy temple, that you yourself erected to the great God, profaned by the basest of assassins? Or, all other considerations apart, how can any man think to destroy Herod, the emperor yet living, and not fall under the power and justice of Cæsar? Now, if there appears nothing against us, upon any colourable pretence, where is the ground of the accusation that exposes us for such impious wretches? As to the death of our mother, it is a consideration to make us rather cautious than outrageous. We might multiply words; but there is no need of excusing a thing that never was done; wherefore, we have only to beg of the mighty Cæsar, and at present our sovereign judge, that, if you can, in your conscience, discharge us of any farther suspicion for the future, we may be allowed to live, how miserable soever: for what can be more grievous than to lie under the imputation, even though falsely, of the most horrid of crimes? But if you go on suspecting us, the torments of our own thoughts will put a period to our existence without your help: for we are not so fond of life, as to think of preserving it to the torture of him from whom we received it.”

Cæsar who before could scarcely give credit to so gross a calumny, was greatly moved by this spirited address of the young prince, which, added to the visible effect it had upon the countenance of Herod, during the time of delivery, confirmed him in the opinion of an iniquitous design. The whole court, indeed, commiserated the case of the princes, and could not avoid censuring the conduct of the king, in commencing so rigorous a prosecution against them. In fine, from the improbability of the charge, and their concern for the lives of two most promising youths, they determined to interpose most strenuously in their behalf. The princes continued in a state of dejection, anxiously waiting the decision of the case, while the king discovered the utmost confusion, both in visage and gesture; till, at length, Cæsar, having duly attended to what had passed, delivered it as his opinion, “ That, although the sons were entirely innocent of the charge alledged against them, yet they were censurable in having given their father any suspicion of the probability of the calumniating reports that had been spread concerning them. Upon the whole, he acquitted them; and exhorted the father to banish all groundless suspicion, and admit them to former favour and confidence, as the only means of establishing his and their present and future prosperity. After this declaration and admonition, a signal was given to the brothers to approach the imperial seat, near which stood Herod. They advanced with such becoming grace and modesty, and were about to cast themselves at their father's feet, with most dutiful submission, when, with all paternal affection, he embraced them alternately, and gave every proof of the most perfect reconciliation. The surprize of this unexpected encounter drew tears of joy from the whole assembly, when, after mutual salutation, and the most dutiful acknowledgment to Augustus, Herod and the princes took their departure, together with Antipater, who hypocritically pretended to rejoice at this reconciliation.

Cæsar and the whole court affected by the address of Alexander.

The princes are acquitted by Cæsar.

Reverend to them.

During

Mutual presents between Herod and Cæsar.

During the four last days they abode at Rome, Herod presented Cæsar with three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting public spectacles; and Cæsar, in requital, bestowed upon him half the revenue of the copper-mines in Cyprus, and the charge of the other half, together with other honourable bounties and commissions. With respect to his government, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or so to distribute that each of them might partake of the dignity: but declared he would by no means permit him to deprive himself, during life, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.

The rebellious Trachonites are subdued.

Having adjusted these affairs, Herod returned, accompanied by his three sons, to Judæa. During his absence, great part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted; but were reduced to submission, by the vigilance and activity of his several governors and officers, civil and military. Herod, and his sons, touching, upon their return, at Eleusa, a city in the district of Cilicia, they met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received them kindly, and discovered the utmost pleasure in finding a reconciliation was happily effected, and that Alexander, who had married his daughter, was acquitted of the accusation brought against him. After a reciprocal exchange of salutations and presents, the two kings parted, and Herod set out for Judæa, whither, upon his arrival, he called an assembly of the people in the temple, where he related the transactions which had passed during his journey, enumerated the particular honours conferred upon him by Cæsar, and, at length, directed his speech to the admonition of his sons, exhorting them, and the people in general, from the highest to the lowest degree, to live in concord. He then informed the multitude, that he appointed his sons to be his successors, Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne, in their order. During his life, he claimed all duty and esteem, as sovereign, from his own family, his officers, civil and military, and all ranks and degrees of subjects. These he enforced, and recommended as the only effectual means to promote good government on the part of the prince, and consequently the general happiness and prosperity of prince and people. Having spoken to this purport, he dismissed the assembly. The sentiments he communicated coincided with the opinion of some, but differed much with that of others, who looked upon the late contention amongst his sons, and the subsequent transactions, as introductory of mischievous innovations.

Herod, on his return to Judæa, addresses the people.

CHAPTER IX.

Upon the finishing of the building of Cesarea, Herod institutes games in honour of Augustus. Builds and adorns many places, and performs divers actions to perpetuate his memory.

On the thirty-first day of the month of August.

THE city of Cesarea was now finished in the tenth year from laying the foundation of it, the twenty-eighth of Herod's reign, and the 192d Olympiad. The most sumptuous preparations were made for its dedication; the most expert masters in the different entertainments were engaged from all parts, such as musicians, swordsmen, wrestlers, racers, and the like, who were to exhibit, with the utmost dexterity, in their several professions. In short, he collected entertainments in all their variety, whether exhibited at Rome, or in other places.

Herod's magnificence.

This festival was instituted to the honour of Augustus Cæsar, and, because it was to be repeated every fifth year, it was called, in the Roman language, *cortæmen quinquennale*. It was attended with immense expence to the king, in contributing magnificent curiosities to its pomp, collected, at any price, from all quarters: to add to which, Julia, the wife of Cæsar, sent great part of her most valuable furniture from Rome, with the choicest rarities of Italy, estimated at the value of five hundred talents; so that nothing was wanted to compleat its

splendor. This grand spectacle was attended by an innumerable concourse of people from all quarters; and ambassadors, from divers potentates, resorted to it out of compliment to Herod, who were all entertained at the king's charge, with the curious spectacles by day, and sumptuous feasts at night; so that he acquired the reputation of a most magnanimous and generous friend. In every instance of this extraordinary exhibition, his ambition was to eclipse the glory of all those that had gone before; and it is related that Cæsar and Agrippa had been heard to say, "The dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul."

After the ceremony of this festival, Herod applied himself to the building of another city, upon a plain called Capharlaba, a spot of ground agreeably situated for the convenience of wood and water, and a plantation of most curious trees. This town he called Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He built, upon another spot of ground beyond Jericho, a delightful seat, which he called Cypron, from the name of his mother. He also dedicated several monumental structures to the honour of his beloved brother Phasael; as first a tower in the city itself, not inferior, in strength and magnitude, to that of Pharos, in Alexandria, to which he gave the name of Phasael. After this he erected a town upon the north-side of the valley of Jericho, which he called by the same name, whereby he rendered the country more fruitful through the cultivation of the inhabitants he introduced, who were called Phasaelites. It would be endless to enumerate the benefits he conferred on cities both in Syria and Greece, and all the places through which he passed in the course of his tour. He amply supplied whatever could contribute to the relief of their necessities, and the advancement of their public works; nor did they want money to support them on the failure of their revenues.

Herod builds several cities.

Herod's liberality to foreigners.

But, as the most magnificent and illustrious of all his undertakings, he rebuilt, at his own particular charge, the temple of Apollo, at Rhodes, and bestowed upon the inhabitants a great number of talents of silver for the repairs of their fleet. He expended a vast sum in the repair and finishing of several public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis, near Actium. He also built two cloisters at Antioch, (the largest city of Syria,) that ran across the town, with a wall betwixt them. They were magnificently adorned; and the streets were paved with polished stone, which was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. He recovered the reputation of the Olympic games, which were in a low state, through want of money to support them, appointed revenues for their maintenance, and rendered them more venerable as to sacrifices and pompous expences; so that, on account of his great liberality, he was declared, in their inscriptions, to be a perpetual director of the games.

Rebuilds the temple of Apollo at Rhodes.

Particular instances of his munificence.

For what has been already related concerning the transactions of Herod, his character must appear extremely diversified. If we have respect to his magnificence and liberality, it will be impossible to deny that he was of a beneficent disposition. But if, on the other hand, we advert to the punishment he inflicted, and the injuries he offered, not only to his subjects, but his nearest relations, we must confess that he was dead to the feelings of humanity. Upon this view of things, his very nature may seem to many, a contradiction in itself; but I must differ from that opinion, and conclude, that the actions above-mentioned, sprang from one and the same principle. Being a man ambitious of honour, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of present reputation, or future memorial. As his profusion exceeded his income, he became burthensome to his subjects; for his enormous expences could not be supported by justifiable measures. He was conscious of the hatred he had incurred through his oppression, as well as of the difficulty of appeasing those seditious tumults that must ensue there-upon, without either retrenching his disbursements, or shortening his revenue. Thus circumstanced, he endeavoured to render the

Herod's versatility of temper.

ill-will of his subjects conducive to his emolument. If, therefore, any of his court was not obsequious to him in behaviour, or dropped the most distant hint of any innovation in his government, they became the objects of his vengeance, and, though his very kindred and friends, were persecuted with relentless cruelty. This arose from a boundless ambition of being honoured; as did the monuments he erected to Cæsar, Agrippa, and other illustrious friends; intimating thereby, his desire of being honoured himself in like manner, so that the one might be exemplary of the other. These dedications and materials are repugnant to the Jewish laws, which prefer rectitude to glory; so that the disposition of our nation was not agreeable to that of the king, whose ambition it was to be flattered with statues, temples, and other monumental honours; and, in a word, whose ambition was the source and spring of his liberality to strangers, and his oppression of his subjects.

CHAP. X.

The Jews petition Cæsar against the Greeks. Copies of the decrees of Cæsar and Agrippa in their favour.

THE Jews who dwelt in Asia, and in Cyrene, in Africa, sustained, at this time, the highest injuries from the Greeks, who committed depredations on them, under pretence that they carried their money out of the country; and, in many instances, deprived them of those privileges and immunities they held, by grant of former kings, in common with the rest of the natives. As, upon remonstrance, they found no redress of grievances, they sent deputies to Cæsar, with an appeal against the Greeks, which so effectually prevailed with the emperor, that he sent letters to the governors of the provinces, enjoining them to confirm to the Jews the full enjoyment of all their privileges and immunities as heretofore. Copies of these letters are hereunto subjoined, as testimonials of the favorable disposition of the Roman emperors towards our nation.

An embassy of the Jews to Cæsar.

The decree of Augustus Cæsar.

1. "Cæsar Augustus, high-priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus, the high-priest, under my father Cæsar, the emperor; it seemed good to me, and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their fathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus, the high-priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched; but be sent to Jerusalem; and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the sabbath-day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour. But if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue, or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise towards all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place, which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia, at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

An embassy of Augustus Cæsar.

2. "Cæsar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting. Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used, according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

3. Agrippa, also, himself, wrote, after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews. "Agrippa, to

"the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. I will that the care and custody of the sacred money, that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem, be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus, the prætor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the sabbath-day."

4. "Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then prætor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers; they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and, under pretence of taxes, which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored, without any diminution, or disturbance given to them. And if any of that sacred money in the cities, be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

5. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, prætor, to the magistrates of the Sardinians, sendeth greeting. Cæsar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together, according to the custom of their forefathers; nor from sending their money to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."

6. Nor did Julius Antonius, the prætor, write otherwise. "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the ides of February, the Jews, that dwell in Asia, demonstrated to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the deity, on account of piety; and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem, without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use, and do according to, the customs of their forefathers, without disturbance."

We have cited these instances and precedents, that the Greeks may find, on perusal, the honours which have been done us by antiquity, and the privileges, in point of custom, discipline, and worship, that have been, from time to time, granted us by sovereign powers, even to the toleration of our religion, and the service of the true God. These decrees are also recorded to soften the prejudices which render destitute of liberality and candour, entertain against us. Nations in general, and places in particular, change in manners and customs; but the grand law of nature is immutably the same, and extends differently to Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians. Upon this principle our laws are formed; and to loose we maintain them sacred, we must consecrate the esteem of all mankind. This affords me an opportunity of recommending candour and benevolence to men of all persuasions, which, when they prevail, will reconcile those animosities that arise from difference of opinions, and recommend to all mankind virtue, which is the grand and solid basis of human society.



L. West delin.

Grünger sculp.

HEROD the Great in search of **TREASURE**, breaking open the **ROYAL SEPULCHRE** of **KING DAVID**, when two of his attendants were **KILLED** by **LIGHTENING**, during the sacrilegious Attempt.

Published as the Act directs by E. Cooke No. 7, Paternoster Row.

CHAP. XI.

Great family dissensions ensue upon Herod's rifling the sepulchre of David. Judgment inflicted on his guards. The hypocrisy of Antipater, and general fallacy of the king's relations. Herod exercises the greatest oppressions and cruelty, and is reduced to a state of remediless horror.

Herod rifling the sepulchre of David.

HEROD having lavished vast sums in ostentatious munificence, both within and without his kingdom, and heard that Hyrcanus, his predecessor, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, he determined on making the like attempt. Taking, therefore, with him, some of his confidants, he conveyed himself by night into the sepulchre, but with all possible caution, to keep it from the knowledge of the people. He found a great store of rich plate and vessels, both gold and silver, which he carried off; but was disappointed in his expectation of money, as it had been all taken away by Hyrcanus. Being desirous, however, of making further search, he advanced till he came to the very coffins in which the bodies of David and Solomon were deposited. It is said, that two of his guards were killed by a flash of fire which burst out of the recess, which was interpreted as a judgment on the rashness of the undertaking. Herod was so alarmed at this prodigy, that he not only quitted his design of prosecuting the search, but, to expiate the sacrilege in some measure, he erected a most sumptuous monument of marble at the mouth of the sepulchre, to bar up the entrance.

Record of Herod.

Nicolaus, the historian of those times, makes mention of this monument; but is silent as to the king's going down to the sepulchre, a circumstance so impious and dishonourable, that he thought it expedient to suppress it. For, being cotemporary with the king, and writing his history under his immediate inspection, he was under a necessity of relating such circumstances only as would tend to his honour, without even pointing at those that would be productive of a contrary effect. The plan he adopted, was either to palliate or disguise his most notorious cruelties; and, in some instances, pass them over unnoticed. His partiality, nay misrepresentation, is evident in his plausible colouring of the murder of Mariamne, and the base indignities offered her two sons, under pretext of incontineny in the one, and a design upon the life of the father in the other. Such actions as could be admitted praise-worthy, he extolled by the most lavish encomiums; while those that were highly reprehensible, were either extenuated, or passed over unnoticed. It might be said, in favour of Nicolaus, that he wrote panegyric rather than history; not so much for the information of posterity, as the gratification of his patron. With respect to myself, being nearly allied to the Asmonean kings, and, on that account, attained to the dignity of the priesthood, it is my incumbent duty to relate matters as I find them, with all reverence to the descendants of that prince, but yet with an undeviating regard to truth, to which I am determined inflexibly to adhere throughout the whole of my history.

Herod's sons.

The troubles in Herod's family seemed to be much augmented after this sacrilegious attempt upon the sepulchre of David; whether from a judicial vengeance, to increase former calamities so as to render them incurable, or whether fortune assailed him at a particular season, as a punishment for his enormous crimes, cannot be determined. The feuds in his family resembled the tumult of a civil war, and were maintained by the joint effects of outrage and calumny; but the grand means were the artifice and hypocrisy of Antipater, who, while, on the one hand, he incited his creatures to bring accusations against his brothers, acted himself, on the other hand, as an advocate in their defence; thinking, under this disguise, to accomplish their destruction. He wrought so far upon the king, by these artifices, that he looked upon him as the guardian of his life: nay, so high an opinion had he of his fidelity, that he recom-

mended his prime minister Ptolemy, to advise with Antipater on the most important concerns of state; so that these two, in concurrence with the mother, might be said to mould the king either into love or hatred, as best subserved their particular interests.

Alexander and Aristobulus, on the other side, who were men possessed of a due sense of honour, could not tamely submit to so indignant a degradation, as to be trampled on by their inferiors. Their wives were affected in the same manner. Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, and wife of Alexander, detested Salome, both from the love she bore her husband, and a female jealousy, on seeing the daughter or Salome, who was married to Aristobulus, put upon the same level with herself.

Female dissensions.

There fell out, at the same time, another unfortunate circumstance, that engaged Pheroras, the king's brother, in the dispute, which arose, at length, to a high degree of jealousy and hatred. Herod made an offer to Pheroras of his daughter in marriage: but he urged, in excuse for refusal, that he was desperately enamoured with another, whom, though of very inferior rank, he was determined to marry. Herod could not but lay this indignity to heart, especially from a brother, to whom he had given such a proof of affectionate regard, as to admit him to a share of the government. But finding himself at length so ungratefully requited, the honour he offered him rejected, his good intentions disappointed, and that he could not by any means bring him to reason, he married his daughter to the son of Phasael, his eldest brother. Some time after, however, when he thought his brother's love had cooled in a degree, he went to him, reprehended him for his former conduct in giving him such a repulse, and, as a fresh instance of his affection, made him a second offer of his other daughter, whose name was Cypras.

Pheroras refuses the daughter of Herod.

In consequence of this proposal, Pheroras applied to Ptolemy, who advised him, by all means, to close with his brother; nor hazard his fortune, as well as quiet, in the loss of the king's favour, which would subject him to the most imminent danger, and all through means of giving way to a ridiculous amour. Pheroras approved the counsel, and embraced it; begged the king's pardon; and putting away his wife, although he had one child by her, promised the king, within a month, to marry his second daughter; binding himself by oath to hold no farther conversation with her whom he had renounced.

But when the thirty days were elapsed, Pheroras became such a slave to his passions, that, regardless of his promise given to the king, he took the former woman home, and cohabited with her again. This incensed Herod to such a degree, that he could not restrain his wrath, nor keep from the bitterest invectives on his brother, for a conduct at once so dishonourable and perfidious. As there were not wanting incendiaries to blow up the flame of domestic discord, Herod was deprived of all the peaceful enjoyments of life, circumstances furnishing incessant occasions for quarrel amongst his nearest and dearest relations. So deadly was the hatred of Salome to the sons of Mariamne, that she would not suffer her daughter to enjoy so much as the conjugal conversation of her own husband Aristobulus, but tampered with her to disclose what had passed between them in private; and if, at any time, an occurrence had made a disagreement betwixt them, she was particularly careful to widen the breach, and did her utmost endeavour to bring it to a mutual hatred. By these means she became acquainted with all their concerns, and induced her daughter to divulge what she had heard from the brothers when they were by themselves, respecting Mariamne and their father, whom she declared they hated; and were continually threatening, if once they got possession of the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons, by his other wives, country schoolmasters, as their present education, and their diligence in learning, fully qualified them for that employment. She added, that they declared, if ever they saw any of Herod's women adorned with their mother's jewels, they would cause them to be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely,

Pheroras breaks his oath.

Salome foments domestic broils.

Her daughter divulges the secrets of her husband.

closely, that they should not see the light of the sun. These tales were carried by Salome to the king, who, though they could not but give him much concern, endeavoured to make matters up by fair means rather than foul; so that having rebuked his sons, and heard the defence they made, he contented himself, for the present; but soon after he was beset with severe trials.

Herod is calumniated by Pheroras

Pheroras informed Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured of Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was unconquerable. Alexander, upon hearing this, from his youth and jealousy, was all on fire, and concluded it was true, from observations he had made of Herod's obliging behaviour to her. This strong suspicion made such an impression upon him, that he went immediately to his father, and, with tears in his eyes, told him what had passed between him and Pheroras. This calumniating suggestion incensed Herod more than ever, as it proceeded from one of his own family, to whom he had ever rendered all the good offices within his power; so that he sent for Pheroras, and upbraided him, in the severest terms, with ingratitude, and the vilest deceit.

Severely upbraids him.

Pheroras blames Salome, who exculpates herself.

Pheroras, in order to exculpate himself, declared that Salome was the framer of the plot, and that he had the story from her mouth: but happening to be at hand, so as to hear this declaration, she vehemently exclaimed, that it was a malicious falsehood, contrived to take away her life, in revenge for the zeal and affection she had shewn for the saving of the king's, who, at this instant, she averred, was in greater danger than ever. She added, it was no wonder that Pheroras should hate her, as she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter. As she said this, she tore her hair, and beat her breast, and gave proof of the greatest acts of dissimulation. Pheroras was now in the greatest anxiety of mind, between two inextricable difficulties; for he could neither deny what he told to Alexander, or disprove what Salome had said to him. They, however, maintained the dispute a considerable time, till Herod, being disgusted with the subject, dismissed them both; highly commending the moderation of his son, as well as his candour, in coming so frankly to him with the story. Salome incurred the disgrace of being the supposed authors of this calumny, and the king's wives were ready to avail themselves of it, so that he was incessantly disturbed with complaints from one or the other, and his uneasiness was not a little increased by the following incident.

The amours of Syllaus and Salome.

Obodas was at that time king of Arabia, a prince totally addicted to indolence. His affairs were under the sole management of Syllaus, a man of graceful person and address, and in the prime of life. This Syllaus, coming upon some occasion to Herod, and seeing Salome, became enamoured of her, and made her an overture of marriage. Salome, losing her brother's esteem daily, discovered no aversion to the proposed match; so that, upon farther conversation, it was observed, by their countenances and gestures, that the amour advanced on both sides. The women acquainted the king with the affair, and represented it in a most ridiculous light. But Herod did not give credit to it, till having set Pheroras as a spy over them, he brought him word, that, by what he had gathered from the information of looks and signs, there was an amour between them. Syllaus, soon after this, took his departure; but within the course of two or three months returned, and treated with Herod himself concerning the match, pointing out the advantages that would accrue therefrom to him, not only in point of commerce, but with respect to his own right to a considerable part of the country already. The king, upon this, asked his sister if she was disposed to the match; and she, without hesitation, replied in the affirmative. But when Syllaus was informed of the necessity of conforming to the Jewish religion, if he espoused the king's sister, he could not assent to these terms, as-

signing, as a reason, that the Arabians would stone him to death; and so the treaty ended. Pheroras from hence took occasion to hint to the king, that Salome had, in some degree, sullied her reputation; while his wives peremptorily charged her with incontinence.

The match is broken off because Salome refused to embrace the Jewish religion.

Herod now determined, at the importunity of Salome, to marry his own daughter, whom Pheroras had refused, to a son Salome had by Costobarus. But Pheroras dissuaded him from it, alledging, that a sense of the death of his father would cool his affection, and advised him rather to give her to his own son, who was to succeed him in the government. The king took his counsel, gave her an hundred talents for her portion, and all former misunderstandings were forgotten.

Herod's daughter married to the son of Pheroras.

Notwithstanding this compromise between Herod and his brother Pheroras, feuds and animosities still prevailed in his family. It seems he had three attendant eunuchs, for whom he had a great partiality; and that some officious tale-bearer had told him, that Alexander had been tampering with them, for a sum of money, to betray him. Upon this information, the eunuchs were put to the torture, to discover what had passed between them and Alexander. They confessed that they had some conference with Alexander, but denied any knowledge of his having a treasonable design upon the life of his father. The tormentors, at the instance of Antipater, pressed them still harder and harder, till, at length, in the extremity of anguish, they declared, "That Alexander bore a mortal hatred to his father, and endeavoured to seduce them from their allegiance to him, as a prince infirm and impotent, though he used artifices to conceal the decay of nature: that, if they would come over to him, they should soon be preferred to the first offices of state; as the government must not only descend to him of course, but matters were so concerted, as to put it out of his father's power to disappoint it, as he had formed a powerful party among the officers and the king's friends, who were determined to stand by him at the hazard of their lives and fortunes."

New dissensions in Herod's family.

The eunuch's confession concerning Alexander.

Herod was greatly agitated by this confession, which carried in it both reproach and menace, and, for some time, at a loss how to proceed, in order to prevent surprize, and avoid impending danger. Upon deliberation, it appeared most expedient not to go openly to work, but carry on his design of detection by spies and informers. He was now fraught with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and, by indulging those suspicions for the sake of his preservation, he continued to suspect those who were guiltless. Nor did he set any bounds to his suspicions; for the nearer the relation, the greater was his apprehension, as supposing they had better opportunity of effecting his destruction. With respect to such as were totally detached from him, the slightest information was their certain destruction. The situation of his attendants and domestics was singularly embarrassing; for their only security was to calumniate each other; by which practice, even when they succeeded, they drew upon themselves such envy and detestation, that seldom failed of meeting with its desert. So it was also with respect to private pique; for informers were generally entrapped in the snare they laid for others. The king had occasionally some qualms of conscience, for taking away the lives of such members without trial or conviction, though he persisted in the same iniquitous and cruel proceedings. At length, however, in the conclusion, and after the destruction of so many innocents, he was so far commendable, as to execute justice upon the false witnesses, who had so vilely sold the blood of their fellow-creatures.

Herod in alarm.

His extraordinary suspicions.

Sentences of death without trial or conviction.

The palace was now in a state of distraction; many of the king's friends were banished thence, and those in particular to whom he had been most attached, as Andromachus and Gemellus, two of his principal favourites. These ministers had served him both abroad and at home, in embassies and councils,

The palace in a great confusion.

councils, in the careful education of his sons, and, in fine, in offices of the greatest trust and importance. He renounced Andromachus, for the kindness Alexander had shewn to his son Demetrius; and Gemellus, for the respect he bore to Alexander, having been his tutor and companion in his travels to Rome. It is probable he would have treated them with more severity, had he not been awed by their great popularity; so that he contented himself with depriving them of their offices, and banishing them from the court, that he might carry on his cruel purposes without controul.

These disasters, so disgraceful to Herod, as a prince and a man, sprang from the pernicious counsels of Antipater, who, finding him fearful and suspicious, insinuated himself into his confidence, gratified his humour, and caused him to imbibe, as a political maxim, "that it is necessary to make sure of all those who have power to do mischief." Herod followed this maxim; for when he had expelled Andromachus, and the rest of his friends, who had the honesty and courage to tell him plain truths, and gave him wholesome advice, he put all the confidants of Alexander to the question, concerning treasonable plots and commotions, when they all died upon the torture, having nothing to confess. This generous constancy being taken for obstinacy, induced this suspicious and cruel prince to increase the torments; though with this extremity they could not extort the shadow of a disloyal thought expressed at any time by his son Alexander. Antipater, with his wonted artifice, insinuated, that it was a point of honour in them, rather to deny the truth in question, than violate the trust reposed in them; by which means he incited Herod to attempt to discover, by the torture of great numbers, what attempts might be concealed.

At length, one under torture declared, that when Alexander was commended, as a graceful person, and a skilful marksman, he observed, that these qualifications, given by nature, though desirable in themselves, were not advantageous to him, as they excited the envy and jealousy of his father. He added, that when he walked along with his father, he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he was hunting, if his father was near, he missed his mark from design, as he knew his father was ambitious of excelling in those exercises. Upon this pretended discovery, they respite the man's torture; and he proceeded with his declaration, that Alexander and Aristobulus had entered into a conspiracy once to take away their father's life as he was hunting, and if they succeeded, Alexander was to fly to Rome, to demand the succession. There were certain letters also produced from him to his brother, complaining of his father, for giving away two hundred talents a year in land to Antipater. Herod looked upon all this as sufficient evidence to confirm the suspicion he had of his children, and, in consequence, had his son apprehended and made prisoner; not that he gave much credit to what he heard, as they could have no interest in his destruction; nor was it probable they should go to Rome to solicit his kingdom, after a most notorious parricide. In the mean time, however, Alexander being imprisoned, without any plausible pretext to justify such a menace in the opinion of the multitude, Herod could not think himself secure, without giving them some satisfactory reason; and, to that end, put divers of Alexander's confidants and friends to the torture, and afterwards to death, in order to colour the pretence of his guilt, but they could not bring them to confess.

While the palace was in this confusion, and nothing to be seen or heard of but tumult, terror, and torment, a young man, in the utmost agony of torture, confessed that Alexander had written to some friends of his at Rome, to inform Cæsar, that there was a conspiracy against him, and that if he was sent for thither, he would discover it; for that his father had abandoned the interest of Rome, to treat with Mithridates, king of the Parthians; adding withal, that there was a poison already prepared at Ascalon. This accusation had such credit with

Herod, that he immediately ordered the strictest enquiry to be made after the poison, but could obtain no information.

Alexander was so far from sinking under this oppression, that he neither attempted denial or defence; partly to exasperate his father, by shewing contempt on his outrageous behaviour, and partly to put him to shame, for his absurd credulity and suspicion. He sent him four letters, in which he gave him to understand, that he need not torture any more people upon questions to learn the truth of things, as he could assure him there was a conspiracy against his life, and that Pheroras, and several others, whom he least suspected, were concerned in it. He told him of the indecent behaviour of Salome; and, in a word, assured him, that there was a general resolution formed for taking him off, as neither freedom or happiness could be expected while he was living; and amongst the list of conspirators were two, named Ptolemy and Sapinnus, in whom he most confided.

The court, at this time, resembled a den of ferocious animals, rather than a society of the most polished of mankind, as nothing prevailed therein, but calumny, treachery and murder. The palace, which was the seat of mirth and festive sport, was now become the mansion of gloomy despair; and Herod was as weary of his own life, as he had made others of theirs; for, as he could not repose confidence in any man living, his present state was truly miserable; and he had no prospect before him, but that of confusion and horror. He could not be said to enjoy a moment's rest, sleeping or waking, for hideous representations, and horrid imaginations. At one time fancy would point out to him his son with a dagger at his breast, and at another time suggest some tremendous idea; so that, in a word, he was as miserable as conscious guilt, and the dread of justice, could possibly make him.

CHAP. XII.

Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, interposes to affect a reconciliation between Alexander and his father. Pheroras obtains pardon of Herod, who goes to Rome, and reconciles Titus, governor of Syria, to Archelaus.

WHEN Archelaus heard of the distracted state of Herod's mind, through the suspicions and dissensions which prevailed in his family, he deemed it the part both of a father and a friend, to exert his best endeavours to compose the differences betwixt the king and his daughter and son-in-law, for whom he had a very great affection. When he found, upon his arrival, that Herod was almost transported beyond the bounds of reason, he thought it imprudent to reprove him, or charge him with the rashness of his conduct, as it would most probably bring on a dispute, that would defeat the design on which he came. He therefore transferred the blame to Alexander, declaring the king had done nothing but what was just and honourable; and that, for his part, he would totally reject Glaphyra as a daughter, if he should find she had been privy to a plot, and not discovered it. This affected zeal of Archelaus in vindication of Herod, brought him, upon reflection, to a sense of his late conduct, so that he greatly abated of his rigour towards his son. From this sudden change of disposition the king, who lately accounted every man his enemy, that spoke in favour of Alexander, now burst into tears on hearing Archelaus censure him severely; and requested he would not transport himself to that degree of passion, for the folly and rashness of an inexperienced youth.

When Archelaus had thus brought Herod into a more tractable temper, he palliated the matter, by transferring the blame to the advice of evil counsellors; observing, it must be owing to them, that a young man, who had no malice in his nature, was corrupted; and that he apprehended there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. This excited Herod's displeasure with Pheroras, who, reflecting that Archelaus had the greatest influence

Constancy and resolution of Alexander.

Herod becomes truly miserable.

Archelaus's shrewd management to get Alexander reconciled to his father.

with

Herod is reconciled to Alexander and Pheroras.

Accompanies Archelaus to Antioch, and reconciles him and Titus.

with his brother, most importunately requested his intercession with him in his behalf. Archelaus did not reject his suit, but gave him to understand, that he could not undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately, recommending to him, as his best advice, to cast himself at his brother's feet, confess himself the cause of all the calamities of the family, and humbly implore his pardon and forgiveness. By following the advice of Archelaus, Pheroras gained his point in both respects; for the calumnies raised against Alexander, were, beyond all expectation, wiped off; and Herod, at the instance of Archelaus, was reconciled to his brother. Herod was so sensible of the obligations he lay under to the king of Cappadocia, that, on his return to his own country, he dismissed him with the most valuable presents. It was agreed upon between the two kings, that Herod should go to Rome, to inform Cæsar of the present state of his family, as he had written to him upon that subject. They went together as far as Antioch, where Herod effected a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the governor of Syria, and then returned to Judæa.

CHAP. XIII.

Revolt of the people of Trachon. They are overcome by Herod's troops, and received and protected by Syllæus. Herod applies to the Roman governors to deliver up the rebels, who order satisfaction to be made him.

Cause of the rebellion of the Trachonites.

ON Herod's return from Rome, a war broke out between him and the Arabians, on the following occasion. The inhabitants of Trachon, a province that Cæsar had taken away from Zenodorus, and given to Herod, when they could no longer live by pillaging, were reduced to the necessity of following agriculture, an employment that yielded them neither satisfaction or profit. Herod, for some time, maintained a degree of order amongst them, and restrained them from making depredations on their neighbours, by which he acquired a deserved reputation. But, upon his going to Rome, to accuse his son Alexander, and commit Antipater to Cæsar's protection, the Trachonites spread a rumour of his death, revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of pillaging their neighbours. But they were quickly suppressed by the king's troops. Only forty of the heads of them made their escape, and retired into Arabia, where Syllæus (still disgusted at the refusal of Salome) afforded them an hospitable entertainment within a well fortified place. From thence they not only over-ran Judæa, but Cælo-Syria, and carried off their prey; while Syllæus afforded them protection during their iniquitous practices.

Syllæus protects the free-booters.

When Herod returned from Rome, and found his dominions had sustained great injury from them, and that he could not come within reach of the free-booters themselves, so long as they were under the protection of the Arabians, he was so incensed, that he made an incursion into Trachon, where he put whole families to the sword. This transported them to such a degree of rage, being obliged by the law of their country to avenge themselves on the murderers of their kindred, that Herod's dominions were never free from their incursions. Under these circumstances he applied himself to Saturninus and Volumnius, Cæsar's governors of those provinces, to deliver those plunderers into his hands. This requisition enraged them the more; and collecting in a body, to the number of a thousand, they ranged up and down, committing depredations in town and country, and laying all waste before them; so that their proceedings had, in every respect, the appearance of a war. Herod, therefore, insisted on the free-booters being delivered up, and the re-payment of the sixty talents which he, by the hands of Syllæus, had lent to Obodas.

Herod requires them to be delivered up.

Syllæus, who had now usurped the government of Obodas, denied that the plunderers were in

Arabia, and put off the payment of the money, till the Roman governors, Saturninus and Volumnius, ordered the debt to be fully discharged within the compass of thirty days, and that they should reciprocally deliver up the subjects on each side. This mandate exposed the fallacy of Syllæus; for not one Arabian had taken sanctuary with Herod, while great numbers of robbers were found under the protection of the Arabians.

Obodas is taken, the king is reconciled to the Roman governors.

CHAP. XIV.

Syllæus violates his word. Herod obtains permission to recover his right by force. Takes Repta by assault. Defeats the Arabians. Marches with three thousand Idumæans to Trachon.

WHEN the time appointed for the payment of the money, according to the order of the Roman governors, was past, without Syllæus having fulfilled his agreement, Herod, hearing he was gone to Rome, peremptorily demanded satisfaction, both as to the debt, and the delivering up of the plunderers. But finding the Arabians obstinately persist in withholding justice, he obtained permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, to attempt the recovery of his right by force; and, in three days, made a considerable progress with an army into Arabia. Arriving at length at the castle called Repta, whither the free-booters had retired for shelter, he took it by assault, and then demolished the fortifications, without doing the least injury to the inhabitants. In the mean time Nacebus, the Arabian general, advanced with a reinforcement to the succour of his party, and there ensued an engagement, in which the army of Herod sustained very little loss; but many of the Arabians, together with their general, were slain, and the remainder scattered and put to flight.

Syllæus breaks his covenant, and goes to Rome.

Herod marches to Arabia.

The king having now chastised these free-booters, marched with 3000 Idumæans into the country of Trachon, in order to keep the plunderers in that quarter under restriction. Herod sent a particular account of these proceedings to the Roman governors in Phœnicia, giving them to understand, that he had not exceeded the bounds of his commission, in bringing to condign punishment the refractory Arabians, which, upon an investigation of the matter, they found to be consistent with the authority he had received from the Roman state.

CHAP. XV.

Syllæus gives false intelligence at Rome, and presents Cæsar with the particulars. Cæsar, in a letter of reproof, censures the conduct of Herod. The insolence of the Arabians. Herod's ambassadors are denied audience of Cæsar. Death of Obodas, and succession of Aretas, whose ambassadors and presents are refused by Cæsar. Nicolaus, of Damascus, is sent on an embassy by Herod.

IN consequence of Herod's conduct towards the Arabian free-booters, Syllæus hastened to Rome, where he totally misrepresented every circumstance concerning it. He had already insinuated himself so far as to be personally known to Cæsar, to whom, as he was walking before his palace, he addressed a complaint of Herod's having entered Arabia with an army, overturned the government, ravaged the country, slain 2500 noble Arabians upon the spot, with his friend and kinsman Nacebus, their general, amongst the rest, pillaged Repta of vast treasure that was deposited there, and all this through the advantage he took of the infirmities of Obodas, who had neither troops in readiness to oppose him, or a general in his absence fit for command. Syllæus added invidiously, that he would not have undertaken this journey to Rome, but in full confidence that Cæsar would provide for the public peace of all his people; and that, had he been there, he would have exerted himself in such a manner,

Syllæus calls Herod before Cæsar.

a manner as would not have redounded either to the honour or advantage of Herod.

This representation of the matter enraged Cæsar, who enquired of Herod's friends, as well as his own, who lately came out of Syria, whether or not Herod had led his army to any place out of his own jurisdiction. When this could not be denied, he admitted the truth of all that had been laid before him by Syllæus, and immediately sent a letter of reproof to Herod, giving him to understand, that "whereas formerly he had used him as his friend, he should now treat him as his subject." Syllæus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians, who, finding that Herod was in disgrace with Cæsar, neither delivered up the robbers, who had fled to them, or paid the money that was due, according to the contract subsisting between them. The people of Trachon, availing themselves of this opportunity, rose against the garrisons in Idumæa, joined the Arabian ravagers, laid waste the country, and took ample vengeance of Herod for his late rigorous proceedings against them.

Herod, having lost the favour of Cæsar, was under a necessity of bearing these insults; for both his courage and credit had failed him. He endeavoured to exculpate himself by his ambassadors, who were, at first, denied audience, and afterwards peremptorily dismissed, without any attention being paid to the business of their embassy. Herod could not but entertain apprehensions of the subtle insinuations of Syllæus, who improved the displeasure of the emperor to his own advantage; and finding him extremely credulous, and pliant to his will, made the best of his opportunity to work upon him in his own behalf to the prejudice of Herod.

Obodas being dead, and succeeded by Aeneas, whose name, on his accession to the government, was changed to Aretas, Syllæus endeavoured, by calumnies and presents to Augustus, to bring about his expulsion from his principality, and engross the power to himself. He was induced to this attempt from the disgust that Cæsar took to Aretas, for entering upon the administration without his knowledge and consent. The new king sent ambassadors to Cæsar, with complimentary letters, and magnificent presents, and, amongst the rest, a golden crown of immense value. These letters contained a positive charge against Syllæus for poisoning his sovereign Obodas, usurping his government, debauching the wives of the Arabians, and taking up vast sums of money to accomplish his purposes. But Cæsar rejected his embassy, as he had done that of Herod, without paying the least regard to his accusation of Syllæus.

In the mean time affairs in Judæa and Arabia became more and more perplexed, partly through the anarchy and confusion which prevailed, and partly because there was no rule maintained; one of the kings being not yet established in his government, and the other carrying no sway over his people: for Herod was so circumstanced, that he could not assert his regal authority without offending Augustus, and therefore was under a necessity of submitting to all indignities. At length, being brought to the last extremity, he took up a final resolution of attempting to appease the anger of Cæsar, through the mediation of his friends, and trying the effect of a third embassy to Rome; on which important business he deputed Nicolaus, of Damascus, an expert logician, and an accomplished orator.

CHAP. XVI.

Great dissensions in Herod's family. Eurycles ingratiates himself with Herod. Obtains the confidence of Alexander. His perfidy and fraud to acquire wealth. He is banished out of Lacedæmon. Herod still credulous and jealous. Jucundus and Tyrannus banished the court, and forced by torture to accuse Alexander. The governor of Alexandria put to the question. Counterfeit letters produced against Alexander. The false witnesses are stoned at Jericho. Salome betrays

No. 22.

Aristobulus. The brothers prosecuted upon Salome's information. Examination of Glaphyra and Alexander, who deny the charge. Cæsar is reconciled to Herod. Nicolaus exhibits an accusation against Syllæus, and defends the cause of Herod. Syllæus violates his oath. Cæsar sends Herod a letter of condolence.

HEROD's family was now in a state of the utmost distraction, through the prevalence of intestine jealousies, which threatened the direst calamities, and chiefly arose upon the following occasion. There was one Eurycles, a Lacedæmonian, a man of noble extraction, but perverse disposition, and an adept in all the arts of the profoundest dissimulation. This Eurycles cultivated the friendship of Herod, through a mutual exchange of presents; and other good offices with him in the house of Antipater, by which means he became familiarly acquainted with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and also that he entertained the highest respect for Glaphyra. Under this semblance he minutely observed whatever passed in the family, in order to avail himself as opportunity might offer. In fine, he was so arch an hypocrite, as to conceal his designs from the keenest penetration; and, though a monster of perfidy, pass upon mankind as the most ingenuous and disinterested man in the world. By his arts he obtained the confidence of Alexander, who disclosed to him all his secrets, and reposed in him an unlimited trust. He gave him a detail of his misfortunes, such as the unkindness of his father, the death of his mother, and the increasing power and influence of Antipater. He represented his oppression as intolerable, as the king's aversion was become so inveterate, that he would not admit his children to his table nor conversation. These complaints Alexander credulously imagined would remain undisclosed in the breast of Eurycles; but they were all by him conveyed to Antipater, whom he told, that he did not bring him the information from any interested view, but from a motive of friendship, and a sense of the very great importance of the concern, warning him, at the same time, to beware of Alexander.

Antipater looked upon this as a singular instance of the respect and friendship of Eurycles, made acknowledgment of it by very considerable presents, and at length related the purport of the information to Herod. The king was so prepossessed with a disposition to believe every evil report against Alexander, that, through the force of such prejudice, and divers ambiguous hints in the course of conversation, he contracted a hatred for him more implacable than ever.

Having obtained from him a present of fifty talents for his supposed generous service, the perfidious Eurycles went to Archelaus, with lavish encomiums on his son Alexander, insinuating to him, at the same time, the great pleasure and happiness he had derived in being accessory, upon several occasions, towards composing the differences between him and his father. His arts prevailed likewise with Archelaus, who gratified him with a pecuniary present; and this imposture he carried on without detection by any one of the several parties. He then returned to his own country, where he followed the practice of his base arts, till he was at length discovered, brought to justice, and, as the vilest of miscreants, banished Lacedæmon.

Herod was not now disposed, as before, towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he was content with hearing the calumnies which others raised against them, but entertained so implacable a hatred, as to urge many to defamation contrary to their will. He observed all that passed, put questions, and attended to all informations that he thought might tend to criminate them, till, at length, he heard, that one Everatus, of Coos, was confederate with Alexander; a circumstance that seemed to give him great satisfaction.

U u u

Calumnies

Cæsar is incensed at Herod.

The Trachonites rise against him.

His embassy is rejected by Cæsar.

Aretas succeeds Obodas in the kingdom of Arabia.

Cæsar is incensed at him.

His embassy is rejected by Cæsar.

Eurycles ingratiates himself into the friendship of Herod, Antipater, and Alexander.

Obtains rewards from Antipater, Herod, and Archelaus.

Herod's aversion to his sons increases.

Calumnies against the brothers daily increased; and it seemed a matter of general concern, to exhibit some deadly charge, under pretence of regard for the preservation of the king. There were two persons, called Jucundus and Tyrannus, formerly of Herod's guards, men much admired for their stature, strength, and agility; but having incurred the displeasure of Herod, they were banished the court. Alexander, knowing the valour and activity of these men, entertained them as guards of his person, and treated them with every instance of liberality. The king, therefore, being suspicious of them, had them put to the question, upon torture, concerning the conspiracy. Having sustained the anguish for some time, with incredible resolution, they at length confessed that Alexander had solicited them to take an opportunity of killing the king, while he was upon the hunt, as the fact might be evaded under colour of a fall from his horse, upon his own spear, especially as he had narrowly escaped that accident once before. They made a farther discovery of money hid in the stable, and some of the king's lances and darts, delivered out by the master of the game to the servants of Alexander, by his own order.

Jucundus and Tyrannus, thro' extreme torture, accuse Alexander.

The governor of Alexandria is put to the torture.

After these, the governor of Alexandria was put to the torture, upon the questions of promising to receive the brothers into his fortrefs, and of putting into their hands the king's treasure that was there deposited. The governor denied the charge; but his son avowed it, and produced letters under Alexander's hand, as he pretended, to this effect. "When we have finished all that we have proposed to do, we will attend you; but do your endeavours, according to promise, to receive us into your fortrefs." After this writing was produced, Herod was confirmed in his suspicion of the treacherous design of his sons; but Alexander peremptorily insisted that it was the malicious contrivance of Antipater, and a forgery by his secretary Diophantus, who was a man skilled in such illicit practices, and afterwards convicted and punished for the same.

Forgery of Antipater's secretary.

Herod being now at Jericho, after putting the witnesses to the torture, had them brought thither, to accuse his sons before the people, who stoned many of them to death, as, in their rage, they would have done Alexander and Aristobulus, had not Herod prevented them by means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. They were, however, committed to close custody; and spies set upon them, to observe every thing they did or said; and, in fact, they were treated as condemned criminals.

The brothers are cast into prison.

In this extremity Aristobulus endeavoured to excite Salome, his aunt, and mother-in-law, to compassion for his distress, and to a just indignation for the author of it; representing to her the danger she was in, from lying under an accusation of holding private correspondence with Syllæus, about the king's affairs, in hopes of marrying him. Salome carried these words to her brother, who, in the heat of his passion, commanded both his sons to be bound, kept separate from each other, and enjoined to commit severally to writing, the particulars of their treasonable design. They wrote according to the king's command, and both agreed in the same declaration, that they had never conceived a treacherous design. They acknowledged, indeed, an intention of making their escape; and the life they led under perpetual jealousies was worse than death.

Salome betrays Aristobulus to Herod.

The brothers disavow the charge of treason.

About this time there came on embassy to Herod, from Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, one Mela, a person of distinguished rank in that country. Herod, desirous of shewing the ill-will he supposed Archelaus bore him, sent for Alexander out of prison, and examined him in the presence of the ambassador, concerning his escape, whither he intended to go, and in what manner to dispose of himself. He frankly replied, that he proposed to go to Archelaus, his father-in-law, who had promised to send him to Rome; declaring most solemnly, that neither he or his brother had entertained the shadow of a treacherous thought against their father, whatever sy-

Herod puts questions to Alexander before the ambassador of Archelaus.

cophants and liars might have insinuated to the contrary. He had declared, he said, that Jucundus and Tyrannus might be examined more particularly; but it was agreeable to the design of Antipater to have them dispatched; so that, at his instigation, they fell by the hands of the multitude.

After this declaration, in the hearing of the ambassador, Herod commanded him and Alexander to be taken to Glaphyra, and that she should be strictly interrogated as to this abominable conspiracy against his life. They were no sooner come within view of the princess, than, upon sight of her husband in chains, she exhibited tokens of the utmost phrenzy, tearing her hair, and uttering the most piercing groans, which were answered by deep fetched sighs from Alexander, insomuch, that the surrounding multitude was struck with astonishment. Ptolemy at length put the question to the prince, whether his wife was privy to his actions. He replied, "How is it possible that the woman I love dearer than life, and by whom I have had endearing pledges of that love, should be unconscious of my actions?" The princess then exclaimed, that "she never knew he entertained a wicked design; but that, if her accusing herself falsely, would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all." Alexander declared; that "they were innocent of the charge alleged against them, by those from whom they had deserved better things; but if an intention of making their way to Archelaus, and then to Rome, was to be imputed to them as treason, they were certainly answerable for it." Glaphyra also made the same confession.

Glaphyra, before Herod and Mela.

Alexander and Glaphyra in the trial of the charge.

Herod, construing this declaration as a proof of the ill-will of Archelaus towards him, dispatched Olympus and Volumnius with letters to him, with orders to touch at Eleusa, a city in Phœnicia, and there deliver them. They had instructions also to expostulate with him, upon a strong presumption of his being engaged with his sons in the confederacy. Their orders were from thence to sail for Rome; and, in case they should find by Nicolaus of Damascus, that Cæsar was become more tractable than formerly, they were to present another express to him, with the proceedings against Alexander and Aristobulus, and copies of the evidence upon which they were convicted. Archelaus acknowledged his readiness to receive the princes, and that he undertook to afford them such sanction, as the best service he could render both the father and the sons, being fearful, lest Herod, in the heat of rage and jealousy, might drive them to extremities. He affirmed, upon the whole, that he had no design of sending them to Cæsar, or supporting them against their father.

Herod's deputies to Archelaus, with letters and instructions.

Archelaus defends himself.

When Herod's deputies arrived at Rome, and found Cæsar reconciled to their master, they delivered their letters according to order. They were previously laid before Nicolaus for his inspection, who managed his commission after this manner. As soon as he came to the emperor's palace, at Rome, over and above the instructions that he had in charge, he brought a formal accusation against Syllæus, having procured proofs upon him from the Arabians, (who were greatly divided among themselves,) of the most flagitious practices that could be imagined, particularly the murder of Obodas, which was rendered undeniably manifest, by intercepted letters under his own hand. Nicolaus, whose main concern was to effect a permanent reconciliation of Herod with Cæsar, greatly improved this discovery to the advantage of his principal, being assured that he would not be allowed to make a direct defence of Herod; but if he desired to accuse Syllæus, an opportunity would present itself for speaking in Herod's behalf.

Cæsar reconciled to Herod.

The day being appointed for a hearing, Nicolaus, in the presence of the ambassadors of Aretas, delivered an accusation against Syllæus, as the murderer of his lord and master the king, and great numbers of the Arabians; as having taken up immense sums of money towards disturbing the public peace; as an abandoned debauchee, both at Rome and in Arabia; and as guilty of the most daring ef-

Nicolaus, before the ambassadors of Aretas.

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frontery, in imposing falshood and calumnies upon Cæsar himself, and particularly with respect to the account he gave of the conduct of Herod, which was fallacious throughout the whole. When Nicolaus came to this last article, Cæsar interposed, with a command to speak to this single point, and shew that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. Nicolaus made answer, that he should take the liberty to demonstrate that either none at all, or but very few of the imputations, were true, of which the emperor had been informed. This assertion drew the attention of Cæsar; and Nicolaus thus proceeded in his plea for Herod:

“ There was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, upon a bond, where it was specified, that, when the time appointed for payment was elapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure of any part of his country. With respect to the body of men that Cæsar calls an army, it was merely a party sent out for putting a legal claim into execution. This party was not sent immediately according to the tenor of the bond, because Syllæus had come before Saturninus and Volumnius, and at last had sworn at Berytus, by the fortune of Cæsar, that he would pay the money in the course of thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his protection. The time arrived; but neither the money was paid, or the fugitives delivered up; so that Herod was obliged to address the governors again, who gave it as their opinion, that he might do himself right by distresses. This was the occasion of his going into Arabia, and of the war which his adversaries so tragically describe. How can this be deemed a war, when it had the approbation and permission of the governors, in prosecution of a lawful compact, and after a violation of a solemn oath, both in the name of the gods and Cæsar? ”

“ With respect to the captives, they were robbers that came from the country of Trachon, where the number, at first, amounted to no more than forty, but increased afterwards. They escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted upon them, by taking refuge in Arabia. Though the common enemies of mankind, they were entertained by Syllæus, who gave them lands, and went shares with them in their booty. These were the men whom Syllæus bound himself by oath to restore, together with the borrowed sum within the time limited. I can now with confidence defy any man to say that Herod took any other prisoners in Arabia than these free-booters, of whom several escaped. Thus does the calumny of the captives, which has been represented in so odious a light, appear to be no better than a fiction to provoke the indignation of the emperor: for I can take upon me to affirm, that, when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself; and there fell Nacebus, their general, and, in all, about twenty-five others, and no more. This number Syllæus hath enlarged, by multiplying every single soldier to an hundred; so that he reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred.”

Cæsar was so incensed at this relation, that, turning towards Syllæus, he sternly asked him, how many Arabians were slain in that action? After some hesitation, he confessed himself mistaken in the number; upon which they read the conditions of the bond, the arbitration of the governors, and the remonstrances of the several cities and towns, complaining of the injuries sustained from the robbers. Augustus, being now fully informed of the matter, passed sentence of death on Syllæus; took Herod into favour again; acknowledged a concern for his mistake, in listening to the calumnies that transported him to such severities against him; and reproached Syllæus as the compulsive cause of his ingratitude towards his best friends. In fine, Syllæus

was sent back to Arabia, there to discharge the debt, and afterwards to be punished with death.

Cæsar was still offended with Aretas, for presuming to usurp royal authority, without having first obtained his consent, inasmuch that he determined to transfer the government of Arabia to Herod; but changed his mind, on reading the letter which Olympus and Volumnius brought him, containing invectives against his own sons. The deputies were instructed; if they found Cæsar pacifically disposed, to deliver him those letters, which they accordingly did; and Cæsar, upon reading them, reflecting on the advanced age, and turbulent temper, of Herod, retracted his resolution; called for the ambassadors of Aretas, and, after having spoken a word of reproof on the temerity of their master, in not waiting till he had received the authority from him, accepted their presents, and confirmed Aretas in his government.

Cæsar reconciled to Aretas.

Cæsar, upon this reconciliation, wrote a letter of condolence to Herod, on account of his sons, giving him full power, if he found them engaged in so unnatural and impious a conspiracy, to proceed against them as parricides; but if, at length, it should happen that their misdemeanours amounted to no more than an intention to escape, he should content himself with an admonition, and not proceed to extremity. The sum of his advice was to call a council at Berytus, a city under the Roman jurisdiction, and there, with the assistance of the governors of the adjacent provinces, together with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, hear and determine upon the whole matter, and bring the point to a final decision.

His letter to Herod.

CHAP. XVII.

Herod, upon his reconciliation with Cæsar, calls a council at Berytus, and persecutes his sons with the utmost rancour. They resolve that Herod may dispose of his sons at option. Saturninus is for mitigating the punishment, while Volumnius urges death, upon which they are condemned. Herod goes for Tyre, and meets Nicolaus, who accompanies him to Cesarea. Tyro's generous resolution, and expostulation with Herod, in behalf of the brothers. Tryphon's information against Tyro. Herod's inhuman cruelty.

THIS letter from Cæsar afforded Herod the highest satisfaction, not only as a token of his reconciliation with the emperor, but as vesting him with full authority over his sons. It is remarkable, that, though, in former times of prosperity, he had treated his sons with great rigour, when life was in question, he abated his severity, and assumed a degree of moderation. But, upon the change of affairs, and his reinstatement in the favour of the Roman emperor, he became outrageous in his resentment, and proceeded against them with un governable rancour.

Herod's barbarity to his sons.

Pursuant to Cæsar's direction, he summoned a council to meet at Berytus, but excepted Archelaus, perhaps from personal pique, or apprehension that he would endeavour to frustrate his design. When the council was met according to summons, he did not produce his sons, but kept them in a village belonging to Sidon, that they might appear when called for. He then entered the council-chamber alone, and there preferred an accusation against his sons, in the presence of one hundred and fifty persons; but without premising his own misfortunes, or pointing out the necessity of the present proceeding. It was a charge fraught with language unbecoming a father, and accompanied with boisterous exclamations, and violent gestures, that indicated symptoms of fury bordering on phrenzy. His arguments were confused and inconsistent: no proofs were adduced to govern the opinion of the court. His assertions were founded on his own authority alone; and the bench seemed composed rather

He summons a convention at Berytus.

Exhibits a rancorous charge against his sons.

ther of the parties, than judges to determine upon evidence, and according to the grand principles of right and wrong.

There were some letters of the young princes read; but not one of them contained the remotest hint of any plot or contrivance against the prosecutor. All that could be inferred was, a consultation as to the method of escaping, together with some expressions of dissatisfaction and offence. When Herod came to that part of the letters, he endeavoured to pervert their obvious meaning, by adducing them as demonstrative evidence of a conspiracy, and most solemnly declared, it was worse than death to peruse their contents. He affirmed, he might insist upon the power he had received over his own children, both from nature and the grant of Cæsar; and added an allegation of a law of his own country, which enjoins, that, "If parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the bye-standers were obliged to stone him to death," which, though he was ready to do in his country and kingdom, yet, at present, he would rather decline his privileges, and submit the matter to the further consideration of the council; not as judges to determine whether the case be as is represented, or not, since it is so indubitably manifest, but to take their opinion with respect to the justification of the sentence, as an instructive lesson to posterity, against such impious practices on the life of a parent.

The assembly plainly perceiving, from the evasive finesse displayed throughout the whole proceeding, as well as the withholding of the princes from the presence of the court, that equity was totally suppressed, and a reconciliation impracticable, confirmed the authority of Herod with respect to the disposal of his sons. Upon this occasion Saturninus, a person of consular dignity, who had executed many honourable commissions, arose and observed, that "he was for punishing the princes, but not with death; as having children of his own, he was duly impressed with the case, and therefore would be very loth, after the calamities that the king of Judæa had endured already, to oppress him with the heaviest of all at the last." He was followed by his three sons, who spoke with feeling and spirit, and enforced the opinion delivered by their father. Volumnius, on the contrary, exerted himself with great vehemence against the princes; exclaiming, that nothing but death could expiate the horrid crime of parricide; and the majority coinciding with his opinion, carried the question.

The sentence was no sooner passed, than Herod hastened to Tyre, taking his sons with him; and meeting with Nicolaus, on his return from Rome, he related to him the circumstances that had passed at Berytus, and enquired of him the opinion that prevailed concerning the matter at Rome. Nicolaus informed him, that the princes were generally blamed for their foul practices, and deserved to be laid in chains: nay, that death was their legal due, if the conspiracy could be clearly proved; though the world imputed the prosecution rather to malice than justice. But if Herod found himself otherwise disposed, he might acquit them, without involving himself in an irretrievable difficulty. This Nicolaus gave as the opinion and judgment of his friends at Rome; upon which Herod, after a long pause, without making a single comment, bid Nicolaus put to sea with him, and they proceeded together to Cæsarea.

Upon their arrival at Cæsarea, they found that the point in dispute between Herod and his sons, was the general topic of conversation, and that the people waited the issue with the utmost anxiety. An apprehension prevailed, that the feuds and animosities of the family would come to a fatal conclusion. The case of the brothers was sincerely compassionated, though opinion was suspended, and popular resentment smothered.

As an exception to the general conduct upon the occasion, Tyro, a veteran in the military service, of distinguished valour, gave his opinion on the point

with the utmost freedom. To this he might have been induced from having a son of the same age, and who had the strictest intimacy with Alexander. This honest veteran publicly exclaimed, that justice and truth were banished the earth; that nothing prevailed but malice and deceit; and that mankind were so blinded by their inordinate passions, that they could no longer discern right from wrong, or good from evil. This, though a dangerous freedom, was so noble an instance of virtue and resolution; that it could not fail of meeting with universal approbation; so that those who durst not follow the example, could not but revere the man who generously stood forth in vindication of oppressed innocence, and to stem the torrent of corruption.

Nor did his efforts stop here; for he boldly presented himself before the king, and being granted a private audience, thus addressed him: "Since, Sire, I labour under insupportable grief, I am determined to give it vent, though at the hazard of my life; and probably the liberty I take, if you are so disposed as to hear me with patience, may tend to your advantage. May I be permitted to enquire whither are fled that understanding and magnanimity, that, in time past, have carried you through so many difficulties? Whence comes this solitude and desertion of your friends and relations? For those I cannot deem such, that can behold the horrid transactions in your court and family, and stand still unconcerned spectators. Do you not perceive the tendency of these things? Can you resolve to take away the lives of these two princes, accomplished with every virtue, and subject yourself to an ambitious son, and those of your relations; you have so often doomed to punishment? Do you not find yourself tacitly condemned, and the case of your sons universally lamented; and is not your whole army, both officers and private soldiers, particularly afflicted for the princes, and enraged with the authors of their miseries?"

Some part of this expostulation the king heard with calm composure; but when Tyro touched upon the perfidy of his domestics, and launched out into an unbounded freedom, he deemed it rather a reproach than a caution, and sternly asked who these officers and soldiers were, to whom his declaration referred? Upon Tyro's naming them, Herod ordered them all together, with the veteran himself, to be taken up, and committed to prison.

Upon this occasion, one Tryphon, who was the king's barber, laid an information against Tyro, importing, that he repeatedly tampered with him, by promises of pecuniary reward, as well as the favour of Alexander, to cut the king's throat, while he was under the operation of the razor. Orders were immediately given, that Tyro, his son, and the informer, should be put to the torture. The son seeing his father so cruelly tormented, and so resolute in sustaining the anguish, without hope of mitigation, declared, "that, if the king would free him and his father from those excruciating pains, he would relate the truth." When the king had passed his word so to do, he said, "that an agreement was made, that his father, having private access to the king, should lay violent hands on him, if he suffered death, as he was almost certain it would be an act of generosity in favour of Alexander." Upon this declaration his father was delivered from present torture; but whether the confession was founded on truth, or whether it was a mere pretence to obtain deliverance, has not yet appeared.

Herod was now finally resolved to proceed to the execution of his purpose, without any further doubt or deliberation; so that calling the people together, he ordered 300 officers, together with Tyro, his son, and the informer, to be brought forth, who, upon his accusation of them to the multitude, were all stoned to death upon the spot. Alexander and Aristobulus, by their father's command, were sent away to Sebaste, and there strangled. Their bodies were deposited in a sepulchre at Alexandrion, with divers of their ancestors.

Cites the Jewish laws for rebellious sons.

Confirmation of Herod's authority.

Opinion of Saturninus in behalf of the brothers.

That of Volumnius against them.

The public opinion at Rome.

Nicolaus accompanies Herod to Cæsarea.

Tyro vindicates the cause of the princes.

Tyro's expostulation with the king.

Tyro's party of the princes freed from prison.

Sebastus.

Confession of Tyro's son.

Execution of Tyro and his son.

Tyro's death.



T. West delin.

Tooke sculpt.

TYRO vindicating the Innocence of HEROD's two SONS, Alexander & Aristobulus, whom the Tyrant afterwards put to Death, on a false Accusation.

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comment
Josephus
in the pro-
ceedings of
Herod
against his
sons.

It may, perhaps, seem unreasonable to suppose, that such an inveterate hatred should prevail betwixt father and sons, as to overcome all natural affection, and be productive of such dire effects. But it may justly deserve consideration, whether the cause arose from a continued course of provocation in the young princes, or from the insuperable obduracy and ambition of the king. With respect to the sons, they might, perhaps, in the heat of youthful passion, be too haughty and imperious; ready to entertain evil reports of their father, and partial judges of his conduct. They might be suspicious, and so eccentric in their words and actions, as to expose themselves to spies and informers, who sought for matter to alledge against them. On the other hand, what could argue greater weakness in Herod, or be more heinously criminal, than, without any proof or conviction of a treasonable design, or even so much as the presumption of a contrivance, to indulge a lawless, nay, more than brutal, passion, by putting to

death his own sons, who possessed such rare accomplishments, both mental and personal; and in particular Alexander, the elder.

If he was determined on a condemnation, might not imprisonment or banishment have sufficed? Under such circumstances, there would have been no fear of treachery, and as little of open force, because of the patronage of the Roman power. But to deprive them of life, to gratify an ungovernable passion, can never be justified by any law, human or divine. He lived, indeed, afterwards to give additional proofs of his towering ambition, rancorous envy, and relentless cruelty, which he exercised, as occasion afforded, upon the rest of his relations; though, as will be seen in the sequel, some of them deserved the punishment. However, upon the whole, the barbarity of Herod must be an eternal stigma on his character.

End of the SIXTEENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XVII.

[Including a Period of about Twelve Years.]

C H A P. I.

Antipater is universally detested by the Jewish nation, for being accessory to the murder of the princes Alexander and Aristobulus. Maintains great sway in Judæa. Endeavours in vain to delude Salome. Herod compels her to marry Alexas. Sends Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander, back to her father, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Antipater much disgusted at the respect in which the people held the memory of the princes. Herod is prevailed on to dissolve certain contracts.

ANTIPATER having, by his insidious arts, effected the destruction of his brothers, paved the way for compassing his design upon the life of his father, and indulged the most sanguine hopes of attaining to the very summit of his ambition. But he was soon disappointed in his towering expectation; for, although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being rivals, as to the government, he found the general odium, he had incurred throughout the nation on their account, to be an obstacle almost insuperable. The alienation of the soldiery was a more disagreeable circumstance, as the security of these kings depended upon them, whenever they found the people desirous of innovations. These mischiefs he drew upon his head by fraud and perfidy; yet, if the exercise of his power was his delight, it might be said that he actually governed at this time, his father being king only in name, while the affairs of the state were under his guidance and direction. Nay, the very crime for which he deserved to die, passed for an instance of his affection and respect, as if he had consulted the preservation and safety of the king in the death of the princes; whereas, in reality, he gratified his aversion to the father in what he did; and such was the inveteracy of his malice, that he detested them even for the father's sake.

All Antipater's arts and contrivances now tended to make way for the taking off Herod, that he

might have none to accuse him of the vile practices he was devising, and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him assistance, since such must have Antipater for their avowed enemy. He looked upon the government as his own after the death of Herod, but thought that delays would be dangerous, so far as they might lead to a discovery of his insidious arts to his father, and thereby frustrate his ambitious design. To this end he spared neither cost or pains to gain the good will of his father's friends, by a winning courtesy, and most unbounded munificence. The objects of his regard were his friends at Rome in general; but he was particularly desirous of conciliating the esteem of Saturninus, governor of Syria, as also of his brother.

Nor did he despair of bringing over to his interest Salome, the wife of a particular friend, and confident of Herod. Antipater possessed all the art of address and insinuation, and could assume the mask of complacency to conceal the basest intentions. But he could not impose upon his aunt Salome, who saw through all his disguises, opposed artifice to artifice, and defeated his designs; though he had so ordered it, that her daughter, the widow of Aristobulus, was married to his uncle, by the mother's side, and the other daughter to Callæas. Salome was passionately fond of Syllæus; but Herod, by means of the assistance of the empress Julia, who represented to her the train of ill consequences that would result from her disobliging her brother, prevailed with her to marry Alexas.

Herod, at the same time, sent Glaphyra, the widow of his son Alexander, back to her father Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, returning the portion which he had with her, in order to obviate all ground of controversy, and took moreover great care of the education of his grand children. Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus, by Bernice, the daughter of Salome, had three sons and two daughters. Herod would occasionally present these children to his friends, deploring the hopeless fate of his sons, and praying that they might avoid the same.

Antipater
universally
hated.

Herod has
the name of
king, but
Antipater
the power.

Herod causes his grand children to be educated.

same, improve in virtue, and live to acknowledge the care of their education. He designed the daughter of his brother, Pheroras, for wife to the eldest son of Alexander; and the daughter of Antipater to the eldest son of Aristobulus; and to the son of Antipater, one of the daughters of Aristobulus; the other daughter to his son Herod; whom he had by the daughter of the high-priest; for polygamy, according to our law, is allowable.

Antipater's aversion increases with Herod's tenderness towards them.

The principal motive of the king, in these alliances, was the commiseration of their orphan state, and to render Antipater, by these inter-marriages, more affectionate towards them. But Antipater retained the same disposition for the children as he had before done for their fathers; and Herod's tenderness was so far from softening him, that, on the contrary, he became fierce and jealous; and the more the king favoured them on the one hand, the more Antipater hated them on the other, lest they should hereafter rival him; and especially with the assistance of Archelaus and Pheroras, the tetrarch, whose son at that time stood fair to marry one of the daughters. It was the greatest mortification to Antipater to observe the compassion the people retained for the care and memory of the unfortunate princes, and with what detestation they beheld the contrivers of their ruin, while they waited for an opportunity of exposing Antipater for his malicious practices against his brethren. It occurred to him, upon reflection, that the most effectual method of securing the government to himself, was to prevail with Herod to dissolve the contracts above-mentioned, which, with much importunity, he brought to pass, and obtained the promise of the daughter of Aristobulus for himself, and for his son the daughter of Pheroras, whereupon the former marriage agreements were annulled.

Herod prevailed on to dissolve certain contracts.

His wives and children.

King Herod, at this time, had nine wives. The first was the mother of Antipater. The second was the daughter of Simon, the high-priest, by whom he had a son, called by his own name. The third was the daughter of his brother. The fourth his cousin-german, by whom he had no issue. The fifth a Samaritan, by whom he had two sons, Antipater and Archelaus; and one daughter, called Olympias, who was afterwards married to Joseph, the king's kinsman. Archelaus and Antipater were brought up at Rome, by a particular friend. His sixth wife was Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, by whom he had Herod and Philip, who was also bred up at Rome. The name of his seventh wife was Ballas, by whom he had Phasael. His eighth was Phœdera. The ninth was Elpis, by whom he had two daughters, Roxana and Salome. As to his elder daughters by Mariamne, the mother of Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras refused to marry, he gave the one to Antipater's sister's son, and the other to Phasael, the son of his brother. This was the posterity of Herod.

CHAP. II.

Zamaris, a Babylonian Jew, settles a colony in Syria. Is invited by Herod to Batanæa. Herod protects the liberties of the Jews. Philip levies taxes. Deaths of Zamaris and Jacimus; the latter of whom leaves his son Philip general of the army.

Herod fortifies himself against the Trachonites.

Zamaris leaves Babylon, and comes to dwell in Syria.

HEROD, being now desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a spacious village in the middle of the country, and to put a strong garrison in it, to serve as a check upon the inroads from that quarter; and, upon occasion, to fall out upon the enemy. While he was ruminating upon this project, he was given to understand, that a certain Jew had come from Babylon with 500 horsemen, with bows any arrows, and near a fifth part of them his own relations; and that, with these troops, he had passed the Euphrates, and now sat down near Daphne, in Syria, where Saturninus, the governor, gave him a castle, called Valatha, not far from Antioch, for his habitation. Herod, upon this intelligence, sent an invitation to the Jew to come over to him with all his people, pro-

misising them lands, and other conveniencies, in the territory of Batanæa, upon the borders of Trachon, with privileges of exemption from all duties and tributes for the land as well as for the men, and a commission only to defend that quarter against the incursions of vagrant plunderers.

Herod invites him to settle in Batanæa.

The Babylonian, induced by these offers, came thither with his people, took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a town, which he named Bathyra. By these means he not only protected the inhabitants from the inroads of the Trachonites, but secured the Jews also in their processions from Babylon to Jerusalem, according to the duty and practice of their profession. From this consideration he was joined by vast numbers of such Jews as conscientiously adhered to the religion and laws of their forefathers; and the country was well peopled, on account of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but the person who succeeded him charged them with some small impositions; they were continued, however, for only a short time. Agrippa the Great, and his son, of the same name, imposed very heavy taxes upon them, as did the Romans after them, but never deprived them of personal liberty, as we shall take occasion to shew hereafter.

He builds Bathyra.

At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given this country for a possession, departed this life, having maintained an upright character, and left behind him children that inherited the virtues of their father, and amongst others Jacimus, a gallant commander, who had served the kings of Babylon in their guards. This Jacimus died in an advanced age, and left behind him a son, called Philip, who, for his exemplary probity and valour, was in such esteem with king Agrippa, that he made him general of his army.

Zamaris dies, and leaves a virtuous issue.

CHAP. III.

Antipater is vested with the administration of public affairs. A female combination. Salome discovers their counsels. They take part with the Pharisees, who refuse the oath of allegiance to Herod. A fine set upon them for their refusal is paid by the wife of Pheroras. Bagoas, and many of the Pharisees, put to death. Pheroras refuses to divorce his wife. Herod forbids Antipater and his mother all communication with Pheroras.

WHILE the affairs of Herod were in this confused state, he placed such a confidence in the faith, zeal, and affection of his son Antipater, that he vested him with the entire administration of government, so that all public affairs absolutely depended on his will. But he flagrantly abused the trust reposed in him, by glossing over falsehoods and injustice, with specious pretences of duty and loyalty to his father, so that, in effect, his artifice was as dangerous as his power. But none in appearance cultivated so strict a friendship with him as Pheroras; while Antipater artfully encompassed him with a female claw, that watched his words and actions; for Pheroras was in absolute subjection to his wife and her mother, notwithstanding the hatred he bore them for the indignities they had offered his virgin daughters. But these were matters too trivial to cause dissention between parties so necessary to each other in carrying on the main business, and who were all privy to so many important secrets; besides, Antipater was attached to them both on account of himself and his mother.

Antipater's great influence with Herod.

Apparent friendship between Antipater and Pheroras.

Salome, the king's sister, frequently thwarted their intentions; and being particularly informed of the whole plan of this female combination, had determined to make discovery of it to Herod; so that the accomplices finding their motions watched, and fearful of coming under the jealousy and displeasure of the king, contrived that their meetings in future should be more private than they had been, as the most effectual means of evading suspicion. As time and opportunity served, they would take occasion to revile each other, especially in the presence of

A female combination.

of Herod, or any of his friends, who would report such behaviour to him, and the plot was carried under this guise for some time.

But they could conceal from Salome neither the first contrivance, or the means through which they had made some progress in it. She traced their projects step by step, and communicated every particular to her brother, and not without aggravation. She represented to Herod, that "if their private assemblies, and clandestine counsels, were not founded upon a design on his life, they might as well be open and public; that their affectation of variance and feuds, when in public, while they preserved unanimity in private, were evident tokens of fraud and collusion; and that, in fact, they acted in perfect concert to accomplish one common purpose and design."

Thus did Salome state the matter to Herod, who, though he had received some previous hints of it, to which he gave credit, did not absolutely depend on his sister's veracity, conscious that calumny was one of her darling vices.

This female clan were much attached to a certain sect amongst the Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and would impose upon mankind a belief that they were the peculiar favourites of heaven. These were the Pharisees, a sect arrogant and crafty, who, through consummate pride and vanity, made no conscience of insulting majesty, and trampling upon royal authority. Accordingly, when the whole nation of the Jews were called upon to swear allegiance to the king and to Cæsar, there refused of this sect a number amounting to above 7000. Being condemned by the king to a fine for this refusal, the wife of Pheroras deposited it for them. In order to requite this kindness, as they pretended to possess a foreknowledge of events from Divine inspiration, they foretold that it was the Divine decree, that the kingdom should be transferred from Herod and his sons, to the princess, her husband Pheroras, and their issue.

Salome gave the king notice of this, and of the bribery and corruption that had been practised at court in favour of this interest. Upon strict search and enquiry, several Pharisees were apprehended and put to death, as the authors of this seditious presage. Amongst those who suffered upon the occasion, was Bagoas, and Herod's minion Carus, besides several of his family, that were convicted of the conspiracy upon the testimony of the Pharisees themselves. Bagoas was persuaded to maintain an idle notion, that he was to be celebrated as the benefactor of the prince that was designed for the throne; and every thing was to succeed with the new king, and the government to be established in his family.

When Herod had punished the criminal Pharisees, he called a council of his friends, and exhibited an accusation against the wife of Pheroras, alleging, "that it was through her counsel and advice, that his brother so contemptuously rejected the tender of the royal virgins to him in marriage; and that she had most unnaturally, and against all law, fomented feuds between brethren, both by deeds and words; that she had abetted the seditious Pharisees, in easing them of the fine, which he himself had imposed; and, in short, that she was the principal agent in the conspiracy." From these premises, he took occasion to recommend to Pheroras the propriety of putting away a woman of so infamous a character, without any persuasion from him, especially as matters were come to such a pass, that he must either disown her as a wife, or never expect to be owned by the king as a brother.

Pheroras was much affected by this passionate declaration of Herod, and peremptorily declared, that no consideration should move him to renounce his wife, since he would rather die than live without her company. Herod then moderated his anger, only forbidding Antipater and his mother any communication with Pheroras, and the female clan their usual assemblies. They promised obedience

to the king's orders, but kept up their former intercourse, and especially that between Antipater and Pheroras.

CHAP. IV.

The jealousy of Herod alarms Antipater, who is sent to Rome with presents, and Herod's last will and testament. Syllæus charged with treason, and to be tried at Rome.

ANTIPATER having now a strong suspicion of his father's jealousy and displeasure, and being apprehensive of experiencing their effects, wrote to his friends at Rome, to have him sent for with all expedition to wait upon Augustus. His request being immediately complied with, Herod dispatched him with rich presents, and his last will and testament, wherein he declared Antipater his successor; or, in case of his decease, his son Herod, whom he had by the daughter of the high-priest.

At the same Syllæus, the Arabian, went to Rome, though he had neglected to obey the injunctions of Cæsar. Antipater there accused him of the same crimes of which he had formerly been accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, as advocate for Herod. Syllæus was also accused by Aretas, for having put to death, at Petra, several men of rank and character, without his knowledge or consent; and, amongst others, Sohemus, a person worthy of universal esteem; and likewise Fabatus, one of the emperor's servants. The circumstance relative to Fabatus was this:

There was one Corinthus in Herod's guards, a man in whom he particularly confided. Syllæus tampered with this man for a considerable sum of money, to take off the king; and the offer had such an effect, that he had promised to execute his proposal. Fabatus, having been made acquainted with this circumstance, immediately related it to the king. Corinthus, being put to the torture, confessed the whole plot. He also caused to be apprehended two Arabians, the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend of Syllæus, who being both put to the torture, confessed that they came thither to press Corinthus to the execution of what he had undertaken, and to assist him in it, if there should be occasion. The informations were sent by Herod to Saturninus, and by him to Rome, where the cause was to be heard and decided.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras, at Herod's command, retires to his government, and swears not to return during the king's life. Herod falls sick, and sends for Pheroras, who excuses himself upon the plea of his oath. Death of Pheroras.

WHEN Herod found Pheroras inflexibly attached to his wife, he commanded him to retire to his government; and he most willingly obeyed; taking a solemn oath not to return during the life of Herod. Nor did he swerve from his vow; for the king soon after falling sick, he was requested to pay him a visit, and receive some secret orders from him before he died. Pheroras pleaded in excuse, that he was under oath, and durst not break it. Herod, however, so far relaxed in his hatred to his brother, that, when Pheroras himself fell sick soon after, without following his example, he, of his own accord, paid him a visit. The distemper carried him off; and the king gave orders for the conveyance of his body to Jerusalem, where it was honourably interred. The death of Pheroras became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, though he was now at Rome; for justice at length arrested, and brought him to account for the blood of his brothers. I shall give a minute detail of this circumstance, that it may be a warning to mankind to conduct their lives by the rules of virtue.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Enquiry into the death of Pheroras. Poison is administered to him by a confidant of Syllæus. Several women put to the torture. A charge exhibited and proved against the mother of Antipater. Doris stripped of her jewels and banished. Antipater joins in a plot to poison the king. The widow of Pheroras makes discovery of the whole. Last words of Pheroras in discharge of his conscience. More witnesses examined. Herod puts away his wives. Bathyllus brings poison from Rome for Antipater's mother and Pheroras.

Enquiry concerning the death of Pheroras.

AFTER the performance of the funeral obsequies, two of Pheroras's freed-men, who had been much esteemed by him, applied to Herod, and intreated him not to suffer the murder of his brother to pass unavenged, but to make the minutest search, in order to bring the perpetrator of it to condign punishment. They informed the king, who gave great credit to their words, that their master supped with his wife the night he was taken ill, and that a certain potion was brought him with a sort of food that he had not been accustomed to eat: that when he had eaten, he died of it: that his potion was brought out of Arabia, under pretence of its being a love potion, but, in reality, to take him off, as the Arabian women are skilled in compounding such poisons. The woman, against whom they alledged this charge, was confessedly an intimate friend of one of Syllæus's mistresses. It was also deposed, that both the mother and sister of Pheroras's wife had been at her place of abode, persuaded her to sell this potion, and brought it with them the day before it was administered to him at supper.

Several women put to the torture.

The female conspiracy detected.

The king was so enraged at hearing the story, that he ordered several of the women to be put to the torture, free as well as slaves. They continued some time without confession, till, at length, one of them, in the agony of torment, exclaimed, "Would to heaven the mother of Antipater were now under the same anguish, for that base woman has been the cause of all our miseries." This discovery put Herod upon a resolution to extort from them every particular of the plot, and to run through the whole project from circumstance to circumstance; as, at their private meetings and consultations, the occasional discourses that passed betwixt Herod and Antipater had been minutely discussed, as well as the means that were to be used to keep matters from the knowledge of Pheroras.

The female witnesses farther enlarged upon the hatred Antipater bore his father, and that he had complained to his mother how very long he lived, inasmuch, that, as he was himself advanced in years, if the kingdom should devolve to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure: that, as there were many brothers, who had children bringing up, his hopes were but uncertain: that, in case of his death, Herod had ordained that the kingdom should be conferred not on his son, but rather on a brother. It was added, that he had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons; and that it was from the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that he contrived this journey to Rome, as well as sent Pheroras back to his government.

Herod's mother Antipater, out of his passion.

These particulars were consonant with what his sister had told him, and therefore tended to corroborate her testimony, and free her from the suspicion of unfaithfulness. Being perfectly satisfied of the treasonable designs of Doris, the mother of Antipater, Herod immediately stripped her of all her jewels to the value of many talents, and expelled her the palace; while he treated the women of Pheroras's family with more lenity on account of their information.

There was abundant proof against Antipater; but the most unpardonable article of his accusation was drawn from the confession of one Antipater, a Sa-

No. 23.

marian, an officer of great trust under Antipater, the son of Herod. This man, among other things, averred, that his master had put a mortal poison into the hands of Pheroras, for the king to take in his absence, as the work might then be effected with less suspicion. The poison (he said) was brought out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a friend of Antipater, and sent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of Antipater, and by that means came to the wife of Pheroras, her husband having given it her to keep. When the king interrogated her concerning it, she confessed; and, as she was running to fetch it, she cast herself down from one of the palace galleries into the court, but the bruise she received was not mortal. As soon as she came to herself, the king promised her and her domestics pardon; upon condition of their declaring the whole truth; but threatened them with the severest torments, if they concealed any part of the design.

Antipater in a plot to poison the king.

Upon this Pheroras's widow bound herself, by a solemn oath, to lay open the whole matter, without the least reserve, and declared what was generally supposed to be true; that "The potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus, and that his brother, who was a physician, had procured it: that, when Theudion brought it, she kept it, upon Pheroras's committing it to her, being prepared, at the instance of Antipater, for the king: that, when Pheroras fell sick, and the king treated him with such brotherly kindness, he was greatly affected thereby, and calling to her, after his departure, exclaimed, that Antipater had inveigled him into a most unnatural plot for poisoning his brother, and the traitors's father: that Pheroras, recoiling at so horrid an act, and determined not to incur such heinous guilt in leaving this mortal life, requested her immediately to bring the poison, and throw it into the fire before his face: that, upon these words, she fetched it, and threw the greater part into the fire, reserving a small remainder for herself, in case it should be her lot, after the decease of her husband, to be put to extremities."

Confession of the widow of Pheroras.

With these words she produced the box containing the poison before them all; when the mother of Antiphilus, and another brother of his, being both put to the question, they confirmed the matter, by giving evidence as to the identity of the box itself.

Confirmation of the confession.

There was an accusation exhibited also against one of the king's wives, the daughter of the high-priest; and as they could not bring her to confession, Herod cast her off, and struck her son, of his own name, out of his will, though he had appointed him his successor, if Antipater had died before him. He deposed Simon, his father-in-law, from the pontificate; and raised Matthias, of Jerusalem, the son of Theophilus, to that dignity.

Herod divorces the daughter of the high-priest, and disinherits her son.

In the mean time Bathyllus, one of Antipater's freed-men, came from Rome, and being put to the torture, confessed that he brought poison for Antipater's mother, and for Pheroras; that if the former potion did not operate, they might try the other. There came also, at the same time, letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation, and at the suggestion, of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the murder of Alexander and Aristobulus; and they commiserated their unhappy fate, suggesting also, that they were recalled, to be treated in the same manner with those who went before them. These letters had been procured, for great rewards, by Antipater's friends, while he himself wrote to Herod in his usual prevaricating manner, both accusing and excusing the brothers, to gloss over the matter, by means of specious pretence, and ambiguous hints. The controversy was still maintained between Syllæus and Antipater; the latter of whom had procured a number of friends and advocates, by means of presents, amounting to an expense of two hundred talents. It seems a matter of wonder, that there should be so many accusations exhibited against him in Judæa, during the space of seven months, without his having knowledge of them; though this may be reconciled to probability,

Confession of Bathyllus.

Archelaus and Philip, sons of Herod, are accused by Antipater.

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when it is observed, that the roads were strictly guarded, and that Antipater was generally detested, so that none would risk the hazard of information.

CHAP. VII.

Artful correspondence between Antipater and Herod. News of the death of Pheroras. Antipater goes to Sebaste, where he is universally execrated. Quintilius Varus, governor of Syria, holds counsel with Herod at Rome. Antipater comes in state to the palace. Is admitted, but his train excluded. A charge of treason and fratricide exhibited against him. Trial appointed for the next day. Quintilius Varus to preside on the bench. Salome and all the evidences produced. Herod prefers his accusation. Antipater makes his own defence. Nicolaus of Damascus, counsel for Herod, urges the prosecution, and applies to Varus for justice. Divers charges alledged to Antipater. His character painted in the most odious light. He is committed to prison. Letters intercepted, and discoveries made. Herod sends a state of the whole case to Rome.

Herod writes to Antipater to hasten home.

ANTIPATER, having written to the king, that he was settling his affairs at Rome, and preparing for his return, Herod concealed his resentment, and wrote back to him, desiring him not to defer his journey, lest any misadventure should befall him in his absence. The king avoided any hints of displeasure in his letter, except some trifling complaints against his mother, which, on his return, he declared should subside. Indeed, he made professions of candour and friendship, fearing that, through suspicion, he might defer his journey, and that, during his continuance at Rome, he might concert plans for supplanting him in the government.

This letter came to Antipater's hands as he was upon the way in Cilicia: but he had received the news of the death of Pheroras before, at Tarentum, and with much concern; not from any affection to Pheroras, but from disappointment in his not having taken off his father, according to promise. Upon his arrival at Calenderis, a city of Cilicia, he deliberated with himself, whether he should proceed or return, being much chagrined at the disgrace his mother had sustained in her ejection. Some of his friends advised him to wait, in expectation of farther intelligence; others to hasten home without delay, not doubting but, upon his arrival, he would invalidate all charges brought against him, as his accusers derived all their weight and importance from his absence, being thereby prevented from refuting their tales and calumnies.

These arguments prevailed with him to proceed, so that he continued his course, and soon landed at Sebaste, a port erected by Herod, at an incredible expence, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, and called after his name Cæsarea. Here he found himself in a most mortifying situation, as now, on his return, he received not one token of respect: nay, on the contrary, was insulted with execrations; whereas before, at his departure, he was followed with warm benedictions, and joyful acclamations. Nor could the people but entertain an aversion for him, while they supposed he was going to receive punishment for the horrid crime of fratricide.

Antipater is ill received at the port of Cæsarea.

Quintilius Varus succeeds to the government of Syria.

Quintilius Varus, successor of Saturninus in the government of Syria, was at this time at Jerusalem, coming thither at the request of Herod, to assist him with his advice in the present state of affairs. As they were sitting together in counsel, Antipater came into the palace, arrayed in his robes of state; the gates having been set open to him, though his train were excluded. This circumstance threw him into some agitation of mind, which was greatly increased, upon his presenting himself to his father's embrace, when he was spurned from him with reproaches of fratricide and treason, and given to understand, that

he would be publicly in court charged with those crimes the following day, and that Varus would preside as judge upon his trial. Retiring in the utmost confusion, he was met by his mother and wife (the daughter of Antigonus, Herod's predecessor) from whom having learned all circumstances concerning him, he then prepared himself for defence upon his trial.

On the day following the court assembled, Varus and the king sitting in judgment, with their friends about them. Salome, the king's sister, was cited thither also, with others of their relations. There were brought thither likewise all those who had made any voluntary discovery, or any confession upon torture; and besides, some of the domestics of Antipater's mother, who had been taken up a little before his return, and brought with them letters, importing, by way of caution, "that he should by no means come back, since the whole matter was come to his father's knowledge, and Cæsar was the only refuge he had left." Antipater then threw himself at the king's feet, requesting only to be admitted to his defence, and not condemned unheard. Herod ordered him to rise and stand forth to take his trial. The king then addressed himself to the court, in words to the following purport:

Antipater appears to take his trial before Varus.

Herod accuses Antipater.

"I am (said he) an unfortunate man, to have been the father of such children, and to fall at length, in my advanced age, into the hands of such a wretch as Antipater. I have been assiduously attentive to his education, nor have I denied him any requests he ever made. And what is his return? A conspiracy against my life, and an attempt to seize on a crown by impious violence, which, by the double right of title and free gift, must devolve upon him. What advantage can he propose to himself in the gratification of so extravagant an ambition? as I made him a successor by will, and effectually a partner with me, in dignity, glory, and power, even during my own life, settled on him an annual income of fifty talents, and made him an allowance of three hundred more for the expence of his journey to Rome? With respect to the charge brought by him against his brothers, if they were guilty, he has imitated their example; if not, he has alledged groundless charges against his near relations, and by that means absolved them, and incurred himself the guilt of parricide."

The king could not proceed through an involuntary effusion of tears, and therefore desired Nicolaus of Damascus, his old and particular friend, who was thoroughly instructed in every circumstance relative to the case, to proceed to the examination of the witnesses, and an explanation of their respective evidences. Antipater, by way of prevention, applied himself to his defence, and turning to his father, thus spoke:

Antipater's defence.

"Can there be a probability (said he) that, after having rescued my father from the treacherous designs of so many others, I should at length turn traitor to him myself, or fully the reputation of a tried allegiance with so foul a blot? Could I desire to be greater or more happy than I was? Or could I be actuated by such egregious folly, as, under the most splendid circumstances, to expose myself to infamy and misery? The succession was settled upon me according to every form of law; and I was so far admitted by the king's bounty into a share with him in the exercise of his royal power, that I was in the possession of the government, in effect rather than expectation, and that without any one to controul me, or envy my claim. Why should I seek that with danger, of which I acquired the quiet enjoyment by the rectitude of my conduct? or expose myself to certain infamy, for the vain flattery of an uncertain hope? especially considering the consequences of this ambition, with respect to my brothers, whom I myself accused, convicted, and punished. This I did, and of this I shall never repent, but, on the contrary, value myself on the merit of that service,



T. West delin.

Tookey sculp.

King HEROD rejecting the treacherous Embrace of his Son ANTIPATER, who had formed a Conspiracy against his Life in order to Usurp his Throne?

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Antipater.
His him-
th to the
nature.

coltus
neestes
accusa-
a.

“ service, as the highest instance I could give my
“ honoured father of filial duty, and inviolable alle-
“ giance. With respect to my general conduct in
“ the city of Rome, I dare appeal to Cæsar him-
“ self, who can no more be imposed upon than an
“ oracle, and could produce several letters, under
“ his own hand, in my favour. Would it not be
“ unjust, would it not be impious, to oppose the
“ calumnies of abandoned men to the authority of
“ such unquestionable evidence? or a set of mis-
“ creants, whose chief pleasure is to embroil the
“ royal family, and who have taken the advantage,
“ in my absence, of possessing the people with de-
“ famatory rumours against me, which they could
“ never compass so long as I was within distance of
“ speaking for myself. With respect to the evidence
“ extorted by the rack, it is commonly false, be-
“ cause the anguish of extreme pain naturally im-
“ pels the sufferer to many things, to gratify those
“ at whose instance they are put to the question.”
This said, he offered himself to be put to the ques-
tion, and abide the issue of it.

Antipater delivered his defence with such energy
as to excite the compassion of the whole court, and
draw tears even from his enemies; nay, Herod him-
self was observed to relent, although he did his ut-
most to conceal it.

When Antipater had gone thus far, Nicolaus
took up the cause where the king left it; scanned
every article, cited and summed up the proofs, the
names of the witnesses, and the particular confes-
sions of those that had been put to the question.
He passed then to the subject of the king's bounty,
care, and tenderness, in the education of his children,
and how ill it was requited. “ As for Alexander
“ and Aristobulus, while they were under the do-
“ minion of ambition, rather than avarice, and
“ hurried on by the intemperate motions of youth
“ and hot blood, it was not so much a wonder for
“ them (said he) to be debauched by evil counsel,
“ into a neglect or contempt of their duty; but as
“ to the case of Antipater, it was worse than bru-
“ tal; for in the very fiercest of beasts there is a
“ kind of natural gratitude for their keepers:
“ whereas this man was so far from being gained
“ upon by the goodness and bounty of an indul-
“ gent father, that, as he was not to be deterred by
“ the calamitous example of his brothers, so, on the
“ contrary, he valued himself upon an emulation of
“ their wickedness and cruelty. Was it not you
“ yourself, Antipater, (says he,) that first discovered
“ their design? Were not you then the prosecutor?
“ and you yourself again, the director of the sen-
“ tence, and consequently of the punishment? This
“ is not to reflect upon your zeal and indignation
“ in so just a cause; but it astonishes me to find you
“ so bitter against your brothers, for the very same
“ thing that you do yourself; which manifestly
“ shews, that your business was not so much the
“ preservation of the father, as the ruin of the chil-
“ dren; and, under colour of a severe brother, to
“ get the reputation of a tender and dutiful son;
“ and so with the more security to make way to the
“ king himself. This was the exploit you were
“ about. How came it to pass else, that the bro-
“ thers were put to death, and not their accom-
“ plices? What could be the meaning, or the end
“ of this; but first, that you and they were agreed
“ upon the matter; and secondly, that, as soon as
“ the first difficulty should be over, they might be
“ at hand to help you out with the next? So that
“ you had a double satisfaction in the contempla-
“ tion of your wickedness: the one was by imposing
“ publicly upon the world a most flagitious im-
“ piety for meritorious virtue; the other was in the
“ carrying on, and the hopes of executing that hor-
“ rid barbarity yourself, which you took upon you
“ to revenge in others. If you had heartily detest-
“ ed that malice, you would as well have abhorred
“ the imitation of it. But you have had the pre-
“ caution, however, to take the best people out of
“ the way, and to set yourself clear of competitors,
“ being resolved to leave neither rivals or wit-
“ nesses; and that being done, to crown the murders

“ of the brothers with that of the father; and by
“ so doing, not only to escape the punishment you
“ have deserved, but to bring your parent to bear
“ the burden of your crimes, in such a parricide as
“ was never heard of before: for the treason was
“ not formed against a person of the common rate
“ of fathers, but against a parent tender and in-
“ dulent to the highest degree; the conspirator
“ marked out for the succession already, a half-
“ sharer in the crown by advance, settled before-
“ hand in the present enjoyment of his greatness, and
“ secure in the reversion of it by his father's will:
“ but your insatiable desires were not to be bounded
“ by his goodness, but by such measures only as
“ your own ingratitude and perverseness should pre-
“ scribe. Your own half of his right would not
“ answer your end, unless you might have his part
“ too. Your pretence was the saving of him, when,
“ at the same time, the plot was to destroy him: and
“ the crime was not all your own, but your mother
“ was made a party in it, and the whole family was
“ by it embroiled. After all this, what can you
“ think of the insolence of calling your father
“ beast? But neither your relations or your bene-
“ factors are to escape the poison of your scandal:
“ and, as if the venom of your own heart had not
“ been sufficient to instruct and irritate a revenge;
“ you have called to your help your guards, coun-
“ sellors, and suborners of both sexes, in a confede-
“ racy against one ancient man: and now, after the
“ torturing of so many men and women, free and
“ slaves, one with another, upon your account, and
“ after such a cloud of undeniable evidences, you
“ have yet the confidence to out-face the truth, and
“ to follow your enterprize upon the life of your
“ father, with an attempt upon the authority of the
“ very law that punishes such criminals: and this
“ you do in contradiction to the equity of Varus,
“ and to the universal measures of natural justice.
“ What is it that makes you disparage extorted tes-
“ timonies, but because you would derogate from
“ the credit of those proofs that lay open to your
“ wickedness, and conduce to the preservation of
“ your father?

“ Sir, (says Nicolaus to Varus,) by the majesty of
“ the Roman empire, and by your own honour, I
“ adjure you that you vindicate the king from the
“ indignities of his own family, and deliver up this
“ monster of hypocrisy to death; that, under a pre-
“ text of reverence to his father, hunted after the
“ blood of his brothers; and, if he had not been
“ reasonably detected, his father's turn would have
“ been next, to make his own way to the crown.
“ You know well that parricide is no private crime;
“ but a public affront to the laws of society, and of
“ reasonable beings; and so abominable a pollution
“ in the very thought, as well as in the act, that
“ whoever suffers it to pass unpunished, offers an
“ indignity to human nature itself.”

Nicolaus adverted farther to some idle expressions
which fell from the mother of Antipater concern-
ing predictions, sacrifices relating to the king, and
the succession of the crown, (stories Antipater had
related in an hour of regale with Pheroras's family,)
examinations upon torture, and matters which con-
cerned the testimony of witnesses: in fine, every
thing was advanced by this able advocate for He-
rod that could tend to criminate Antipater. To
add to his mortification and perplexity, those men
who were acquainted with his practices, but had
concealed them through fear, when they saw he
had been exposed to the accusations of former
witnesses, and that his extraordinary fortune, which
had supported him hitherto, had now evidently be-
trayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were
insatiable in their revenge, discovered whatever
they knew.

Antipater
is exposed to
a general
accusation.

His ruin was, indeed, effected; but not by the
enmity of those who were his accusers, so much as
his own abominable devices against his father and
brethren, exciting disorders in the family, causing
them to embroe their hands in the blood of each
other,

other, and expressing his detestation and regard, not from principle, but merely to subserve his present purpose.

The evidence in proof of what had been alledged against him could not be set aside, because the witnesses neither spoke out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to conceal what they knew by any apprehension of danger; so that they frankly inveighed against his enormous crimes, which they declared deserving of the highest punishment; not so much for the king's safety, as to deter mankind from following so infamous an example. So many accusations were voluntarily exhibited against him, that Antipater, notwithstanding his shrewdness and effrontery, had nothing to advance by way of refutation.

When Nicolaus, and the rest of the accusers, had left off speaking, Varus addressed himself to Antipater, telling him, if he had any thing to offer in his own defence, the court was ready to hear him, as his father and himself were equally desirous of finding him entirely innocent. Antipater then cast himself upon the ground, and appealed to the Great Searcher of Hearts, beseeching him to vindicate his innocence, as to any injurious design upon his father, by some evident token from heaven, that would convince the world of his integrity. This is the usual method with men destitute of virtue; when they undertake actions, it is in conformity to their own inclinations, as if they believed the Supreme Being had no concern with human affairs: but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavour to overthrow all the evidence against them by an hypocritical appeal to the great fountain of truth and justice. This was the very case of Antipater, who, when he acted, in every instance, as if there had been no Supreme and Superintending Being, and was in consequence arrested by justice, but had nothing to invalidate the evidence adduced against him, presumptuously insulted the Majesty of Heaven, ascribed it to his power that he had been preserved hitherto, and produced to all who were present, the difficulties he had undergone in exerting himself for the preservation of his father.

Varus, finding he could give no direct answer to any of the questions, except appeals to heaven, ordered the potion to be brought before the court, in order to make trial of the force of it. It was accordingly brought, and being administered to a criminal under sentence of condemnation, he immediately expired. Upon this experiment the court rose, and Varus went away the next day to Antioch, the place of his usual abode, as the kings of Syria commonly make that the place of their general residence.

The particulars that passed between Varus and Herod were not known to the generality of the people, though it was supposed, upon the whole, that his proceedings towards his son were according to his entire approbation. When Herod had committed him to prison, he sent letters to Cæsar at Rome, by messengers, who were directed to inform him of the heinous crime of which Antipater had been found guilty. At this very time a letter was found written to Antipater, by Antiphilus, out of Egypt, which, when opened, appeared to contain the following contents. "I have sent you Acme's letter at the hazard of my life. You well know I am in danger from two families, if I am discovered. I wish you success in your present undertaking."

The king made a strict enquiry for the other letter of Antiphilus's servant; who brought that which had been read; but he denied having received it, till at length it was discovered enclosed within a seam of his upper garment: the contents were these: "I have written to your father according to the purport of your desire. I have taken a copy, and sent it as if it came from Salome to my mistress (Julia.) You will find, when you read it, that Herod will punish Salome as plotting against

him." This pretended letter of Salome to Julia was composed by Antipater, as to its real meaning, but in the words of Acme it ran thus: "I have done my endeavour that nothing which passes should be concealed from you: therefore, upon finding a letter written from Salome to my mistress against you, I have taken a copy and sent it you, at the hazard of my life, but for your advantage. The reason she wrote it was her great desire of being married to Syllæus. Do you therefore destroy this letter, that I may not come into danger of my life." Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him that, in obedience to his command, she had herself written to Herod, as if Salome had laid a plot against him, and had also sent a copy of a letter, as coming from Salome to her mistress. This Acme was a Jewess, and servant to Julia, Cæsar's wife. She carried on this device from an attachment to Antipater, by whom she had been bribed with large presents to assist him in his infamous practices against his father and his aunt.

Herod was so enraged at this late instance of the baseness of Antipater, that he was ready to order him to immediate execution, not only for having plotted against his life and his sister's, but even corrupted Cæsar's domestics. Salome did all in her power to instigate him to it, calling upon him to slay her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in this manner. Herod sent for his son, interrogated him on the matter, and called upon him to offer what he could in his own vindication. Being detected in his villainy, he stood mute; upon which Herod commanded him, without delay, to make discovery of his associates in these abominable practices, when he laid the whole upon Antiphilus, mentioning none else. Herod hereupon had resolved to lend this miscreant to Cæsar to answer for his crimes; but fearing, lest, through the assistance of his friends there, he might escape condign punishment, he kept him close prisoner, and sent ambassadors to Rome with a state of the case, instructions and copies of the letters given in evidence, and, in particular, with an account of Acme's being concerned in the plot.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod is seized with a distemper, and makes his will. A sedition amongst the Jews abetted by two eminent men, Judas and Matthias. Herod's life despaired of. The golden eagle is thrown down from the temple at the instance of Judas and Matthias. They are taken into custody. Justify themselves. Sent bound to Jericho. Matthias is deposed from the pontificate, and Jozar advanced to that dignity. The insurgents are burnt alive. Herod's distemper increases. He sends for Salome and Alexas. His final cruelty.

WHILE Herod's ambassadors were making the best of their way with their letters and instructions for Rome, he fell into a distemper, made his will; and having conceived an unfavourable opinion of Archelaus and Philip, through the calumnies of Antipater, he declared Antipas, his youngest son, his successor. He bequeathed a thousand talents to Cæsar; and to his wife Julia, his children, friends, and freed-men, five hundred talents. The rest of his money, with his lands and revenues, he distributed amongst his children and grand children; and left his sister Salome a very considerable fortune, in acknowledgment of her unshaken fidelity. Being now in the seventieth year of his age, and despairing of recovery, he became so petulant and choleric, as to be the plague and detestation of all around him: and he seemed to have indulged this disposition and temper, through a prevailing conceit that he was fallen into contempt and odium with the people, who were therefore pleased with his misfortunes. Indeed, he was confirmed in this opinion by a commotion that soon happened upon the following occasion.

There

His consummate hypocrisy.

Excellent remarks of Josephus.

Experiment made of the potion.

Antipater is cast into bonds.

Antiphilus's letter to Antipater.

Acme's letter to Antipater.

Occasion of a sedition.

There were two men, Judas and Matthias, who had acquired great reputation amongst the Jews, for their learning, eloquence, and skill in the laws; and were particularly beloved by the people, for the care they took in training the rising generation to the knowledge and practice of the duties of their profession. When these men, eminent for their attachment to the religion and customs of their country, as handed down from their ancestors, found that his life was despaired of, they excited the younger part of the people to destroy the new structures which the king had erected, contrary to the law of their fathers, giving them all assurance of obtaining the rewards due to their exertions in so noble a cause. They represented to them, that all the broils and factions in the king's family, and the unusual distemper with which he was now afflicted, were judgments upon him for his innovations. Amongst other instances of superstitious magnificence, they mentioned the large golden eagle, of prodigious weight and value, set over the portal of the temple, observing, that, as that was in direct violation of the Jewish law, which positively forbids the use of images in such cases, it would be a meritorious action to pull down the eagle.

Judas and Matthias were the first to pull down Herod's golden eagle from the front of the temple.

To enforce this injunction, they laid before them, "that, though it might be an enterprize of danger, a glorious death was much more eligible than a life of conformity to superstitious practices; and that their blood could not be better spent than in the vindication of the laws and rites of their country, which would immortalize their names, when otherwise the noble and ignoble would be undistinguished in the same common fate; therefore it behoved all men, of honour and virtue, to improve the irreverfible decree of death, by a right choice of the most glorious occasion for it; by which means they would transmit the reward and fame of laudable actions to their posterity."

This address was no sooner finished, than a rumour was spread abroad of the king's death, which enforcing the matter recommended, the populace mounted the portal at noon day, tore down the eagle, and hewed it in pieces with axes, in the sight of a vast concourse of spectators, who were in the temple. The captain of the king's guard, immediately upon hearing this uproar, halted with a band of soldiers to prevent further mischief, supposing it a matter of more consequence than it was; for coming to the spot, there was no enemy to be seen, but a rude undisciplined multitude, that were all scattered upon the first charge, except about forty of the most resolute, who, with their leaders, Judas and Matthias, stood their ground upon a point of honour.

The golden eagle pulled down.

These were taken and carried prisoners to the king, who demanded of them, if they had been so impiously daring as to lay violent hands upon that sacred figure? They replied, "they had it in contemplation a long time; and at length coming to a resolution, they acted like men of virtue and courage, in putting it into execution: that what they had done, was in vindication of the honour of the Supreme object of their adoration, and the precepts of their great master, whose disciples they professed themselves to be: that they humbly presumed the king would not make it a matter of wonder, if they preferred the laws they had received from Moses, and, indeed, from their Creator, before any decree whatsoever: that they did not suffer for evil doing, but for the sake of conscience; and that they were ready to deliver up their bodies in this cause, either to punishment or death." It appears, from this justification of their conduct, that their profession and practice agreed, and that they were ready to suffer with the same resolution as they had acted with before.

Just their fact.

The king ordered them to be sent in chains to Jericho, where he summoned a great council of the leading men amongst the Jews, and being very infirm, was carried in a chair to the assembly. He laid before them, "that he had undergone indefatigable pains and labour for the service of the commonwealth; rebuilt their temple at an immense charge;

are and risen.

"a work that the whole Asmonean race had not been able to compass in an hundred and twenty-five years: that he had not only rebuilt the temple, but beautified, endowed, and enriched it with ornaments and presents, worthy of so magnificent an undertaking." He concluded with observing, "that, when he thought he had secured the glory of his memory, by the good offices he had performed in his public character, he was treated with ingratitude and indignity, insulted in the face of his people, his gifts and oblations torn from the very temple, and an act originating from pious motives, construed into sacrilege."

Herod states the case to the council.

The leading men of the council, to prevent the dangerous consequences of that degree of rage into which Herod might probably be hurried upon the occasion, exculpated themselves, by declaring not only their innocence of the fact, but their opinion that the rioters deserved the severest punishment; and by this declaration the king was pacified towards them. As a token of his severest relentment, he deprived Matthias of the high-priesthood, upon a presumption that he was an abettor of the outrage, and conferred the dignity on Jozar, his brother-in-law. After Herod had deprived Matthias of the pontificate, he gave orders for the burning of the other Matthias, whom he termed the ring-leader of the sedition, and all his companions with him, alive. As it fell out, there was that night an eclipse of the moon.

Matthias deposed from the pontificate, and Jozar promoted to it.

Herod's distemper now greatly increased, infomuch, that it appeared a judgment upon him for his crimes. He laboured under a most malignant fever, attended with an asthma, cramps, and contractions of the nerves, together with other most nauseous symptoms. Notwithstanding his most deplorable situation, he indulged hope of recovery; sent throughout his kingdom for physicians and remedies; and passed over the river Jordan himself to the hot baths at Callirrhoe, that empty themselves into the lake of Asphaltites. These waters, besides their mineral virtue, are not unpleasant to the palate. On coming to this place, his physicians ordered him to bathe in a vessel of oil, which had such effect upon him, that his attendants thought he was at the point of death: however, he survived this operation some time. But finding, at length, all hopes of recovery vain and delusive, he appointed a donation of fifty drachmas a man to be distributed amongst the soldiers, large sums amongst his friends and officers, and so returned to Jericho, where he became so choleric, that he formed, as his last resolution, a project that indicated madness and cruelty in the extreme.

Herod's distemper and torments.

He sent out a summons to all the principal men of the Jewish nation to repair immediately to him at Jericho, and not fail, upon pain of death. Upon their appearance, according to the proclamation, he ordered them all to be shut up in the circus, (a place for horse-races,) one with another, guilty or innocent, and having sent for his sister, Salome, and Alexas, her husband, addressed them in words to the following effect: "The time of my departure approaches. I am oppressed with pains, and death is the common lot of mankind. I cannot but feel myself agitated at the thought of being deprived of those funeral honours which are due to royalty. I am conscious of the treatment I shall receive at the hands of the Jews: they detested me when living, and will of course rejoice when I am no more. But it lies in the power of you two to afford me some alleviation of my grief from this cause; and it is no more than a duty you owe me. Follow my direction, and I dare yet promise myself the most magnificent funeral solemnity that ever prince had, to my own entire satisfaction, and without a single tear of hypocritical affectation. The moment I expire, let the circus be surrounded with soldiers, and the word of command given to destroy every man within the enclosure. Let my death be kept a profound secret till the work is accomplished; in the due execution of which, you will lay a double obligation upon me: the one, in the performance

Herod's final cruelty.

"of my will; and the other, in the celebration of my death, with the honour of a public mourning."

He accompanied these words with tears and sighs, adjuring his relations, by all that was sacred, and by every tie of consanguinity and friendship, to be punctual in the discharge of the trust reposed in them, which they accordingly promised to execute in the minutest particular.

The author's judgment of Herod.

From this circumstance it will be easy to form a judgment of the temper and disposition of this most execrable of mankind, who not only took a pleasure in exercising cruelties upon his nearest relations, from a principle of love for life, but, on his departure, left a commission, that, by its execution, should put the whole nation into mourning, as one of every family was to be slain, and this without any injury, provocation, or exception; whereas, amongst people who are not dead to the feelings of humanity, it is usual to bury all animosity in the grave of our departed fellow mortals.

CHAP. IX.

Acme put to death by order of Augustus Cæsar. Antipater left to Herod's discretion. Herod attempts to kill himself. Is prevented by his nephew Ahiab. Antipater, upon a presumption of the death of the king, treats with the keeper of the prison about his escape. The keeper gives information to Herod, who orders him for immediate execution.

Herod's ambassadors come from Rome with agreeable news.

AS Herod was giving these commands to his relations, his ambassadors arrived from Rome, with an answer to the letter they were commissioned to deliver to Cæsar. The substance was briefly this: "That Augustus had caused Acme to be put to death for a correspondence with Antipater; and had left Antipater himself to the king his father, either to be put to death, or banished, according to his direction." It afforded Herod the greatest satisfaction to find himself both revenged on Acme, and at liberty to dispose of his son as he pleased. But though this information gave him some temporary relief, he soon relapsed into his former extremity of pain, and, in an outrageous fit, called for an apple and a knife, it being usual with him to pare his own apples. He was observed to look suspiciously about him, as if he had some intent of stabbing himself: but his nephew, Ahiab, kept an eye upon him, and, at the very instant of the attempt, caught hold of his right hand, with an outcry, and prevented it.

Herod attempts to kill himself.

The exclamation alarmed the court a second time, and it was generally supposed that the king was at that moment expiring. Antipater therefore taking it for granted, and making no doubt of the death of his father, entertained an assurance of procuring his liberty, and by that means of paving his way to the throne. In this confidence he treated with the keeper of the prison about his discharge, holding forth to him large offers and promises, both of present reward, and future preferment, when he should come to the crown. The keeper, so far from complying with his proposal, discovered the whole matter to the king, who detested him before, but, was so enraged by this representation, that, though in the very agonies of death, he commanded one of his guards to slay Antipater without farther delay; and ordered his body to be interred, without any funeral honours, in the castle of Hyrcania.

Antipater slain by the command of Herod.

CHAP. X.

Herod alters his will, and declares Archelaus his successor. Death of Herod is kept secret. The leading men are discharged the circus. The king's death published. Archelaus acknowledged as king. Pomp and order of Herod's funeral. Archelaus waits the ratification of Herod's act by Cæsar.

HEROD, upon changing his mind, changed his will also, and appointed Antipas (to whom, in his former testament, he had bequeathed the government) to the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa, but gave the crown to Archelaus. The provinces of Trachon and Gaulin, Batanæa and Panias, he assigned to his son Philip, brother-in-law of Archelaus, under the title of a tetrarchy. Jamnia, Azotus, and Phaelis, he gave to his sister Salome, with five hundred thousand drachmæ of coined silver. He also made provision for the rest of his kindred, by leaving them sums of money, and annual revenues to a very considerable amount. He bequeathed also to Cæsar, ten millions of drachmæ, in ready coin; and to the empress Julia, five millions more, besides vessels of gold and silver, with sumptuous apparel.

Herod changes his will.

Affairs being thus settled, Herod departed this life five days after he had caused Antipater to be slain, thirty-four years after the expulsion of Antigonus, and in the thirty-seventh year from his being declared king of the Jews by the Romans. He was a man inexorably cruel, a slave to his passions, whose will was his law; and yet, upon the whole, he may be said to have been fortunate. He ascended the throne of Judæa from the condition of a private man; was involved in many difficulties, but surmounted them all; and lived, at last, to a great age. With respect to his domestic broils, however unfortunate he may have been in the opinion of others, he seems to have been very fortunate in his own, as he ever found himself able to overcome his enemies.

Death of Herod.

Brief character.

The death of Herod was kept a profound secret by Salome and Alexas, who immediately dismissed the leading men that were confined in the circus, telling them, in the king's name, they might repair to their respective estates, and attend to their own affairs, as there was no farther occasion for them. It being now deemed a proper time for publishing the king's death, Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Herod's letters to the army were read, containing gracious acknowledgments of their past faith and services, and desiring them to continue the same dutiful affection to his son Archelaus in future, whom he had declared his successor. Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's seal, read after this the testament itself, with this express clause in it, that the act itself was not to be deemed valid, without the consent of Cæsar. This was followed with acclamations, saluting Archelaus as king, and wishing him a happy reign, both from the officers and soldiers, with promises of the same loyal attachment to the new king, as they had shewn to his predecessor.

Salome and Alexas dismiss the Jews that were confined in the circus.

Archelaus is declared king.

The next object of attention was, to prepare for the funeral solemnity; and it seemed to be the peculiar care of Archelaus, that nothing should be wanting to compleat its pomp and splendour, resolving himself to bear a part in the ceremony. The body was carried upon a golden bier, adorned with precious stones, covered with purple, a diadem upon his head, and over that a golden crown, with a scepter in his hand; his son and relations marching by the side. Next to these were the soldiers, in their proper distinctions and divisions. First the body guards, then the Thracians, after them the Germans, and next the Galatians, all of them armed, and arranged as for battle. Behind these marched the rest of the army, under their respective officers, with five hundred of the court attendants in the rear, bearing perfumes of different kinds. They proceeded in this order as far as Herodium, eight furlongs from Jericho, where the body was interred according to appointment; and this was the end of Herod.

Herod's funeral.

When seven days had been spent in attending upon the funeral obsequies of the deceased king, according to the custom of the country, and the appointed time for mourning was at an end, Archelaus entertained the multitude, and afterwards went up to the temple, where he placed himself upon a golden

golden throne to receive the congratulatory acclamations of the people, which were answered, on his part, with every token of respect, intimating the sense he had of their kindness, after the hard usage they had met from his father, assuring them that their good-will should never be forgotten. "He did not pretend (he said) as yet to assume the name of king, having no right so to do without the authority of Cæsar in the ratification of his father's testament, for which cause he declined the dignity offered him by the army at Jericho; but whenever he should be settled in the government, it should be the constant object of his care to do all things for the benefit and satisfaction of his people, and to make his reign much easier to them, than what they had found during the reign of his father."

The people were charmed with the apparent candour and modesty of behaviour of their new prince, and depended, as is usual in such cases, upon the good faith of every particular for which he pledged himself. In order to put this complacency to the test, they preferred several petitions. Some imported a desire to be eased of their taxes, others to have their friends released who had been imprisoned by Herod. Some exclaimed against duties and impositions that were laid upon provisions; and divers pleas were offered upon divers pretences. In fine, Archelaus found it his interest to deny them no one favour they asked, esteeming the good-will of the people the most effectual means of securing to himself the continuance of the government.

C H A P. XI.

A plot to embroil the government. Satisfaction demanded of Archelaus for Herod's misdemeanors. A dangerous tumult. A party of factious Jews crowd into the temple. Archelaus sends a party to controul them, and they are nearly destroyed. Intenus going to Rome, and appoints Philip to the administration of affairs in his absence. Salome's perfidy to Archelaus. He meets Sabinus at Cesarea in his way to Judæa. Varus stops his journey, being engaged in the same business. Archelaus goes to Rome, and Varus for Antioch. Sabinus goes to Jerusalem, and demands Herod's books and keys; but the officers keep them for Cæsar. Antipas goes to Rome, and sets up for himself with a strong party. Sabinus lodges an information against Archelaus. Cæsar calls a council, where Caius, the son of Agrippa, sits as president. Antipater against Archelaus. Antipater appeals, and Nicolaus manages the cause. Archelaus humbles himself before Cæsar.

AT the commencement of the government of Archelaus, there arose a party of malecontent Jews, who seemed determined to bring about an innovation. The subject of their complaint was the case of Matthias and his associates, whom Herod had ordered to be put to death, for their assembling in a tumultuous manner, and pulling down the golden eagle which had been erected upon the top of the temple. During the life of the king, not one was to be found who durst make any attempt in vindication of these reformers; but, on his demise, a popular clamour was raised against him, and a great concourse assembled, and demanded of Archelaus, justice upon the friends of Herod, who had advised the execution of those who so nobly asserted the cause of the religion of their country. They peremptorily insisted upon the removal of the high-priest whom Herod had promoted in lieu of Matthias, and the appointment of another more worthy of that sacred function. This was granted by Archelaus, though he was much offended at their importunity, having proposed himself to go to Rome, and submit the case to the determination of Cæsar. However, he sent one of his principal officers to try what might be done upon terms of reason and moderation. The officer represented to them, "that the punishment inflicted upon those men was ac-

cording to law; that their petitions were carried to too great an height; that they would do well to consider that Archelaus was going immediately for Rome; and that, upon his coming back with his commission ratified, every thing would be settled to their utmost content; and that therefore, it was both their duty and interest to preserve the public peace, without incurring the danger of a sedition."

This candid representation, so far from having the desired effect, rendered the populace so clamorous, that, regardless of all law, they repeated their demand of revenge, now Herod was dead, for their friends whom he had destroyed whilst he was living. In the impetuosity of their zeal, they paid no respect to persons, or the rules of right and wrong; and were so intent on the ruin of those whom they considered as the objects of their vengeance, that they neglected the most necessary means of their own safety. In the mean time there was no want of reasonable applications to them, as well from Archelaus himself, as those whom he deputed; but these moderate proceedings rendered them more outrageous, inasmuch that they wanted nothing but numbers to turn the tumult into a direct rebellion.

The Feast of Unleavened Bread, or the Passover, that celebrated memorial of the delivery of the Israelites out of Egypt, being now at hand, a more than ordinary concourse of people, as well from abroad as at home, came up to Jerusalem, to worship and offer sacrifices upon the solemn occasion. A party of seditious Jews, availing themselves of this opportunity, crowded into the temple, and there made a stand, with a resolution not to quit the place, though they were threatened with the most fatal consequences. They alledged, that they came thither to condole with the people for the loss of their two great teachers of the land, Judas and Matthias, and to stir them up to avenge their deaths. Archelaus, to prevent the mischief that might arise from the tumult of a multitude actuated by a zeal bordering on phrenzy, sent an officer, with a party of soldiers, to suppress the riot in due time, giving orders to seize the ringleaders, and bring them before him, if they should persevere in their resistance. The guards no sooner appeared, than the mutineers attacked them with the utmost fury and clamour; and the whole multitude falling upon them, with stones, and other implements of destruction, slew the greater number of them; so that the officer, with some few of the wounded men, were under the necessity of making their escape in the best manner they could. After this action they proceeded with their sacrifices.

The contest was now brought to such a pass, that Archelaus, concluding he must either suppress this tumultuous faction, or fall himself, sent out a powerful body of forces to encounter them, with orders to his horse to put all to the sword who should endeavour to make their escape, and to keep all succours from them. The body of horse, pursuant to command, cut off three thousand in the action, and the rest fled to the neighbouring mountains for shelter; so that Archelaus, having carried this necessary point, ordered proclamation for every man to retire to his own habitation, with which they readily complied, lest greater mischief should ensue.

Archelaus now prosecuted his journey to Rome, taking his mother, Nicolaus, Ptolemy, and several other friends along with him, leaving the care of his government and family to his brother Philip. He was accompanied also by Salome, and many of her kindred, under pretence of joining interests to assist Archelaus in obtaining the confirmation of his succession, but, in reality, to obstruct it, by exhibiting a complaint against him for his late conduct in the affair of the temple. Archelaus, being on his way with his attendants, was met by Sabinus, governor of Syria, at Cesarea, who was passing to Judæa to secure the effects of Herod. But Varus arriving very opportunely, restrained him from interfering in the matter, being there upon an invitation from Archelaus by Ptolemy on the same business; so that, out of respect to Varus, Sabinus nei-

The multitude cannot be brought to terms of moderation.

A sedition raised at the feast of the passover.

Archelaus sends a powerful body of forces to restrain the sedition.

3000 Jews cut off, and the rest put to the rout.

Archelaus goes to Rome.

Sabinus and Varus come into Judæa.

ther seized upon any of the forts in Judæa, nor sealed up their treasure, but left all in the power and possession of Archelaus, until Cæsar should declare his resolution; and upon this promise he arrived at Cæsarea.

Sabinus violates his promise.

But when Archelaus was embarked for Rome, and Varus had departed for Antioch, Sabinus proceeded to Jerusalem, seized on the palace, sent for the officers of the garrison, and those who had the charge of Herod's effects, and demanded their keys and books. They informed him, however, that they could not be produced, as they had particular orders from Archelaus to keep all things, till his return, in the same state they received them, for the use and service of Cæsar.

Antipas goes to Rome.

At the same time Antipas, one of the sons of Herod, went to Rome, in hopes of obtaining the kingdom for himself. He was instigated to this measure by Salome, under colour of a prior right to the succession by an antecedent will, which (as she intimated) ought to be deemed more valid than the latter. Antipas took with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, who was an old friend of Herod, and ever well affected to his party. But the man that fed his ambition, and fixed him in his soaring attempt, was Irenæus, an accomplished orator, and a man of great sagacity, who had long been entrusted with the concerns of Herod. When he was advised by others to consider the seniority of Archelaus, and the claim he had to the succession by the last testament of his deceased father, the incentive of Irenæus, together with his own ambition, bore down every other consideration, so that he was determined upon the aspiring enterprise. Upon his arrival at Rome, all his kindred came over to him, not from any personal attachment, but their aversion to Archelaus, being desirous of gaining their liberty, and being put under a Roman governor; or, if they must have a king, preferring Antipas to Archelaus.

An information against Archelaus.

Defence of Archelaus.

Cæsar calls a council.

Antipater, the son of Salome, accuses Archelaus before Cæsar.

Sabinus had lodged an information with Cæsar against Archelaus; and Archelaus, by the hand of Ptolemy, presented the emperor with a memorial of what he had to offer in his defence, containing the ground of his claim, a recital of his father's will, an account of what monies he had left, together with the seal that enclosed them, submitting the whole to the determination of Cæsar. When Cæsar had perused these writings, with the letters also of Varus and Sabinus, and taken an account of the monies Herod had left behind him, the annual revenue of the government, and what Antipas himself had suggested in his own right, he called a council of his friends to advise upon the whole matter, and then gave audience to the competitors; Caius, the son of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia, whom he had adopted, being appointed president. Antipater, the son of Salome, an able advocate, and professed enemy to Archelaus, first rose, and spoke to this purpose, setting forth, That "it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himself, before Cæsar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his in destroying so many at the Jewish festival. And if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man, that, if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Cæsar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Cæsar. But if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse; since he, who was putting in for the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Cæsar, by taking it to himself. He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting on the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of law-suits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a publick account; and, indeed, doing such things, than

" which he could devise no greater, if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Cæsar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the Hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were belied to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done; because they were of such a nature, as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night on which he died; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult. And if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the day-time, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Cæsar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he had been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said, that the greatest crime of all was this, that he came now before Cæsar to obtain the kingdom by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted, if Cæsar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading was, the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, (some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country,) till the temple was full of dead bodies; and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might compleat the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition: and in his former, and more authentic, testament, he appointed his antagonist, Antipas, to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind; while Antipas was called when he was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs. And if his father had the like notion of him formerly, that he hath now shewed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath (in effect) deprived Cæsar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath; and hath not abtained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person."

When Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he ended his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, "That, what had been done at the temple, was rather to be attributed to the minds of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus. For that those who are the authors of such things, are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now it is evident that what these did, in the way of opposition, was done under pretence, indeed, against Archelaus, but, in reality, against Cæsar himself. For they, after an injurious manner, attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not ashamed to patronize; either out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those

" who

“ who begin such tumults, and first set about such
 “ unrighteous actions; they are the men who force
 “ those that punish them to betake themselves to
 “ arms, even against their wills. So that Antipa-
 “ ter, in effect, ascribes the rest of what was done to
 “ all those who were of counsel to the accusers.
 “ For nothing, which is here accused of injustice,
 “ has been done, but what was derived from them
 “ as its authors. Nor are those things evil in them-
 “ selves, but so represented only, in order to do
 “ harm to Archelaus. Such are these mens incli-
 “ nations to do any injury to a man that is of their
 “ kindred, their father’s benefactor, familiarly ac-
 “ quainted with them, and that hath ever lived in
 “ friendship with them. For that, as to this testa-
 “ ment, it was made by the king when he was of a
 “ sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority
 “ than his former testament; and that for this rea-
 “ son, because Cæsar is therein left to be the judge
 “ and disposer of all therein contained. And for
 “ Cæsar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the
 “ unjust proceedings of those men, who, during
 “ Herod’s whole life, had, on all occasions, been
 “ joint partakers of power with him, and yet so
 “ zealously endeavour to injure his determination;
 “ while they have not themselves had the same
 “ regard to their kinsman, (which Archelaus had.)
 “ Cæsar will not therefore disannul the testament
 “ of a man whom he had entirely supported, of
 “ his friend and confederate, and that which is
 “ committed to him in trust to ratify. Nor will
 “ Cæsar’s virtuous and upright disposition, which
 “ are known and uncontested through all the
 “ habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these
 “ men in condemning a king as a mad man, and as
 “ having lost his reason; while he hath bequeathed
 “ the succession to a good son of his, and to one
 “ who flies to Cæsar’s upright determination for
 “ refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been
 “ mistaken in his judgment about a successor,
 “ while he shewed so much prudence as to submit
 “ all to Cæsar’s determination.”

Archelaus
 humbles
 himself be-
 fore Cæsar,
 who does
 him the
 highest ho-
 nour.

When Nicolaus had finished his speech, Arche-
 laus cast himself at Cæsar’s feet; upon which the
 emperor, raising him with the utmost courtesy,
 passed a judgment upon him that he was worthy of
 a crown; and this was construed as a confirmation
 of his authority. Cæsar then finding the young
 prince so highly gratified, dismissed the assembly
 without coming to a final determination, in order
 to deliberate whether he would settle the govern-
 ment on Archelaus alone, or in partition on the
 whole family, as they depended in general upon
 his will and pleasure.

CHAP. XII.

*A sedition in Jerusalem. The ringleaders brought to pu-
 nishment by Varus. Sabinus, in his absence, having the
 command, is threatened by the Jews. Sends to Varus
 for relief. The Jews mount the temple galleries, and
 gall the Romans, who set fire to the galleries, and burn
 the Jews. The temple rifled. The palace beset by the
 Jews. Rufus and Gratus go over to the Romans.
 Divers insurrections in Judæa. Simon, formerly a
 servant to Herod, sets up for king. He is routed, and
 loses his head. Athronges, a man of the meanest ex-
 traction, aspires to the crown, with four of his bro-
 thers. They are taken and suppressed. Varus marches
 to the relief of Judæa. Lays Sepphoris in ashes. The
 contest occasions the burning of divers places. The
 Jews fly before Varus, who puts two thousand of
 them to death. Abiab makes ten thousand of them
 prisoners of war. Varus leaves a garrison at Jeru-
 salem, and returns to Antioch. The Jews send an
 embassy to Cæsar, who gives them audience in the
 temple of Apollo. An invective against Archelaus.
 Nicolaus pleads in defence of Archelaus and Herod.*

Before
 these
 matters
 could
 be finally
 adjusted,

BEFORE these matters could be finally adjusted,
 Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, paid the
 debt of nature; and news arrived from Varus, one of
 the governors of Syria, that the Jews had revolted,

No. 24.

having been very mutinous ever since the departure
 of Archelaus; but that Varus, falling upon them
 before they could collect their whole force, made
 examples of the ringleaders; and having, in a great
 measure, quelled the insurgents, returned to Anti-
 och, leaving only one legion in Jerusalem to pre-
 vent tumults. But, notwithstanding the check that
 was put to their mutinous efforts, Varus was no
 sooner departed, than Sabinus, relying on the forces
 that were left there, turned his arms against the Jews;
 galled them sorely, attacked several of their forts
 and castles, and rifled every place, under pretence
 of searching for concealed money, and effects, but,
 in reality, to gratify his own ambition and avarice.

Varus
 quells the
 sedition of
 the Jews at
 Jerusalem.

The feast of Pentecost drawing on, a vast con-
 course of people repaired to Jerusalem from all
 quarters; some for worship and devotion, and others
 to gratify an insatiable revenge. These numbers
 assembled not only from Judæa, where the outrage
 most prevailed, but from Galilee, Idumæa, Jeri-
 cho, and the towns beyond Jordan; being all una-
 nimously resolved to call Sabinus to a severe ac-
 count. They divided their troops into three bands:
 one of them took possession of the circus; another
 was posted upon the north and east side of the tem-
 ple; and the third upon the west, where the king’s
 palace stood.

Comma-
 tions at the
 feast of
 Pentecost.

When they had thus surrounded the Romans, they
 made ready for the assault. Sabinus was alarmed
 at their intrepidity; and finding they were despe-
 rately resolved either to conquer or die, he sent
 with all speed to Varus for immediate relief, as-
 suring him that the legion he had left there would
 certainly be cut to pieces. He himself, in the mean
 time, ascended a high turret belonging to the castle
 of Phasaël, which was erected in memory of He-
 rod’s brother, who was slain by the Parthians, and
 from thence gave the signal with his hand to the
 Romans to sally out on the Jews, expecting others
 should expose their lives to gratify his avarice;
 though he durst not appear amongst the number of
 his friends. The Romans put all to the hazard,
 and a sharp encounter ensued, both parties exerting
 themselves with the greatest spirit and resolu-
 tion. The Jews at length possessed themselves of
 some of the outward galleries of the temple, whence
 they galled the Romans from above, with stones and
 arrows, from their slingers and archers, as spectators,
 rather than actors in that part of the combat; for
 the Romans below were at too great a distance to
 reach their enemies. The fight continued a long
 time, to the disadvantage of the Romans, till, in the
 end, they set fire to the timber-work under the gal-
 leries, and plied it so hard, that the flames rapidly
 shot up to the roof, and laying hold of the pitch,
 wax, and oils, that were used in the ornamental part,
 put all in so furious a blaze, that it was certain
 death so much as to attempt a relief. Betwixt those
 that were crushed to death by the fall of the build-
 ing, and those that were put to the sword upon the
 ground, there was not so much as one man escaped
 of those who had possessed the galleries. Several of
 them, in astonishment and despair, leapt into the
 flames; others cast themselves upon the points of
 their swords. Those who thought to conceal them-
 selves by retiring the same way they ascended, were
 cut off by the soldiers; for courage could not avail
 them in such a situation.

The Ro-
 mans sally
 upon the
 Jews.

They fire
 the galle-
 ries, and
 burn the
 Jews.

As the fire slackened, the Romans pressed through
 the ruins up to the very repository of the sacred
 treasure, a considerable part of which was plun-
 dered by the soldiers, and not above four hundred
 talents (as Sabinus pretended) were brought to him.
 The Jews were now in a complicated distress, through
 the loss of so many of their friends on the one hand,
 and the sacrilegious rifling of the temple on the
 other. However, in this state of desperation, they
 collected a body of the most resolute men, and be-
 set the palace, threatening immediately to set fire to
 it, and put every man to the sword that should es-
 cape the flames, if they did not instantly quit the
 spot and depart, with a promise of impunity to Sa-
 binus and all his people upon that condition. Ru-
 fus and Gratus, with 3000 of Herod’s choicest
 men, went over to the Romans, together with the
 horse

The sacred
 treasure is
 plundered.

Rufus and
 Gratus go
 over to the
 Romans.

horse that were under the command of Rufus, which was a very considerable as well as seasonable reinforcement. Nevertheless, the Jews plied their work, mining the walls, threatening and advising the enemy to depart, without reducing them to the extremity of desperation, as they were resolved, at all hazards, to maintain their liberties, with the laws and customs of their forefathers. Sabinus was willing to comply; but being conscious of what he had deserved from the Jews, durst not trust to their promise. Besides, he thought the conditions too advantageous to be made good, and so determined to venture the holding it out, in hope and expectation of succour from Varus.

Several tumults in Judæa.

While matters were in this desperate situation in Jerusalem, there were several insurrections in divers parts of Judæa, at the instigation either of profit or vindictive malice. About 2000 of Herod's disbanded men gathered together upon the occasion, with a resolution to encounter a party of the king's under the command of Ahiab, Herod's nephew. But Ahiab, sensible that he was opposed by experienced veterans, avoided coming to action as much as possible, by shifting into desiles and fastnesses.

Depredations of Judas, the robber.

Judas, the son of Ezechias, the notorious robber, who had long annoyed Herod, with a band of desperadoes that he had collected at Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, made an inroad into the king's country, seized his magazines and military stores, alarmed the inhabitants, pillaged wherever he came, and aspired, in fine, to government itself, from a most rapacious disposition, and lawless ambition.

Ambition of Simon.

During this state of confusion, one Simon, formerly a servant of Herod, but a man of extraordinary strength, agility, and gracefulness of person, having the vanity to aspire to the crown, got together a body of guards, and was saluted by the frank's mob as king. As the first instance of his dignity and power, he burnt and rifled the palace at Jericho, set fire to many of the king's buildings, and allowed his followers the advantage of the booty. Nor would he have stopped there, had he not been repressed by Gratus, who, having espoused the cause of the Romans, advanced with his troops against him, when an obstinate engagement taking place, Simon's party, though resolute, being wanting in military skill, were totally routed and cut to pieces, and he himself being made prisoner, Gratus ordered his head to be struck off.

Is suppressed by Gratus.

This tumultuous disposition seemed universally to prevail; for the royal palace at Amatha, by the river Jordan, was burnt to the ground by a set of lawless banditti, resembling those under the direction of Simon. Indeed, a spirit of outrage, or rather epidemical madness, possessed the multitude, and that through want of good order under a confirmed king of their own; for the introduction of foreigners, through their intolerable pride and avarice, rather inflamed than reclaimed them.

Similar instance in Athronges, a peasant.

After the example of Simon, one Athronges, a man who had no pretence either to birth, virtue, ability, or fortune, but a mere clown, of enormous bulk, and vast strength, put in a claim to government, and pretended to have formed a resolution of venturing his life for the obtaining a prerogative to plunder at will. This Athronges had four brothers, of the same gigantic form with himself. They had each of them a band of men under command, which they deemed a sufficient means for gaining their point. Great multitudes came over to these five brothers; so that Athronges appointed his four brethren to act as his lieutenants, while he himself sat in council with a diadem upon his head, forming resolutions, and giving orders in affairs of state. This pageantry continued some time, during which the royal style and title seemed to be maintained, for they acted according to their own will and pleasure, none disputing their authority, or disobeying their commands. They were cruel in the extreme, whenever either the Romans or the king's forces fell into their power; for they held them in equal aversion; the latter for their licentious conduct under the government of

Athronges and his brethren outrageous and cruel.

rod, and the former on account of injuries of later date. The animosity grew daily more implacable, insomuch, that they might be said to diffuse devastation and massacre, from motives of rapine on the one hand, and cruelty on the other. They fell upon a Roman convoy, out of an ambush, with corn and arms for the camp, slew Arius, the commander, with forty choice men upon the spot; and the rest would have shared the same fate, if Gratus had not advanced with a party at the critical juncture, and compelled them to retire. They maintained these skirmishes a considerable time, to the great annoyance of the Romans, but at length to their own suppression; for they were all taken, particularly in an encounter with Gratus, and another with Ptolemy. Archelaus took the eldest of them prisoner; and the last, finding their case desperate, the men spent with toil and sickness, and no prospect of recruit, surrendered himself to Archelaus, upon oath for the performance of conditions.

They are all subdued.

During this general scene of tumult, or, as it may be called, terms of licence for outrage and robbery, every new band of mutineers was for setting up new kings, which caused universal distractions in the state. The Jews were rent by feuds and factions amongst themselves, while the Romans sustained some injuries, but not of equal detriment with those of the former.

Judeans run with freebooters.

As soon as Varus received intelligence of the state of Judæa, by a letter from Sabinus, he was in great apprehension for the third legion, and therefore took the other two legions, and four troops of horse, with the several auxiliary forces, which either the king, or the tetrarchs afforded him, and hastened away to Judæa to the relief of the besieged. He gave orders that all that were sent out upon this expedition, should make Ptolemais their place of rendezvous; and took with him 1500 auxiliaries, with which he was supplied by the citizens of Berytus. Aretas also, king of Arabia Petrea, from his aversion to Herod, and, in order to secure the favour of the Romans, supplied him with a very considerable reinforcement both of horse and foot. When Varus had collected all his forces, and drawn them up in a body at Ptolemais, he gave the command of part of it to his son, and one of his particular friends, with orders to march into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

Varus marches to the relief of Sabinus.

The people of Berytus and Aretas send the Romans assistance.

Upon this inroad into the country, he carried all before him in spite of opposition; took Sepphoris, laid the city in ashes, and made its inhabitants slaves. Varus himself advanced with his army towards Samaria, but suffered no damage to be done to the city, because he knew the inhabitants to be well affected and peaceable in their dispositions. He pitched his camp in a certain village, called Arus, which the Arabians burnt in revenge to the very friends of Herod for Herod's sake. The army advanced afterwards to Sampho, which the same Arabians rifled, though a strong place, and then set it on fire: in fine they filled all places wherever they went with devastation and slaughter. Emmaus was burnt, after the inhabitants had deserted it, by order of Varus, in revenge for his soldiers that were slain there.

Sepphoris burnt, as are also Sampho and Emmaus.

When Varus approached Jerusalem, the Jews, who had besieged the Roman legion in that quarter, abandoned their post, and fled into lurking places with precipitation. But as to the Jews of Jerusalem, when Varus reproached them severely for what they had done, they cleared themselves of the accusations, alledging that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the festival; that the war was not made with their approbation, but through the rashness of strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There came also before-hand to meet Varus, Joseph, cousin-german of king Herod; as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged. But Sabinus, from conscious guilt, avoided the presence of Varus, stole out of the city, and went to the sea side.

Varus free the legion besieged at Jerusalem.

Varus

Punishes the
ringleaders
of the sedi-
tion.

Returns to
Antioch.

Archelaus
contends
with the
Jews, who
send an em-
bassy to
Cæsar.

Cæsar gives
them au-
dience in
the temple
of Apollo.

The Jewish
ambassadors
use both
Herod and
Archelaus
as pre-
text.

Varus, upon this, sent a detachment from his army into the country, in quest of the ringleaders of the revolt; and, upon discoveries and clear proofs being adduced against them, punished those that were most guilty, and dismissed the rest. The number of those who were crucified upon this occasion, amounted to about 2000. After this he sent away his army, as they had committed many outrages against his will, in the heat and rage of a military licence. But hearing soon after, that 10,000 of the Jews were collected into a body, he ordered a strong detachment to fall upon them in their quarters, so that, by the advice of Ahiab, they surrendered themselves, without making any resistance. Hereupon Varus set the common people at liberty, sent the ringleaders to Cæsar, and pardoned all the rest, except some relations of Herod, who, without any regard to affinity or justice, had engaged in so unnatural and ruinous a war. Matters being thus composed, Varus left the same legion in garrison at Jerusalem, and returned to Antioch.

The commotions in Judæa were no sooner quelled than Archelaus had many embarrassments to encounter at Rome, which arose upon the following occasion. The Jews, by permission of Varus, sent an embassy to Augustus Cæsar, petitioning for liberty of living according to their own laws. There were fifty Jews joined in the commission, and upwards of 8000 in the city of Rome, that presented themselves to countenance the embassy. Cæsar hereupon appointed a select number of his friends, and others of the first rank, to attend him in the temple of Apollo, a most magnificent structure of his own erecting. There came thither ambassadors, attended by a long train of Jews, and Archelaus, with his friends likewise. But his kindred were at a loss how to act upon the occasion; for, on the one hand, they abhorred, and therefore could not join him; and, on the other, if they had closed with the ambassadors, they must have appeared to the king as enemies to a prince of their own blood. Philip, his brother, came hither also out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with an intention of espousing the cause of Archelaus, for whom he had the tenderest regard; though he was not without hope, that, if the ambassadors should gain their point, and the government be divided amongst the children of Herod, a part of the same might be allotted to himself.

When the Jewish ambassadors were admitted to audience of the emperor, the following was the purport of their commission.

"They declared that Herod, was, indeed, in name, a king; but that he had taken to himself that uncontrollable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews; and did not abstain from making many innovations among them, according to his own inclinations. That whereas there were many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, (so many, indeed, as no other history relates,) they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him; not only by the anxiety they were under, from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did, indeed, never leave off adorning those cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed. That whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty. That, when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates: that, when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. That, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giv-

"ving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency; and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them, as a savage would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over them. That, although their nation had passed through many subversions, and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under that could be compared with this, which Herod had brought upon their nation. That it was for this reason, that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king; upon supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been. That they joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him; and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him. But that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established; since the power of disposing of it belonged to Cæsar, who could either give it to him, or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action, which concerned them, his own citizens, and religion itself, when he made the slaughter of 3000 of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, hath added this, as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority?" The main thing they desired was, that "They might be delivered from kingly and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and put under the authority of such presidents as should be sent them. For that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations; or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them."

Nicolaus vindicated the kings from these accusations, by observing, that, "As for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him for lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished, during his life, to bring an accusation against him now he was dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him; who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him. He accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things." This was the substance of the plea of Nicolaus.

Nicolaus
excuses He-
rod and Ar-
chelaus.

C H A P. XIII.

Cæsar's generous proceedings in the point submitted to his determination. Partition of the kingdom between the sons of Herod.

WHEN Cæsar had heard the allegations and petitions of the ambassadors on the one part, and the pleading of the counsel on the other, he dismissed the assembly, and, after some few days, declared Archelaus successor to one moiety of Herod's jurisdiction,

Cæsar's im-
partial
award.

jurisdiction, under the title of ethnarch, not of king, though with a promise of the regal dignity, if he should appear, from his virtuous administration, to be worthy of that honour.

The other half was divided betwixt the two sons of Herod, Philip and that Antipas who had the dispute with Archelaus concerning the entire succession. Antipas had, for his portion, Galilee, with the country beyond Jordan, and two hundred talents a year in revenue. That of Philip was Batanæa, Trachon, and Auranites, and a part of what was called the palace of Zenodorus, with an hundred talents in yearly revenue.

Archelaus had Judæa, Idumæa, and likewise Samaria; which was discharged by Cæsar of a fourth part of the duty, for maintaining loyalty when other places were in rebellion. There fell also to his lot the Tower of Straton, Joppa, and Jerusalem; for Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon, living in conformity to the Greek customs and manners, were no longer dependencies upon the kingdom, but annexed by Augustus to Syria. The revenue of Archelaus was, upon the whole, six hundred talents.

Cæsar's
bounty to
Salome.

Thus flood the patrimony of the sons of Herod. With respect to Salome, besides the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, with five hundred thousand drachmæ of coined silver bequeathed her by her brother, Cæsar presented her with a royal palace at Askalon, within the dominions of Archelaus; and her income was estimated at six hundred talents a year; all the other legacies, to the rest of the king's relations, being made good also, according to the will of Herod. Augustus bestowed likewise upon Herod's two virgin daughters, over and above what their father had left them, two hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ of silver, and married them to the sons of Pheroras. Nay, to compleat his generosity and magnificence, he divided his own legacies among the sons of Herod, some few pieces of plate excepted, which he reserved for himself, not for their intrinsic value, but as memorials of the donor.

CHAP. XIV.

A spurious Alexander imposes on the Jews. Obtains money upon royal credit. Goes to Rome with a princely retinue. The Jews flock to him at Puteoli. Celadus is sent by Cæsar to examine into his claim. He is detected, and confesses the imposture. Is condemned to the galleys, and his advisers put to death.

A spurious
Alexander
sets up as
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THESE affairs being settled by Cæsar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon by a freeman of Rome, ingratiated himself with the kindred of Herod by the resemblance of his visage, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son whom Herod had caused to be slain. The Jew availed himself of the hint, and insinuated some remote pretence that he might have to the government. To assist him in the execution of his plan, he had recourse to one of his own tribe, who was versed in the cabals and intrigues of courts, together with all the arts necessary for carrying on the purpose of fraud and deception. Revolving upon the matter, they came to a determination that the Jew, who bore the resemblance, should declare himself to be that very Alexander who was said to be dead, and a report was to be propagated to this effect, "That the person entrusted with the execution of the two brothers (Alexander and Aristobulus) had set up two other bodies in their place, and preserved them both."

The impostor was not only pleased with the conceit of the part he was to play, but the cheat passed current upon other people, insomuch that, coming to Crete, and afterwards to the isle of Melos, the Jews so implicitly believed it, that he took up several sums of money amongst them upon the credit of his blood royal. He now became so far insatu-

ated as to form ideas of principalities and powers, what favourites he would raise, and to what preferments.

With these air-borne fancies he went for Rome with a train of attendants. Upon his arrival at Puteoli, all the Jews, who entertained any regard for Herod, gathered about him, and received him as their king; mankind being naturally credulous, where they have resemblances to work upon their imaginations. This person, it seems, was so very like the prince, that several of his intimate friends not only affirmed, but swore, upon the sight of him, that it was Alexander himself, and could be no other. The rumour of this discovery being spread throughout Rome, brought all the Jews from that quarter to meet him on the way, with thanksgivings in their mouths for so surprizing a deliverance.

Upon his arrival at Rome, he was carried in a royal litter, with the utmost pomp and magnificence, through the streets, and followed by multitudes of people with the loudest acclamations. All these honours were paid him for the sake of his supposed mother, the innocent, much-injured Mariamne.

But Cæsar, thinking Herod to have been a man not easily to be imposed upon in a matter of such importance, did not credit the report. However, for the sake of curiosity and satisfaction, he sent a freeman of his, one Celadus, a cotemporary and companion of the two brothers, to bring this new Alexander into his presence, which he accordingly did, being as much imposed on as any of the rest. He could not, however, deceive Cæsar: for, although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet it was not so exact as to elude a nice discernment. Besides, the hands of this spurious Alexander were rough and callous, through the labour to which he had been accustomed; and, instead of the softness and delicacy of the prince, his body, in general, was found to be coarse and rugged. Cæsar, observing how exactly the parties agreed in their tale, demanded what was become of Aristobulus, and as they were both delivered together, how it came to pass they did not appear together, and urge their claim to the inheritance?

The impostor made answer, that Aristobulus staid at Cyprus, through fear of the danger of the seas; for if they should both have miscarried together, the whole race of Mariamne would have been extinct; so that regard was had to the preservation of Aristobulus. The spurious Alexander affirming this, and the contrivers of the story joining exactly with him in concert, Cæsar took him aside, and thus addressed him; "Be ingenuous with me, and your life shall be spared as a reward. Tell me who you are, and who it is that has been so base and arrogant as to contrive and propagate so flagrant an imposture, for it is too subtle a scheme to be laid by one of your age."

When he found there was no means of evading the point, he disclosed to Augustus the author, the contrivance, and the manner of proceeding. Cæsar fulfilled his promise to the impostor, condemning him only to the galleys, being of a robust habit of body, and proper for that service. His advisers was put to death: and as for the people of Melos, he had them sufficiently punished, in having lavished so much money upon their spurious Alexander. Such was the ignominious conclusion of this scene of imposture.

CHAP. XV.

Archelaus, upon a second accusation, is banished to Vienna, and his effects confiscated. Simon, an Essene, expounds his dream.

ARCHELAUS, on returning to Judæa, and entering upon his ethnarchy, deprived the son of Boethus, of the pontificate, upon pretence of having abetted the seditious faction, and conferred the dignity upon Eleazar, his brother. He rebuilt the palace at Jericho at a very great expence, and

and brought down one half the stream that watered the village of Neara, to a grove of palm-trees, which he had planted in the field below. He built, also, a village, which he called after his own name, Archelais; and, without any regard to the law of his forefathers, took to wife Glaphyra, the daughter of king Archelaus, and widow of his brother Alexander, by whom he had several children; though such marriages are expressly forbidden by the Jewish law. Nor did Eleazar long continue in the enjoyment of his dignity; for Jesus, the son of Sias, was put into his office, while he was yet living.

Eleazar deposed, and Jesus put in his place.

Archelaus again accused to Cæsar.

He is banished.

Archelaus's dream.

Simon's exposition.

In the tenth year of the government of Archelaus, the principal men of Judæa and Samaria were so disgusted at his tyrannical administration, that they jointly exhibited an accusation against him before Cæsar. They proceeded in it with more confidence, because they knew that severity in the extreme was directly contrary to the commands of Cæsar, who had expressly enjoined him to govern with moderation and justice. Upon hearing this complaint, he sent for Archelaus, who was his agent at Rome, to come to him immediately, and ordered him to go and bring Archelaus, the ethnarch, before him, without vouchsafing him a letter. The messenger, pursuant to command, posted away for Judæa, where he found Archelaus at a banquet with his friends, and, having communicated the emperor's order, called upon him to hasten away. Upon his arrival at Rome, Cæsar heard both charge and defence, and passed sentence of banishment upon Archelaus, with confiscation of all his goods, and sent him away to Vienne, a city of Gaul.

Archelaus, the ethnarch, a little before his summons to Rome, had an extraordinary dream, which he related to his friends, and was to the following purport. He fancied that he saw ten ears of wheat, all ripe and full, and oxen devouring them. This vision dwelling upon his mind when he awoke, he consulted several sages, skilled in divination, about the meaning of it. But the wise men being divided in their judgment, one Simon, an Essene, with the permission of the rest, gave his opinion of the signification of that dream, which was, that it foreboded some misfortune to Archelaus; for the dream-

ing of oxen, being animals designed for labour, seemed to import affliction, and a change of affairs; because upon their turning up the ground, every thing changed its place and form. He added, that, by the ten ears of corn, was intimated the same definite number of years, which take their revolutions in course, and that the government of Archelaus seemed now to be at an end. This was Simon's interpretation of the dream; and, upon the fifth day after the vision, Cæsar's agent came into Judæa, by his order, to cite Archelaus before him.

His wife Glaphyra, whose first husband was Alexander, the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus, but, on his being put to death by his father, was married to Juba, king of Mauritania, and afterwards to Archelaus, on the divorce of his former wife Mariamne; this Glaphyra, it is to be observed, during the time of her cohabiting with Archelaus, had the following dream: "She fancied that she saw Alexander, her first husband, standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he expostulated with her on her conduct, observing, that she had verified the adage, that women are not to be trusted, since, after pledging her faith to him, who was the husband of her virginity, she had not only engaged in a second marriage, but a third, and violated the express injunction of law and decency, in taking for her husband his brother Archelaus." He added, however, "that ancient kindness should never be forgotten, and therefore it should be his care to deliver her from reproach." She related this dream to several of her female companions, and within a few days afterwards departed this life.

Glaphyra's dream of her first husband.

I have introduced these circumstances relative to the princes which are the subjects of the present part of my history, as the example held forth thereby is worthy of consideration, and as they seem to afford an instructive lesson with respect to our immortal state, and the wisdom of Divine Providence.

Cæsar annexed the lands of Archelaus to the province of Syria; and sent Cyrenius, a man of consular dignity, to tax the province, and dispose of the palace of Archelaus.

The ethnarchy of Archelaus reduced to a province.

End of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.



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He imposes
on the Jews

Upon his arrival at Rome, he was carried in a royal litter, with the utmost pomp and magnificence, through the streets, and followed by multitudes of people with the loudest acclamations. All these honours were paid him for the sake of his supposed mother, the innocent, much-injured Mariamne.

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Discovers

The impostor made answer, that Aristobulus staid at Cyprus, through fear of the danger of the seas; for if they should both have miscarried together, the whole race of Mariamne would have been extinct; so that regard was had to the preservation of Aristobulus. The spurious Alexander affirming this, and the contrivers of the story joining exactly with him in concert, Cæsar took him aside, and thus addressed him; "Be ingenuous with me, and your life shall be spared as a reward. Tell me who you are, and who it is that has been so base and arrogant as to contrive and propagate so flagrant an imposture; for it is too subtle a scheme to be laid by one of your age."

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The spurious
Alexander
discovers
the imposture

CHAP. XV.

Archelaus, upon a second accusation, is banished to Vienne, and his effects confiscated. Simon, an Essene, expounds his dream.

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Archelaus's
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Glaphyra's
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The eth-
narchy of
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End of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XVIII.

[Including a Period of about Thirty Years.]

C H A P. I.

Cyrenius is appointed governor of Syria; and Coponius, governor of Judæa, sent with him. Cyrenius levies taxes in Syria and Judæa. The Jews thereupon become seditious, but are brought to submission by the persuasion of Joazar, the high-priest. Judas and Sadducus stir up the people to rebellion and the commission of outrages. The temple burnt to the ground. Dangerous effects of innovation. The ringleaders start a fourth sect.

Cyrenius is sent to tax Syria and Judæa.

CYRENIUS was at this time appointed by Cæsar to the government of Syria. He was a man of eminent character, a senator of Rome, and one that had passed through all dignified offices. Coponius, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, as governor of Judæa; but that province being already annexed to Syria, it came within the department of Cyrenius to take and assess the people, and dispose of the effects of Archelaus. The Jews at first murmured at this mode of assessment; but, through the authority and persuasion of the high-priest, Joazar, they were brought to submissive compliance, without farther trouble.

Judas and Sadducus stir up rebellion.

There started up, soon after this, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, who, together with one Sadducus, a Pharisee, excited the people to a revolt, by his insinuating that taxes were the badges of slavery; that it was the incumbent duty of the nation to contend for liberty unrestrained; and that one fortunate turn might make them free and easy for ever, advance their reputation, and secure them in their possessions. The multitude, fired by the suggestions of these incendiaries, proceeded to the most outrageous violence: murders, robberies, and depredations, without distinction of friend or foe, universally prevailed, under a pretence of advancing the common cause of liberty and property; but, in reality, to subvert all government and good order, gratify the vilest of passions, and promote the private interest of the most abandoned members of society.

Horrid outrages.

While intestine broils prevailed to such a degree of ferocious madness, that the citizens were sheathing their swords in the bowels of each other, they had to encounter the destruction of a war abroad, and the desolations of a famine at home. Yet to such excess of outrage were they transported by their frantic rage, that the scene of blood and devastation continued, till the sacred temple itself was laid in ashes.

War and famine.
The temple burnt to the ground.

These were the fatal consequences of aiming at innovations in our laws and customs, and desiring to reject fundamental rules and maxims. To that absurd disposition the multitude were excited by Judas and Sadducus, who, from conceit and caprice, introduced a fourth sect, and gaining over many disciples, laid the foundation of our future miseries, by a system of philosophy, with which we were before unacquainted. As these principles proved so fatal in their tendency, it will not be improper to present the reader with their definition.

C H A P. II.

The opinions and practices of the Pharisees, a sect in great repute with the people. Opinions of the Sadducees. Doctrines and manners of the Essenes. Principles of a fourth and new sect.

THERE were, amongst the Jews of old, three peculiar sects of religion. They were distinguished by the denominations of Essenes, Sadducees, and Pharisees. Though I have taken frequent occasion to treat of them, I cannot, on account of the new sect introduced, pass them over unnoticed with propriety in this place.

The manner of life presented by the Pharisees is rigid and simple, disdaining luxurious delicacies. They scrupulously adhere to the dictates of their reason, and pay such veneration to the judgment and opinion of their seniors, as to follow them implicitly. They ascribe all contingencies to fate, but

The Pharisees.

not as to exclude mens freedom of actions; laying it down as a maxim, that, though all are done by Divine appointment and permission, this by no means excludes the concurrence of the will, in points which respect either good or evil. They assert the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; that the wicked are to be consigned to perpetual chains and darkness, and the good to rise again to a state of bliss. By these doctrines they have acquired great esteem with the people, insomuch, that all forms of worship, prayer, and sacrifices, are presented by them, and an universal opinion entertained of their wisdom, temperance, and integrity.

The Sadducees, on the one hand, deny the immortality of the soul, and affirm, that we have no other obligations upon us but to observe the law; insomuch, that they value themselves upon a right they have to dispute the most important points with their teachers. This sect is not numerous, but mostly composed of men of rank; who, when properly qualified for offices of state, are compelled to conform, at least in profession, to the principles of the Pharisees, otherwise they would incur the resentment of the multitude.

The Essenes ascribe the government of the world to Divine Providence, without any exception; hold the immortality of the soul; and revere justice, both in theory and practice, as the cardinal virtue. They send their gifts to the temple, without going thither themselves; for they offer sacrifices apart in a peculiar mode, and with more ceremonies. They are men of excellent morals, and their chief employment is agriculture. They are eminent for their rectitude of conduct, beyond either Greeks or Barbarians, which seems to be the chief object of their study and application. They have all things in common, without any distinction of rich and poor. They have neither wives or servants; as they look upon one as an encroachment upon the natural liberty of mankind, and the other as a state of life attended with trouble and anxiety; so that they chuse rather, by a mutual exchange of good offices, to assist each other. This is the sum of their principles and manners; and the sect is supposed to amount, in number, to upwards of four thousand. Their treasurers and commissaries are men of integrity, chosen from among their priests; and it is their care to make provision out of the fruits of the earth, for the maintenance of the whole body. Their manner of living, upon the whole, much resembles the Platti, among the Dacians.

The founder of the fourth and new sect was Judas Galilæus, and this was much the same with that of the Pharisees, except in the maxims of an uncontrollable liberty: they will rather expose themselves, and their dearest relations, to the most exquisite torments, than call any man by the name of master. But this is a truth so well confirmed by every day's observation and experience, that it needs no comment; besides, the invincible constancy of this people, in the endurance of pains, is beyond expression. The sect, which maintained these principles, were farther inflamed by the intolerable cruelties of Gessius Florus, which ended at length in a general revolt from the Romans. Thus much for the distinct sects amongst the Jews.

CHAP. III.

The end of the taxation of Cyrenius. Joazar is deposed from the pontificate, and Ananus promoted to that dignity. Herod and Philip being settled in their tetrarchy, build several cities in honour of Cæsar. The Samaritans profane the holy temple. Coponius returns to Rome, and is succeeded in the government of Judæa by Marcus Ambivius. Death of Salome. Death of Augustus Cæsar, emperor of Rome, and succession of Tiberius. Ambivius is succeeded by Ananus Rufus, as is the latter by Valerius Gratus. Ananus removed from the high-priesthood, and rapid successions of Ismael, Eleazar, Simon, and Joseph.

Gratus returns from the government of Judæa, and is succeeded by Pontius Pilate. Herod builds a city, and calls it Tiberias, in honour of the emperor. Phraates, king of Parthia, murdered by his son Phraataces, who is destroyed by a tumult. Orodes taken off by a conspiracy. An embassy to Rome, recommending one of the Parthian hostages for king. Vonones beats Artabanus into Media. Is himself afterwards routed and pursued by Artabanus, and solicits the protection of Tiberius, but in vain. A dispute about the form of government. Germanicus sent to adjust the matter, and poisoned by Piso.

WHEN Cyrenius had disposed of the effects of Archelaus, and settled the taxation according to order, which fell out in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium, Joazar, the high-priest, becoming unpopular, he deprived him of the dignity, and appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to succeed him. Herod and Philip, being settled in their tetrarchies, adjusted affairs in the best manner possible. The former built a wall about Sepphoris, which he made the bulwark and capital of all Galilee. After this he fortified another town, which, at that time, was called Betaramphtha; but he afterwards changed the name to Julias, in honour of the empress. Philip, on his part, beautified and enlarged Pælas, at the head of the river Jordan, and called it Cæsarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, upon the bank of the lake of Genezareth, to the rank of a city, both as to bulk, magnificence, and number of inhabitants, calling it also Julias, in honour of Julius Cæsar's daughter.

During the government of Coponius, who was sent, as before observed, with Cyrenius into Judæa, a disturbance happened upon the following occasion. It is customary for the priests, upon the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the passover, to open the gates of the temple just after midnight. A band of Samaritans, who stole into Jerusalem, waiting the opening of the gates, immediately advanced, and threw the bones of dead men into the cloisters. Upon this account the Jews excluded them from the temple, which they were not accustomed to do at such festivals, and watched the sacred spot more carefully than they had formerly done.

A short time after this, Coponius returning to Rome, Ambivius succeeded him in the government of Judæa, under whose administration died Salome, sister of Herod, and left to Julia, over and above her tetrarchy, the cities of Jamnia, Phasaelis upon the plain of Archelais, with several plantations of palm-trees, that bear most excellent fruit.

Ananus Rufus succeeded Ambivius; and in his time Augustus Cæsar departed this life. He was the second emperor of Rome, and reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days; having been fourteen years of that time colleague with Anthony in the government. The term of his life was seventy-seven years. He was succeeded by Tiberius, the son of his wife Julia, being the third emperor of the Romans, who appointed Valerius Gratus to the government of Judæa. He also deposed Ananus from the pontificate, and put Ismael, the son of Fabius, in his place, who was soon after deposed, and the dignity transferred to Eleazar, the son of Ananus, the late high-priest. The office, however, was taken from him, after he had held it a year, and given to Simon, the son of Camith, who, after another year, was compelled to relinquish it to Joseph, whose surname was Caiaphas. Gratus having now held the government eleven years, returned to Rome, and was succeeded by Pontius Pilate.

Herod, the tetrarch, was now in great favour with Tiberius, and built a city to his honour, called Tiberias. It was built upon the best spot of ground in all Galilee, on the bank of the lake of Genezareth, not far from the hot baths of Emmaus. The city was peopled partly by strangers, and partly by Galileans. Some were compelled to become inhabitants, while others took up their residence there by choice. Nay, in order to render it populous, inhabitants were collected

Ananus succeeds Joazar in the pontificate.

Transactions of Herod and Philip as tetrarchs.

The Samaritans desile the temple.

Ambivius, governor of Judæa.

Death of Augustus Cæsar.

He is succeeded by Tiberius, who constitutes Valerius Gratus governor of Judæa.

Divers rapid successions to the pontificate.

Pontius Pilate succeeds Gratus.

Herod builds Tiberias.

The Sadducees.

The Essenes.

The fourth sect.

collected from all quarters, and of all conditions, high, low, rich, and poor, free men and slaves. For the encouragement of the indigent to settle there, he gave them very considerable privileges and immunities; to some houses, to others land; for he was sensible that, to render this place habitable, was to transgress the ancient Jewish law; because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the building of the city Tiberias; and our laws pronounce, that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.

Death of Phraates, king of Parthia.

About this time died Phraates, king of Parthia, through the treachery of his son, upon the following occasion. The king amongst other presents that were formerly sent him by Julius Cæsar, had an Italian woman, whose name was Thermusa. He made her first his concubine; but being enraptured with her charms, and having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he made her his lawful wife, though he had several legitimate children. This Thermusa, perceiving the great affection he had for her, determined to attempt some means to procure for her son the succession to the throne of Parthia. Finding that her efforts could not succeed without removing the legitimate sons out of the kingdom, she prevailed with their father to send those sons as hostages to Rome; such was her ascendancy over the mind and will of her husband.

Phraataces, for parricide and incest, is expelled the kingdom.

Phraataces, being trained up at home to an expectation of the kingdom, thought it tedious to wait for a crown in reversion, and therefore formed a treacherous design, by the assistance of his mother, with whom he was supposed to have been guilty of the horrid crime of incest, for the taking away the life of his father. This being accordingly done, Phraataces rendered himself so odious to the people, both for parricide and incest, that, before he could enter upon the government, he was expelled, and perished in a tumult raised against him. Now the Parthian nobility agreed, that government and good order could not be maintained without a king, and resolving, at the same time, not to set any prince upon the throne that was not of a lineal descent with Arsaces, (the blood of Phraates being tainted by a marriage with an Italian concubine,) sent ambassadors, and invited Orodes to take the crown. But Orodes being odious to the multitude, on account of his cruel and untractable temper, a band of conspirators set upon and slew him. Some say the execution was done at a sacrifice, or a banquet; but the more general report is, that they slew him when they had drawn him out to a hunt.

An embassy from the Parthians to Rome.

Vonones sent from Rome to take the kingdom.

The hostage displeases the Parthians, who send for Artabanus.

Upon this the Parthians sent an embassy to Rome, desiring one of the hostages for their king, and made choice of Vonones in preference to the rest. He was a prince worthy of the honour conferred on him, by two of the greatest empires upon the face of the earth, the Roman and the Parthian. But his own countrymen, being naturally fickle and haughty, quickly repented of their choice, and spurning the idea of a slave, (for so they construed the word hostage,) as well as rejecting the imposition of a king, not by any law of arms, as it was a time of profound peace, in the heat of their resentment, they sent for Artabanus, who was then king of the Medes, and of the blood of Arsaces. Artabanus immediately accepted the offer, and, upon his arrival at the head of a considerable army, was encountered by Vonones, who repulsed him, the generality of the Parthians as yet maintaining their allegiance: but Artabanus, being in a short time reinforced, gave Vonones a total overthrow in a second battle; so that, with great difficulty, he escaped, with some few horse, into Seleucia. Artabanus, taking advantage of the consternation of his opponents, pressed on the pursuit with a terrible slaughter, and retired to Ctesiphon with his victorious army. This action put him in possession of the kingdom of Parthia. Vonones, in the mean time, fled into Armenia, expecting to obtain the government there, soliciting Cæsar also to assist him in his design. But whether the emperor suspected his courage, or himself was afraid of incurring the resentment of the Parthians, Tiberius stood aloof;

Vonones is expelled, and flies into Armenia.

and Vonones, despairing of the attempt, delivered himself up to Syllanus, governor of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, gave him an honourable reception. Artabanus, being now settled in the government of Parthia, made his son Orodes king of Armenia.

Delivers himself up to Syllanus, governor of Syria.

Germanicus is poisoned by Piso.

At this time died Antiochus, king of Comagena, which occasioned the multitude to contend with the nobility; the latter being desirous of reducing the kingdom into the state of a province, while the former were for being under a kingly government, as they were before. Upon this dispute Germanicus was ordered away into the east, to compose the difference; but it proved the occasion of his ruin; for, after he had settled all affairs, he was poisoned through the treachery of Piso, as will be shewn hereafter.

CHAP. IV.

Standards set up in Jerusalem with Cæsar's image upon them. A tumult raised upon the occasion. Pilate causes the images to be removed. Demands money out of the sacred treasury. A great destruction of the Jews. Josephus bears illustrious testimony. Decius Mundus enamoured of Paulina, a woman of unspotted virtue, forms fatal resolutions. Ide, in conjunction with the priest of Isis, bring them to an interview. A criminal intercourse ensues. The priest and Ide are crucified, and the temple of Isis destroyed.

Pilate brings images of Cæsar into Jerusalem.

The Jews petition for their removal.

The images removed from Jerusalem.

PILATE, governor of Judæa, upon the removal of the army from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to take up their winter quarters there, brought several standards into the city, with the image of Cæsar, to the violation of the Jewish laws, which expressly prohibit the use of such figures; for which reasons no former governors brought ensigns with such ornaments upon them before. The present governor was the first that ever transgressed this rule; and further, he brought them in by stealth, and fixed them up in the dead of the night, when none were present. When the citizens observed them next morning, they assembled in great multitudes, and attended Pilate at Cæsarea, with a petition for the removal of those images to some other place. After several days waiting, and Pilate still refusing, upon pretence that it was a request not to be granted without offering an indignity to Cæsar, they still persisted in their importunities. But the governor, upon the seventh day of the Jews attendance, commanded a party of soldiers to be ready in arms, where he appointed them, and thereupon mounted a tribune, which he had caused to be erected in the circus, as a place most commodious for a surprize. When the Jews renewed their petition, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that their punishment should be immediate death, unless they would quietly depart to their respective habitations. The Jews, notwithstanding this alarming menace, cast themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare; thereby intimating that their lives were not so dear to them as the laws of their country. Pilate was so deeply impressed with this instance of their fortitude in preserving their laws inviolate, that he commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.

The next thing Pilate undertook was to bring an aqueduct to Jerusalem, about two hundred furlongs from the city; for which purpose he demanded money out of the sacred treasury. The Jews, enraged at this proceeding, assembled in great numbers, to try the effect of popular clamour in diverting him from his purpose. Some, as is usual upon such occasions, used reproaches, and poured forth the most provoking invectives; insomuch that he ordered a certain number of soldiers to assume the habit of the vulgar class, carry daggers under their garments, and be ready to obey a private signal. He then commanded the Jews to depart; but as they persisted not only in denial, but reproach, the signal was given to the soldiers, who fell upon them,

A great destruction of the Jews.

Testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ

them, dealing destruction indiscriminately; and the Jews being unarmed, and consequently unprepared for resistance, an end was put to the tumult.

At the same time there appeared in Judæa an extraordinary person, called JESUS, if it be lawful to call him a man. He was a famous worker of miracles, a teacher of those who were desirous of receiving the truth in simplicity, and brought over to him many disciples, both Jews and Gentiles. This was the CHRIST, whom Pilate, at the accusation of the princes and great men of the nation, delivered up to the ignominious punishment of the cross; notwithstanding which, those who first loved him did not forsake him. He appeared to them alive again the third day after his crucifixion, which the divine prophets had foretold, together with numberless other wonders concerning him. And thence, to this day, there is a set of people, who bear the name of CHRISTIANS, as owning him for their Head, Lord, and Master.

About this time another calamity caused great disorder among the Jews, which arose from certain shameful practices about the temple of Isis that was then at Rome. The particulars are as follow: There was at Rome, one Paulina, a woman no less eminent for her virtue than her birth, possessed of an ample fortune, most exquisite beauty, and had withal consummate modesty. She was married to Saturninus, a husband worthy of such a wife: but it so fell out, that one Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, in the prime of life, fell desperately in love with her. As she was a person above the temptation of presents, he was the more inflamed with a desire of gaining her, and proceeded so far, however, as to offer two hundred thousand drachmæ to ingratiate himself with the object of his adoration. When these means proved ineffectual, and he became more and more enamoured, he began to meditate his own destruction. There was a female domestic belonging to the father of Mundus, called Ide, a woman of intrigue and cunning, who observing his passion had transported him beyond all bounds of reason, encouraged him to hope for the possession of Paulina, by suggesting to him, that, for a consideration of fifty thousand drachmæ, his desire might be accomplished. Mundus, charmed with the proposal, produced the money; but Ide, persuaded that ore had no attraction with Paulina, and reflecting that she held the goddess Isis in the highest veneration, she had recourse to this invention. Having convened several of the priests of Isis, sworn them to secrecy, and secured them by a deposit of twenty-five thousand drachmæ, and a promise of as much more when the business was effected, she communicated to them the circumstance towards facilitating an interview between the parties.

The priests, lured by the temptation, promised fair; and one of them went immediately to Paulina, and, in a private conference, told her, that the god Anubis was passionately enamoured of her, and that she must favour him with a visit. Paulina welcomed the messenger; and was so elated with the ideal honour, that she could not forbear disclosing to her female companions the kind regard which the god Anubis entertained for her. She even made her husband acquainted with it; and told him that an assignation was made between them; to which, from a reliance on her insuperable virtue, he cheerfully acceded.

Paulina, in pursuance of this pleasing fancy, went into the temple of Isis, where, in the evening, she was shut up by one of the priests, and meeting with Mundus in the dark, had intercourse with him during the night, supposing she was honoured with the caresses of Anubis. In the morning they separated; and Paulina returned to her husband, charmed with the late adventure, which she failed not to relate to her female companions in exaggerated terms.

Upon the third day after the interview, Mundus happened to meet Paulina, and, in terms poignantly satirical, lampooned her credulity, that had indu-

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ced her to take him into her arms, as a substitute for her adorable Anubis; intimating, at the same time, that it had saved him two hundred thousand drachmæ.

When the woman reflected on the deception, she rent her clothes, burst into vehement exclamations, related the whole circumstance to her husband, and requested, if he had any regard for her, that he would not suffer so flagrant an indignity to pass unpunished. The husband represented the matter to Tiberius, who, upon full enquiry and information, caused these sanctified, or rather sacrilegious, impostors, together with Ide, the inventress of the plot, to be crucified. He commanded the temple of Isis to be pulled down, and her statue thrown into the Tiber; but mitigated the sentence of Mundus to banishment, as a young man overcome by the irresistible force of his passion.

CHAP. V.

Profligate Jews impose themselves on the credulous as teachers of the law. Extort money upon fraudulent pretences. Cause the expulsion of their brethren from Rome. A Samaritan impostor. Siege of Tirathaba. The assailants cut to pieces. The Samaritans exhibit a complaint against Pilate. Marcellus made governor of Judæa. Pilate cited before Tiberius Cæsar.

A Certain Jew, a notorious profligate, who, to avoid the stroke of public justice, was compelled to fly his country, passed at Rome, in these days, as a kind of rabbi, together with three more of the same abandoned character and distinction. Holding themselves forth as professors and expounders of the laws of Moses, they gained several proselytes, and, among others, one Fulvia, a woman of rank and integrity, and a Jewess by profession. This person, having delivered herself up to their authority and guidance, was prevailed upon by them to send oblations of gold and purple to the holy temple at Jerusalem, which, from time to time, they converted to their own use. Saturninus, induced by his wife, who had detected the fraud, exhibited a complaint against the impostors to Tiberius, who commanded all the Jews forthwith to depart the city. There were 4000 soldiers entered upon the consul's roll, and sent away for Sardinia; besides great numbers who made conscience of bearing arms for the sake of their religion; and these were put to grievous torments; so that, for the infamy of four flagitious impostors, the Jews were all banished to a man.

Nor was Samaria free from tumults, which were excited by a certain impostor, who gave out, that, if the multitude would assemble at mount Gerizim, a spot held sacred in that country, he would undertake to shew them the holy vessels which Moses had caused to be there deposited. A credulous rabble, lured by this plausible tale, betook themselves to arms, waiting for others to join them, in order to march up to the mountain in a large body. But Pilate anticipated their design, by pre-possessing the mountain with a strong band of horse and foot; whence they charged the Samaritans, who had surrounded the village, routed and slew great numbers of them, and took and carried away a multitude of prisoners, the principal of whom were put to death by order of the governor of Judæa.

When this tumult was appeased, the leading men of the Samaritans applied to Vitellius, a person of consular dignity, and at that time governor of Syria, and brought a charge of murder against Pilate. Vitellius, upon this, sent his friend Marcellus to take charge of the government of Judæa, and ordered Pilate to Rome, to answer before the emperor, the accusations exhibited against him. Pilate had held the government of Judæa ten years, when he prepared for his journey to Rome; but Tiberius departed this life before his arrival.

CHAP.

Mundus safely reaches Paulina.

The husband petitions the emperor for justice. Ide and the priests are crucified, and the temple of Isis demolished.

Four impostors pass for professors of the law.

Defraud Fulvia out of large sum of money.

The Jews are expelled from Rome.

A sedition in Samaria.

The insurgents are routed by the army of Pilate.

Marcellus appointed governor of Judæa, and Pilate cited to appear before Tiberius Cæsar.

The priest brings about an interview between Mundus and Paulina.

CHAP. VI.

Vitellius magnificently received at Jerusalem. Hyrcanus builds a castle, and calls it Antonia. Caiaphas deposed. Vitellius forms a league with Artabanus. The Parthians lose Armenia. Artabanus betrayed, but is reinforced, and recovers his kingdom. Treaty betwixt Tiberius and Artabanus. Darius sent as hostage. Vitellius returns to Antioch. Death and character of Philip.

Vitellius honourably received by the Jews.

AT this time Vitellius went into Judæa, and visited Jerusalem, (it being the Feast of the Passover,) where he was most honourably received, and remitted the inhabitants all the taxes upon fruits bought and sold. He restored to the priests also the keeping of the pontifical vestments in the temple, as they had been of old, but were of late deposited in the castle of Antonia, upon the following occasion:

The high-priest's vestments deposited in the temple of Antonia.

Hyrcanus, the high-priest, and first of that name, having built a tower near the temple, passed the greater part of his time there, keeping in his own custody the pontifical vestments and ornaments, in order to reserve them for his own use, as did his successors, for a considerable time after him. But Herod, upon his succession to the throne, was so well pleased with the situation, beauty, and strength of this fort, that he caused it to be improved at a very great expence, and called it by the name of Antonia, in honour of Anthony, his particular friend. In this castle he found the sacred vestments, and there he ordered them to be kept, from an opinion, that having them in his possession, would keep the Jews in proper decorum. Archelaus, his son and successor, followed his example, and from the same motive, as did the Romans also after the reduction of the kingdom into a province; and these pontifical robes were deposited in a cabinet appropriated to that sole use, under the seal of the priests and keepers of the holy treasury, the governor of the castle being obliged to have a lamp burning before the place. Upon the seventh day preceding the three solemn festivals, he delivered out the vestments to the high-priest, who, having caused them to be purified, performed the sacred functions in them; and the day following deposited them in the usual place. This was the practice at the three annual festivals, and upon the solemn fast.

But Vitellius was now pleased, in favour of the Jews, to give up all the pontifical robes into the possession of the priests again, and to discharge the governor from any further care of them. This he did to conciliate the esteem of the Jewish nation. He then deposed Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, from the office of high-priest, and conferred it upon Jonathan, the son of the high-priest Ananus, after which he returned to Antioch.

Jonathan made high-priest instead of Caiaphas.

Upon his arrival, he received letters of instruction from Tiberius Cæsar, to form a league of friendship with Artabanus, king of Parthia; the emperor being apprehensive, if he should get possession of Armenia, that he might become a dangerous enemy; but Vitellius was enjoined to form the league upon no other condition than that of having one of the king's sons as an hostage. This induced Vitellius to tamper with the kings of Iberia and Alania, by the offer of a great sum of money, to engage them in a war with Artabanus. His utmost efforts could only prevail with the Iberians to open a free passage for the Alanians through their city, and so, by the Caspian mountains, to enable them to pave the way for an incursion into the kingdom of Armenia. By means of this irruption, Armenia was again taken from the Parthians; and that stroke was followed with so desperate a ravage of their own country, that the principal men were almost entirely cut off, together with the king's sons, and such vast numbers of the common people, that this invasion may be said to have laid all waste before it.

Proceedings of Vitellius respecting the king of Parthia.

The Parthians lose Armenia.

Artabanus now fatally perceived that he had been betrayed under his very roof, and that his friends and relations were bribed into a plot with Vitellius for his destruction; so that not knowing in whom to repose confidence, and suspecting treachery under the guise of friendship, he made his escape into the upper provinces, where he was not only protected, but reinforced with so considerable an army of the Dahi and Saci, that he not only overthrew his enemies, but recovered his kingdom.

Artabanus restored to his dominions.

Upon this turn of affairs, Tiberius proposed an alliance with Artabanus; and, upon this invitation, Artabanus and Vitellius went to the Euphrates, and a bridge being laid over the river, they each of them came attended with their guards, and met upon the middle of the bridge. At the conclusion of the treaty, Herod, the tetrarch, gave them both a very splendid and magnificent entertainment, in a tent he had erected, at a great expence, upon the same river. Artabanus soon after sent his son, Darius, as an hostage to Tiberius, with a variety of presents; and one amongst the rest was a man seven cubits in height, by profession a Jew, whom they called Eleazar the Giant. Vitellius after this returned to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon.

A treaty with Artabanus, by order of Tiberius.

The king's son, Darius, sent as hostage.

Herod, desirous of giving Cæsar the first information of their having obtained hostages, dispatched a messenger with every particular of the treaty to Rome; and each circumstance being so accurately described, the intelligence of Vitellius became needless. He was, however, much disgusted at his officious anticipation, but smothered his resentment till Caius came to the government.

At this time died Philip, the brother of Herod, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, and the thirty-seventh of his tetrarchy, of Trachon, Gaulanitis, and Batanea. He was a man of a quiet, easy disposition, and spent his whole life in the compass of his own jurisdiction. He scarcely ever went abroad, but in company with some few of his select friends; and had a chair carried after him, which, upon several occasions, he used as a seat of justice. If an appeal was made to him for his decision of any matter in controversy, he immediately proceeded to the examination of the cause, and gave sentence according to validity of evidence. He died at Julius, and was buried, with great funeral pomp, in a monument he had prepared for himself; but leaving no issue behind him, Tiberius annexed his domains to Syria, upon condition that the tributes in that tetrarchy should not go out of the country.

Death and character of Philip, Herod's brother.

CHAP. VII.

A war between Herod, the tetrarch, and Aretas, the king of Parthia. Particulars of the occasion of it. John the Baptist imprisoned by order of Herod. Vitellius marches by the way of Judæa towards Petra. The Jews are offended at the images in the Roman ensigns. Vitellius, Herod, and attendants, go to a public festival held at Jerusalem. The pontificate transferred from Jonathan to Theophilus. Intelligence of the death of Tiberius. Progeny of Herod the Great.

A WAR broke out at this time between Herod and Aretas, king of Parthia, upon the following occasion. Herod, the tetrarch, married the daughter of Aretas, with whom he cohabited a considerable time; but being called afterwards to Rome, he paid a visit to Herod, his brother-in-law, (the son of the daughter of Simon, the high-priest,) in his way, where he became so passionately enamoured of Herodias, wife of his brother, and daughter of Aristobulus, their brother, that he had the confidence to make a proposal of marriage to her, upon his return from Rome, and of putting away his wife, the daughter of Aretas, which was agreed to on both sides, as the condition of their marriage. He then prosecuted his voyage for Rome, where, having done his business, he returned home. His wife, having by this time received intelligence of his intrigue with Herodias, artfully insinuated a desire of obtaining his permission to go to Machæras, a castle upon the

Hostilities commenced between Herod and Aretas.

The particular cause of it.

the borders of the dominions of Aretas. Herod, not suspecting the cause of her request, readily complied; and, as Machæras was placed under the dominion of her father, every necessary preparation was then made for her journey. The governor, immediately upon her arrival, furnished her with Arabian guards, who conducted her from stage to stage, with all possible speed, to her father's palace. When she related the circumstance of Herod's amour, Aretas became naturally incensed; and there being, at that time, a dispute concerning the boundaries of some land in Gamala, and the two armies in the field ready to decide the point in question, they laid hold of this pretence, and brought it to a battle, in which Herod was totally routed, through the treachery of a band of refugees that came over from Philip, and were at that time in the pay of Herod. The tetrarch no sooner gave Tiberius intelligence of this disaster, than he dispatched orders to Vitellius to make war upon Aretas, to retaliate the supposed indignity, and either bring him prisoner, or send his head to Rome.

There prevailed amongst the Jews a general opinion that this disaster was the effect of a Divine vengeance upon Herod and his army, for the blood of John, surnamed the Baptist, who was basely murdered by order of this tetrarch. He was a man of an immaculate character, whose grand concern was to exhort the Jews to the practice of piety and virtue, point out the necessity of repentance, and hold forth, by baptism, the import and meaning of regeneration and a new life; not as consisting in abstinence from a particular sin, but in an habitual purity both of mind and body. Such was the influence and authority of this great and good man, as appeared from the multitude of his disciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine, that Herod was apprehensive he might infligate them to a revolt. Actuated therefore by this sordid principle, he sent him away bound to Machæras, (the castle before mentioned,) where, by the malice and contrivance of Herodias, his brother's wife, (with whom he was greatly enamoured,) the Baptist was afterwards put to death; and that impious barbarity was followed by a Divine vengeance on the execrable cause of it, as the Jews, from the best foundation, were firmly persuaded.

Vitellius was now preparing for the Arabian war, and upon his march towards Petra, with two legions, and all the auxiliaries, horse and foot, of the Roman allies. When he was advanced as far as Ptolemais, thinking to take his passage across Judæa, the leading men of the country met him on his way, intreating him to steer some other course, as the images which the Romans usually bear on their ensigns are repugnant to the religion and laws of the Jews. The general complied with the request, and sent his army about, through the compass of an extensive plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends, went up to Jerusalem, to the celebration of a public festival which then approached. He was received with the utmost respect and honour, and took his abode there three days, during which time he transferred the office of high-priest from Jonathan to his brother Theophilus. Upon the fourth day he received intelligence of the death of Tiberius; and, in consequence thereof, made the people swear allegiance to Caius Caligula, the successor; called back his troops, and ordered them into winter quarters, putting a stop to the war upon the change of government.

There prevailed a report that, upon the intelligence of the expedition of Vitellius, Aretas consulted the diviners and soothsayers respecting the event of the undertaking, and that they foretold, "That the army then upon the march should never reach Petra; as either one of the princes would die, or the general appointed to the command, or the person against whom the war was made;" so that Vitellius returned to Antioch. As I am now relating these vicissitudes of human events, I deem it not foreign to the purpose to make some remarks on the fate of Herod and his family, which certainly displays remarkable instances of the wisdom and power of Divine Providence. It tends to shew,

that dignity of birth, the most splendid fortune, or numerous progeny, are objects of no consideration with piety and virtue. We find this maxim confirmed in the case of Herod, who, within the course of an hundred years, had not any remains left of so numerous a family. This should serve as a check to the vain pretensions of arrogant mortals, and lead them to admire the wonders of Providence; and, amongst the rest, the advancement of Agrippa from a private fortune, to so eminent a degree of dignity and power. We have given an account of the progeny of Herod in the abstract, but shall now give it in detail.

Herod the Great had, by Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, two daughters, Salampso, who married Phasaël, the son of Phasaël, the king's eldest brother, with the father's consent, and Cypros, who married Antipater, the nephew of Herod, by his sister Salome.

Progeny of Herod the Great.

Phasaël had, by Salampso, five children, Antipater, Herod, Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros, who married Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus; but Alexandra was married to one Timius, a nobleman of the isle of Cyprus, who died without issue. Agrippa had, by Cypros, two sons and three daughters. The latter were Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; the former Agrippa, and Drusus, who died in his minority. Agrippa, the father, was brought up under his grand-father Herod the Great, together with his brothers Herod and Aristobulus, as was also Bernice, the daughter of Salome and Costobarus.

The children of Aristobulus were at that time infants, when their father, and his brother Alexander, were put to death by Herod. When they arrived to years of maturity, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was king Herod's daughter) and of Joseph, Herod's brother, by whom he had Aristobulus. Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Samfingeram, king of the Emesenes, by whom he had a daughter called after her mother, and that was born deaf. These were the children of the three brothers; but Herodias, their sister, married Herod, the son of Herod the Great, whom he had by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the high-priest, and from thence came Salome; after whose birth Herodias made no scruple, in defiance of the law of our country, of taking Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, for her second husband, though her husband's brother, by the father's side, having also abandoned a former husband who was yet living. Salome, the daughter, married Philip, the son of Herod, the tetrarch of Trachonites, who died without issue: after which he married Aristobulus, the son of Herod, and brother of Agrippa, by whom she had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. Thus much for the family of Phasaël and Salampso.

Cypros had, by Antipater, a daughter, called after the mother, who was married to Alexas Selcius, the son of Alexas, who, by her, had one daughter, Cypros. But Herod and Alexander, the brothers of Antipater, died without issue. Alexander, the son of king Herod, that was put to death by his father, had, by Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Alexander and Tigranes.

This Tigranes was that king of Armenia, who had an accusation brought against him by the Romans, and died without children. Alexander had a son called Tigranes also, after the name of his uncle, whom Nero advanced to be king of Armenia; and had a son named Alexander; who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, king of Comagena, and was made king of Lesis, in Cilicia, by Vespasian. The race of Alexander's sons declined from the Jewish laws and discipline to the religion of the Greeks; and the other daughters of Herod the Great left no children behind them. Having thus gone through the posterity of this prince, as far as the reign of Agrippa, we shall now advert to the history of Agrippa himself, and shew the amazing



zing succession of events that at length advanced him to so great a degree of dignity and power.

CHAP. VIII.

Exaltation and profusion of Agrippa. He conciliates the favour of the great. Incurs the hatred of his brother Aristobulus. Is graciously received by Cæsar at Caprææ. Charged with a fraud by Herennius. Dismissed the court. Success of his artifices. Dilatory temper of Tiberius. Agrippa committed to prison upon an accusation of Eutychus. Prediction of a German upon an owl's perching over Agrippa's head. Tiberius inexorable towards him. Popularity of Caius. Tiberius, upon consulting the oracle, as to the succession, is directed to Caius. Transfers the government to him. Death of Tiberius, and succession of Caius. Character of the late emperor. Agrippa discharged from confinement, and treated with singular honour. Marcellus appointed to the government of Judæa.

Extravagance of Agrippa.

AGRIPPA, being at Rome, a short time before the death of Herod the Great, and frequently admitted to the emperor's palace, had insinuated himself into the graces of his son Drusus, as also of Antonia, the wife of Drusus the elder, by means of his mother Bernice, for whom Antonia had great esteem. Agrippa was naturally of an open generous temper, but kept within the bounds of moderation, in his expences, during the life of his mother; but, upon her demise, gave into every excess of extravagance, and especially amongst the creatures of the court, insomuch that he had incurred such loads of debts, that he was under a necessity of abandoning Rome. Tiberius, at the same time, also losing his son, could not bear the sight of any of the companions of Drusus, as they would remind him of his loss.

Consequences attending it.

Having squandered his property, and injured his character, through his profusion, and being pressed by creditors without the means of making satisfaction, Agrippa returned to Judæa, and, partly thro' shame for his indiscretion, retired to Malatha, a castle in Idumæa, resolving there to put an end to a miserable life. Cypros, apprehending the most fatal effects from the daily increase of his melancholy, wrote to her sister Herodias an account of his very necessitous condition, adjuring her, by all the ties of honour and affinity, to afford him some assistance. This application so far wrought upon Herodias, that she prevailed with her husband to send for Agrippa, allow him a pension, and the government of Tiberias, for his present maintenance. But Herod did not long continue his protection; nor did Agrippa discover much satisfaction with his situation; insomuch, that, at a convivial board, Herod reflected upon his poverty, and reproached him with having, by his profusion, rendered himself a dependant on his bounty.

Is kindly received by Flaccus.

Agrippa, disgusted at so palpable a taunt, betook himself to Flaccus, a particular friend at Rome, and at that time governor of Syria. Flaccus gave him a kind reception, having, as a guest, Aristobulus, who, though his brother, was inimical to Agrippa: but this circumstance did not prevent Flaccus from dividing his good offices indiscriminately betwixt them. Aristobulus, however, indulged his spleen; and an incident occurred, that furnished him with the means of working Flaccus into an unfavourable opinion of Agrippa. There was a dispute betwixt the people of Damascus and those of Sidon concerning the limits of their territory. The cause was to be tried before Flaccus; and the people of Damascus being informed of the weight of influence Agrippa had with the governor, determined, by a valuable consideration, to engage him in their interest. The bargain was struck, and promises exchanged; so that Agrippa strenuously contended for the claim of Damascus in opposition to that of Sidon. Aristobulus, finding that his brother was actuated by a pecuniary motive, complained of him

to the governor, who, upon examination, and proof of the charge, rejected Agrippa; so that being again abandoned to the wide world, he went to Ptolemais, with a resolution of going back again into Italy. In this extremity he employed Marfyas, one of his freedmen, to procure a sum of money upon any terms, to supply his present exigencies. Marfyas accordingly applied to Protus, a freeman of Bernice, the mother of Agrippa, and his late patroness, that, in her last will and testament had recommended him to the service of Antonia, for the loan of a sum of money to him upon his bond. Protus accused Agrippa with non-payment of what was already due; and by that means compelled Marfyas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand attic drachmæ, to accept of two thousand five hundred less than what he desired.

Afterwards rejected at the instance of his brother Aristobulus.

Upon the receipt of this supply, Agrippa went to Anthedon, took shipping, and prepared himself to put to sea. But intelligence of this being given to Herennius Capito, procurator of Jamnia, he sent a band of soldiers to demand of him payment of a debt of three hundred thousand drachmæ of silver, which he borrowed from Cæsar's treasury when he was at Rome. This accident, for a few hours, suspended his purpose. He made fair promises; but, when night came on, cut his cables, stood off to sea, and steered his course for Alexandria. Upon his arrival, he desired Alexander, the principal officer of the revenue, to lend him two hundred thousand drachmæ upon his own security. The officer rejected his request; but complimented his wife upon her known integrity, and offered the loan of the money upon her bond. In fine, upon the security of Cypros, Alexander supplied Agrippa with five talents at Alexandria, and letters of credit for the rest at Puteoli; for he was not willing to venture the whole sum in his hands together, from a knowledge of his profusion and extravagance. Cypros, finding, by this time, that her husband was resolutely bent upon his journey, went back with her children to Judæa by land.

He sails for Alexandria.

Agrippa goes for Rome.

Agrippa, upon his coming to Puteoli, informed Tiberius Cæsar (who then resided at Caprææ) by letter, that he was come so far to pay him his duty, and requested permission to wait upon him. Tiberius, without delay, returned him the kindest answer, with assurance of his gracious reception at Caprææ; and accordingly, upon his arrival, saluted him with the greatest tenderness, introduced him into his palace, and entertained him in the most sumptuous and magnificent manner. But the day following Cæsar received letters of complaint against Agrippa from Herennius Capito, setting forth that "being three hundred thousand drachmæ in the emperor's debt, and the money long since due, he had only demanded satisfaction in the bond; but that Agrippa, having stolen away to evade justice, the emperor was in danger of losing his money." Tiberius viewed this in so heinous a light, that he ordered the officers of his court not to admit Agrippa till he had paid his debt. Agrippa took no notice of the emperor's displeasure, but went to Antonia, the mother both of Germanicus and of Claudius, (who came afterwards to the empire), and setting forth the danger he was in of losing the favour of Cæsar, for the want of three hundred thousand drachmæ, obtained the loan of that sum from her, as a testimony of her respect for the memory of Bernice, and the friendship that had ever subsisted between them. With this money he discharged the debt; and not only re-instated himself in the emperor's favour, but gained so far upon him, that he committed his grandson Tiberius, the son of Drusus, to his care and government. Agrippa was so sensible of the obligations he had to Antonia, that he paid his court to her grandson Caius, who was held in general esteem, both for his own sake, and the reverence he had for the memory of Germanicus, his father. Agrippa found means of borrowing a million of drachmæ from one Thallus, a freeman of Cæsar; part of which he appropriated to the payment of Antonia, and the overplus to the defraying of the expences in his attendance upon Caius, who had now taken him into his greatest confidence.

Is kindly received by Tiberius.

Forbidden admission to court.

Received again into favour by the emperor.

Pays his court to Caius.

The

The friendship between Agrippa and Caius coming to so great a height, the former took occasion, on the mention of Tiberius, as they were sitting together in a chariot, to suggest a wish, that "Tiberius was taken off the stage, and Caius succeeded to the empire." These words were overheard by Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freeman, and drove his chariot, but for the present did not disclose them. It happened soon after, that Eutychus, upon an accusation of robbing his master of some wearing apparel, deserted his service; and being apprehended, and brought before Piso, governor of the place, was asked the cause of it, when he replied, he had something to say to Cæsar, that tended to his security and preservation. Eutychus, upon this, was sent bound to Capreæ, and kept in chains by Tiberius, who, even on the most urgent occasion, was addicted to sloth and delay. He would not admit ambassadors without hesitation; nor supply vacancies in governments of provinces, till he received certain information of the deaths of former deputies or governors. He was very negligent also in hearing the causes of prisoners; and being asked, by his friends, the reason of his delay in such cases, he thus replied: "If I should give ambassadors too easy admittance, they, of course, would be soon dismissed, and others sent in their places; so that my whole time would be employed in admitting and discharging ambassadors. With respect to officers, when places are once filled, it is easier for the subject to keep than to change them; for magistrates are naturally covetous, and more so when they suppose their offices will not be of long duration."

That this is the true character of Tiberius needs no other proof than that, during the course of a reign of twenty years, he sent only two governors into Judæa, which were Gratus, and his successor, Pilate, and that he pursued the same plan in all other parts of his empire. The reason he gave also for the delay of bringing prisoners to their trial, was to keep them the longer in pain; and to punish them for their past crimes, by a lingering torment worse than death itself.

This was the true cause of Eutychus being kept so long in chains before Cæsar would vouchsafe to hear him: but Tiberius, after some time, coming from Capreæ to Tusculanum, about an hundred furlongs from Rome, Agrippa desired Antonia to move for Eutychus that he might have a hearing, that it might be known what he had to object against his patron. Tiberius had great respect for Antonia; partly through consanguinity, as being his sister-in-law, and the widow of Drusus, and partly through the reputation of her virtue, in the refusal of a second marriage, though she was importuned by Augustus himself. Besides these motives, Tiberius had personal obligations to Antonia; for had it not been for her sagacity, faith, and industry, that desperate plot of his minion, Sejanus, had certainly cost him his life. As he was a man of power and credit, the captain of his guards had engaged several men of senatorial dignity, divers of Cæsar's freemen, court favourites, and military officers, in the conspiracy. Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not the vigilance and resolution of Antonia defeated his schemes: for when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, gave the letter to Pallas, the most trusty of his servants, and sent to the emperor at Capreæ. By virtue of this discovery, both the confederacy itself, and the agents concerned in it, were brought to light, and justice done upon Sejanus and his accomplices. This added to Cæsar's former obligations to her, who, with propriety, could deny her no request; so that, upon the importunity of Agrippa, she pressed Tiberius to give Eutychus an hearing. The emperor consented, observing, that, if Eutychus had traduced Agrippa, he must abide by the consequence; and, on the other hand, if the accusation, upon enquiry, appeared to be true, the punishment would certainly fall upon the criminal. Antonia gave Agrippa this caution; and the more she inclined to moderation, he was the more eager to bring it to a scrutiny; in so much, that Antonia, when she found he would not

take a denial, took an opportunity of accosting Tiberius, and presenting her request, that Eutychus might be called and heard. He most solemnly appealed to the gods, that what he was about to do he did reluctantly, and only in compliance with her request.

Upon this he commanded Macro, successor to Sejanus in his commission for the guards, to cause Eutychus to be brought before him; and as soon as he came into his presence, asked him what he had to allege against his patron Agrippa, who gave him his freedom? He answered, with all humility, that, "as he was one day driving Caius and Agrippa in his chariot, he overheard some discourse that passed between them; and particularly remarked a suggestion, that came from Agrippa, intimating a wish "that Tiberius might be taken off the stage, and Caius succeed to the empire," as it might redound to his interest and advantage. Tiberius was disposed to believe this information, and was much incensed at Agrippa, because that, after his having committed the care of his grandson to him, he had dedicated himself wholly to the service of Caius. The emperor, upon this, turning to Macro, exclaimed, "Put him in chains." Macro, not understanding to whom Tiberius referred, asked him what man? The emperor sternly replied, "Agrippa." The latter immediately betook himself to prayers and supplications, adjuring Tiberius, by the tenderness he had for the memory of his son, with whom he had the honour to be so well acquainted, and for the sake of the services he had been so happy as to render to his grandson, to vouchsafe him his pardon. But all his intreaties were in vain; for the guards dragged him to prison in his purple robes as they found him. The weather being extremely hot, and Agrippa ready to perish with thirst, he observed one of Caius's slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, and desired that he would let him drink. The servant immediately complied with his request; and having drunk heartily, he promised, for the service he had rendered him, if he surmounted the present difficulty, to prevail with Caius to grant him his freedom. Nor did he deceive him in his promise; for when he afterwards came to the crown, he procured Thaumastus's liberty, made him steward over his own estate, and, at his death, recommended him to his son Agrippa, and to Bernice his daughter, to continue him in that charge, wherein he acquitted himself with great honour during the remainder of his life.

As Agrippa was standing in chains before the palace, with others of his fellow prisoners, and leaning in a melancholy posture against a tree, there came an owl and perched upon it. A German, that was there in bonds, observing it, enquired of one of the soldiers, who that man in purple was? Being informed that he was a Jew of the first rank in point of extraction, he desired the soldier to suffer him to approach in order to speak to him, as he wished to enquire concerning some things relating to his country. This being granted, the German, by an interpreter, thus addressed him: "I perceive, young man, this sudden and surprizing change of fortune casts you down; nor will you easily be persuaded how near your deliverance approaches under the favour and protection of a Divine Providence that watches over you. I call the gods to witness, both yours and ours, by whose permission it is that we are here in bonds, that I speak not this to amuse and flatter you with vain hopes; for I well know that prognostics of this kind, if the event does not accord with the prediction, aggravate instead of alleviate the ills of life. But I deem it my incumbent duty, at all hazards, to assure you, that you will experience such a change of times and things, as shall advance you, from this state of misery and dejection, to the highest pinnacle of honour and power, and render you the envy of those who either despised or pitied you before. The remainder of your days shall be happy; and you shall leave children behind you to succeed to your good fortunes. But remember this, whenever you see this bird again, the fifth day after it will be your last. This is the

Cæsar yields to the solicitations of Antonia.

Agrippa is cast into bonds.

A German's prediction concerning Agrippa.

“ sum of what you are given to understand by this
 “ good omen. My revelation is certain; and I de-
 “ liver you the truth, to support you in your pre-
 “ sent trouble, with the hope of better things to
 “ come. I am now to beseech you further, that,
 “ when you find these things come to pass, you
 “ will not forget your fellow sufferers, but consult
 “ the deliverance of those you leave behind you.”

Antonia ad-
 ministers to
 him comfort
 under con-
 finement.

The prophecy of this German appeared as ludi-
 crous and improbable to Agrippa, in the relation;
 as it was afterwards wonderful and surprizing in the
 accomplishment. Antonia, in the mean time, was
 deeply affected by the hard usage of her friend; but
 taking it for granted, that Tiberius was not to be
 wrought upon, and that all applications and inter-
 cessions would therefore be in vain, all that she
 could do was to prevail with Macro to render his
 situation more tolerable, by setting affable, tractable
 men as guards over him; allowing him to sit at table
 with the officers who had him in custody; and giv-
 ing access to his friends that were disposed to visit
 him. All this was accordingly granted, inasmuch
 that Silas, his friend, and Mariyas and Stychus,
 two of his freemen, brought him the most accept-
 able diet; and afforded him many other indulgen-
 cies under the connivance of the soldiers, from the
 hints they had received from Macro.

Tiberius
 falls despe-
 rately sick.

When Agrippa had remained in confinement six
 months, Tiberius, upon his return to Capreae, was
 taken with a faint indisposition, which increased
 upon him to such a degree, that he had no hopes of
 recovery. Perceiving his case desperate, he sent
 Evodus, a freeman, in whom he confided, to bring
 his children to him early the next morning, to take
 a last interview with their dying father. I would
 here be understood as speaking of adopted children;
 for he had none of his own; Drusus, his only son,
 being deceased: but Tiberius, surnamed Gemellus,
 the son of Drusus, was living; as was Caius, the
 son of his brother Germanicus, who had now at-
 tained to man's estate, and possessed most excellent
 accomplishments. He was the darling of the peo-
 ple, from the reverence they had for the memory
 of his father's virtues, who was a prince of the
 greatest moderation, affability, and condescension.
 His illustrious example not only gained the favour
 of the senate and people of Rome, but of the pro-
 vinces in general that were subject to the empire,
 which he conciliated by every good office, and to-
 ken of justice and humanity. His death, in fine,
 was not so much celebrated with external pomp and
 shew, as with tears flowing from real affection and
 compunction of heart; for the whole body of the
 people lamented the death of this prince as if each
 individual subject had lost a father. The repu-
 tation of Germanicus tended greatly to the interest
 of his son Caius, but particularly recommended him
 to the soldiers, who were ready to lay down their
 lives for his service.

Caius uni-
 versally be-
 loved.

As was his
 father Ger-
 manicus.

Tiberius
 proposes an
 omen con-
 cerning his
 successor.

Tiberius, having given orders to Evodus to bring
 his sons to him the next morning, he prayed to the
 gods of his country to direct him, by some manifest
 signal, as to the appointment to the succession. He
 gave himself the preference to Tiberius; but durst
 not venture to pre-judge or determine in a point of
 such importance, without consulting the oracle. He
 then proposed to govern himself by this token, that
 he of the two that came first to him in the morning
 should be his successor. Having thus resolved, he
 gave it in charge to the tutor of Tiberius, his grand-
 son, to bring his pupil to him by break of day,
 taking it for granted that the signal requested would
 be in his favour. But it fell out otherwise; for,
 upon his sending Evodus, by peep of day, to bring
 in him whom he should first see, he found only
 Caius, and accordingly informed him that the em-
 peror required his presence. Tiberius, it seems,
 not suspecting the importance of the business upon
 which he was to attend, had rather loitered than
 hastened upon the occasion.

The omen
 for the em-
 pire in fa-
 vour of
 Caius.

The emperor was not a little startled at the sight
 of Caius, considering in what manner Providence
 had defeated him in his design of disposing of the

government, by settling it contrary to his inclina-
 tion. But he was more affected through this disap-
 pointment, by apprehension for the personal safety
 of his grandson, than loss of the empire. For when
 dominion is in question, power must carry it: am-
 bition knows no kindred; and amongst rivals for
 sway, the one can never think himself safe but in
 the ruin of the other.

Tiberius had been very much given to astrology,
 and the calculation of nativities, and had governed
 his actions, in a great measure, by the direction of
 wizards and fortune-tellers. Accordingly, hap-
 pening once to cast his eye upon Galba, he turned
 to some particular friends about him, and exclam-
 ed, “ That man will be emperor of Rome.” Upon
 the whole, none of the emperors were so much ad-
 dicted to divination as Tiberius. But nothing
 touched him so sensibly as this foreboding encoun-
 ter of the two competitors, which wrought upon
 him in such a manner, that he gave up his grandson
 for lost, abandoned himself to a kind of despair,
 and involved himself in perplexed researches into
 the designs of Providence, that are wisely concealed
 from mortals, when he might have lived happily in
 a patient resignation to the will of heaven. Though
 he was much disordered by this unexpected resolu-
 tion of the government for those to whom he did
 not intend it, yet deeming it a point of expediency
 to speak upon the occasion, he delivered himself to
 the following effect:

“ I need not tell you, Caius, that Tiberius is
 “ nearest to me in blood; yet, upon consulting the
 “ will of the immortal gods, and my own reason, I
 “ do hereby transfer the government of the Roman
 “ empire to your hands. I do likewise adjure you,
 “ that, in the exercise of this power, you never for-
 “ get the obligation you have to him from whom
 “ you received it; and that you shew your gratitude
 “ to your patron, by every demonstration of love
 “ and friendship to your brother Tiberius. I ask
 “ nothing more in return for the dignity I have now
 “ conferred upon you (for next to the gods you
 “ owe it all to me) than that you be not wanting
 “ in any thing to him, whom nature itself hath
 “ made almost inseparable from me. I am farther
 “ to remind you, that it is as much your in-
 “ terest as your duty to follow my injunction: for
 “ the security and splendor of your own fortune de-
 “ pends, in a great measure, upon the life and wel-
 “ fare of your brother; and the day of his death
 “ will be the eve of your misery. Sovereignty is a
 “ giddy, slippery height, and a dangerous ascent for
 “ a man to stand upon alone; because sins against
 “ the ties of consanguinity and nature, never fail
 “ of being followed by Divine vengeance.” These
 were the last words of Tiberius to Caius, who
 promised punctual obedience in every point; though
 it was evident, from the result, he never intended
 it; for he no sooner possessed the command, than
 he put his brother to death; and he himself, ac-
 cording to the presage of Tiberius, was assassinated
 some years after.

Caius takes
 off Tiberius
 the great
 son.

Tiberius, having declared Caius his successor,
 within a few days after departed this life, having
 reigned twenty-two years, five months, and thirteen
 days. Caius was now the fourth in the roll of the
 emperors. The rumour of the death of Tiberius
 was grateful to the Romans, though they durst not
 venture too much upon the truth of it, being fear-
 ful lest, through their credulity, they might dis-
 cover a satisfaction that would subject them to the
 information of spies, and be attended with certain
 death. Tiberius was, in disposition, fierce and in-
 exorable to the highest degree; his passion was easily
 inflamed, and his resentment was implacable. He
 conceived aversion without cause, and executed ven-
 geance without demerit; pronouncing the rigorous
 sentence of death for the slightest offences. It there-
 fore concerned the people to be cautious, as to the
 discovery of their joy for the tidings, considering
 the mortal danger of being found in a mistake.

Death of
 Tiberius.

The great
 rumour.

Cherish
 of Tiberius.

Mariyas, Agrippa's freeman, no sooner heard of
 the death of Tiberius, than he posted with the glad
 tidings to his patron, whom he found going into a
 bath,

Mariyas
 takes
 the glad
 tidings
 to his
 patron.

bath, and whispered in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead." Agrippa understood the meaning, and burst forth into a kind of extacy, "How shall I requite thee for this, and many other good offices that thou hast rendered me, if it be as thou sayest? The officer, who had Agrippa in custody, observing the haste with which Mariyas delivered the message, and the rapture with which Agrippa received it, and concluding that the words implied some great innovation, desired Agrippa to give him an explanation. He, at first, declined it; but, upon being pressed, told him, in confidence, the whole story. The officer congratulated him on the good news, and treated him with a sumptuous regale; but, as they were in the midst of their conviviality, a messenger arrived with intelligence, that Tiberius was past danger, and would speedily come to town. These words threw the officer into the greatest consternation, from a consciousness that he had forfeited his head, by regaling with a state prisoner upon the news of Cæsar's death. He therefore pushed Agrippa, in a rage, from his seat, and exclaimed, "Dost thou think to impose upon me with a lie, concerning the death of the emperor, without punishment? Be assured, that thine head shall be the price of this malicious report." He then ordered him into chains again, and a stronger guard to be kept over him than before.

A rumour that Tiberius was alive.

Agrippa more closely confined.

When Agrippa had passed the night in this aggravated state of misery, the rumour of the death of Tiberius revived the next day, inasmuch that it was publicly spoken of, and sacrifices were offered up as tokens of general joy. Letters arrived from Caius, one to the senate, to inform them, that Tiberius had declared him his successor, and the other to Piso, governor of the city, to the same purpose; giving orders also, that Agrippa should be discharged the prison, and allowed the liberty of the house in which he had been before his commitment; so that he was now out of all danger and apprehension, and, though in custody, in all other respects in a state of freedom.

Upon the return of Caius to Rome with the body of Tiberius, the funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost pomp and solemnity. The emperor would have discharged Agrippa the same day, but Antonia objected to it; not from any motive of ill-will, but because it would be deemed an instance of disrespect to the memory of Tiberius, to set free his prisoner so hastily. However, in the course of a few days, Caius took him home, caused him to be arrayed in royal habiliments, put a diadem upon his head, and made him successor to Philip's tetrarchy. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias; and changed his iron chain for a golden one of the same weight. Marcellus at the same time was sent governor into Judæa.

Caius sets Agrippa at liberty, and restores him many honours.

In the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar, Agrippa requested permission to go home, in order to settle the affairs of his government, with a promise of returning at a stated time. The people, on his arrival, were astonished to see him with a crown upon his head; though it demonstrated to them the vicissitude of human events, in the sudden change from the extreme of one condition to that of another. Some looked upon him as the happiest of men; whilst others were so amazed at the circumstances of the revolution, that they could scarcely believe even what they saw.

CHAP IX.

The envy of Herodias. She presses her husband to apply to Caius in his own behalf. Herod, with much reluctance, consents. Fortunatus is sent by Agrippa as a spy. Articles of accusation exhibited against Herod. Conspiracy of Sejanus and Artabanus against Caius. Herod confesses, and is condemned to perpetual exile. Caius rules well at first, but afterwards presumptuously arrogates to himself Divine honours.

HERODIAS, the sister of Agrippa, and wife of Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, the country beyond Jordan, became fraught with envy

at the present condition of her brother, who, from a state of penury and dejection, was now advanced to splendor, dignity, and power, above her husband. Her haughty spirit was particularly raised in seeing him appear in all the pomp and magnificence of royalty, and exhibit himself as a public spectacle to the multitude. In the violence of her passion, she urged her husband to go immediately to Rome, and intreat Cæsar to confer on him the same honours. In order to incite him to compliance, she represented, "that it would be death to her to see her husband, who was the son of a king, and stood fair in the affections of the people, as well as in his pretensions to the succession, stand tamely by, and behold the son of Aristobulus, a bankrupt and criminal, that had suffered under the hands of justice, advanced to a throne." She also observed, "that if Herod had hitherto patience to live beneath the dignity of his father's son, it was now time to exert himself in vindication of the honour of his family, without suffering himself to own the superiority of a wretch who had been a dependant on his bounty." She therefore insisted on their going immediately to Rome at any expence, as money could not possibly be applied to a better use than that of obtaining a kingdom.

Herodias envies the honours paid to her brother Agrippa.

Presses her husband to solicit from Cæsar the same honours.

Herod, from a natural love of ease, and an unfavourable opinion of the court of Rome, used every means to divert his wife from her design; but the more he receded, the more she pressed him, having formed an uncontrollable resolution to pursue her point at all events. In fine, she was so urgent, that he seemed under a necessity, in his own defence, of complying with her importunities; so that they set off for Rome together, with an equipage suitable to the dignity and importance of the occasion.

Herod opposes her in vain.

Herod and Herodias go for Rome.

Agrippa, having intelligence of every thing that passed, resolved on the means of counteracting their designs. He kept his freeman, Fortunatus, in readiness with letters and presents for the emperor; and as soon as Herod should sail for Rome, he was to put to sea after him, with particular instructions as to his mode of proceeding on his arrival. Fortunatus had a quick voyage, and arrived at Puteoli at the same time with Herod: but Caius happened at that time to be at the Baie, a small town in Compagne, about five furlongs from Puteoli, a place famous for grand apartments in the royal palace; the emperors, that frequented the hot baths there, striving to outdo each other in the magnificence and convenience of their buildings.

Agrippa countermines them.

Herod, on coming to this place, paid his dutiful obedience to the emperor; and Fortunatus immediately after presented him his letters. The emperor, on perusal, found them to contain a direct charge against Herod: first, for being a party in the confederacy of Sejanus against Tiberius; and now for joining with Artabanus, king of Parthia, against the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he alledged, that he had then a magazine of arms sufficient for seventy thousand men. Caius, moved at this information, demanded of Herod, whether he had such a store of arms or not? The fact was so clear that he could not deny it: so that the emperor, deeming this sufficient ground of evidence for treason, took away his government, and gave it to Agrippa, with his money also, as a reward for his discovery. He sentenced Herod to exile during life; and fixed Lyons, a city of Gaul, for the place of his residence. As for Herodias, whom he knew to be the sister of Agrippa, he gave her the full command of whatever belonged to her; and, without making her a sharer of her husband's calamity, promised to treat her with lenity for the sake of her brother. But Herodias spurned his offered favours; declared she was not in a condition to enjoy the benefit of his bounty; nor could she, after having shared in her husband's better fortunes, now abandon him in adversity. This greatness of mind, laudable as it was, gave such offence to Caius, that, through an idea of its being an indignity offered him, he banished and confined Herodias together with her husband. This seems to have been a judgment

Caius gives credit to Agrippa's letters.

Herod condemned to perpetual exile.

The same sentence passed on Herodias.

ment inflicted on her for the malignity of her envy to the success of her brother, as also a punishment on Herod for being over-ruled by an ambitious and impetuous woman.

Caius rules well at first.

Arrogantly assumes divine honours.

The reign of Caius, during the two first years of his government, was prudent and moderate, and his conduct gained exceedingly on the people both at Rome itself, and in the provinces. But such was the pride and vanity of his heart, in the contemplation of his greatness and dignity, that, after a time, he assumed to himself to be more than mortal, blasphemed the higher powers, and had the audacity to usurp to himself divine honours.

CHAP. X.

A tumult at Alexandria between the Jews and the Greeks. They send an embassy to Caius. Apion maintains the cause of the Greeks: Philo that of the Jews.

Ambassadors sent to Caius from the Greeks and Jews.

Philo treated with ignominy by Caius.

A TUMULT having arisen at Alexandria, betwixt the Jews and the Greeks, three ambassadors were chosen from each party at variance, and sent to Caius to decide the matter. Apion was the chief on the part of the Greeks; as was Philo on the part of the Jews. The principal allegation of Apion against the Jews was, "that whereas temples and altars were erected by all the subjects of the Roman empire elsewhere in honour of Caius; and the same adoration paid to the emperor as to the rest of the gods: the Jews alone refused either to dedicate images to Cæsar, or to swear by his name." Apion began with this invective, and used his utmost efforts to inflame Caius against the Jews. But Philo, the brother of Alexander, chief officer of the revenue, and a man of eminent literary abilities, standing up in defence of the Jews against the allegations of Apion, Caius, in a violent rage, commanded him to depart. Philo, on this cholerick repulse, turned to the Jews, who were about him, and bade them be of good courage, adding laconically, "Now Caius is against us, God will be for us."

CHAP. XI.

Caius, in resentment of a supposed indignity offered him by the Jews, orders Petronius to set up his standard in their temple. The Jews expostulate with Petronius, and collect themselves into a body. They are supported by Aristobulus, and other men of rank, who desire Petronius to lay the case before Cæsar. Petronius deliberates upon it, and summons the Jews to Tiberias. Writes to Cæsar, representing their case. Agrippa gives a splendid entertainment to Cæsar, who promises a requital. Agrippa requests him to revoke the order he had given to Petronius. Caius grants his request. A commotion among the Jews. Caius sends a menacing letter to Petronius. His death.

Caius sends Petronius to set up his statue in the temple of the Jews.

CAIUS was so highly offended at the imagined insult of the Jews in standing in defiance of his orders, that he sent Petronius to take upon him the government of Syria instead of Vitellius, directing him to enter Judæa with a powerful army, and set up his statue in the temple. He was farther instructed, if they refused compliance with his commands, to enforce compulsion by dint of arms. Petronius accordingly took upon himself the government, and hastened, with all possible expedition, to execute the commands of Cæsar. To this end he collected a body of auxiliaries, which, with two Roman legions, he put into winter quarters in Ptolemais, to be ready to march early in the ensuing spring. He wrote an account of his proceedings, from time to time, to Caius, who commended his zeal and attention, and encouraged him for his conduct; being resolved, as he declared, to punish the contumacy of those stubborn people.

There came at this time multitudes of Jews to Petronius at Ptolemais, to present him their petitions not to compel them to transgress and violate the laws of their forefathers; assuring him, that if he was determined to erect a statue in their temple, he must first take away their lives; for that, as long as they had breath, they would not suffer such things to be done as were directly prohibited by their great and much revered legislator. Petronius sternly replied, "that if he were at his own liberty, their petitions might have an effect; but that being under Cæsar's command, he must at his peril obey Cæsar's orders." The Jews, in answer, said, "that if he could not depart from his master's orders, neither could they from theirs; and that, through Divine assistance, they were resolved to tread in the steps of their forefathers as they had hitherto done: that they preferred the consideration of eternity to that of time; and the preservation of their religion and laws, to that of their lives and fortunes; that their trust was in the providence and protection of the Almighty; and that, in fine, they submitted it to his determination, whether they should obey the voice of heaven, or the voice of Caius."

Petronius gathering from his discourse, that they were inflexible in their resolution, and that, without a profusion of blood, he could not be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, took some friends and attendants with him, and hastened to Tiberias, to be within distance of being more particularly informed of the manners, customs, and affairs of the people with whom he had to deal. The Jews were alarmed at the approach of the Romans; not so much from the apprehension of a war, as an invasion upon their religion and laws; so that many thousands went in a body to Petronius, most passionately requesting him, not to drive the multitude to acts of desperation, by offering to profane the temple with forbidden images. Petronius then exclaimed, "Will you wage war with Cæsar, without considering his mighty preparations, and your own weakness?" They replied, "We will not, by any means, wage war with him; but are still determined to die, rather than live to see the violation of our laws. Upon this they cast themselves upon the ground, laid bare their necks, intimating thereby that they were resigned to death. In this manner they passed forty days, without attending to the business of husbandry, though the season of the year required it. Indeed, the common offices of life were wholly neglected; as they were unanimously resolved rather to die than be spectators of the dedication of the statue.

While matters were in this state, Aristobulus, the brother of king Agrippa, and Elcias, surnamed the Great, with several of the first rank amongst the Jews, applied themselves to Petronius, desiring him, "as he saw the resolution of the multitude, not to proceed to such measures as would drive them to despair; but rather to inform Caius of the difficulty of the undertaking, and the inflexible resolution of the party, who had neglected all the offices of life, not from the least principle of disloyalty, but a determination rather to die, than suffer the violation of their religion and laws." They suggested also, "that a consideration that this neglect of their husbandry must of necessity expose the country to rapine, and disable the inhabitants from paying their taxes, might induce Cæsar to relent, and consequently remove all colour for a rebellion; or that, if nothing could divert him from carrying on a war, he must use his pleasure." This was the purport of their address, as delivered by Aristobulus.

Petronius was no stranger to the revengeful temper of Caius, especially upon any delay in the execution of his commands; but such were the horrors of his conscience, when he thought of sacrificing so many lives to his frantic fury, that, from this consideration, together with the rank and credit of the intercessors, the importance of the affair, and the danger of driving an obstinate people into desperation, he came to a resolution, at all hazards, of laying the state of the case plainly before Cæsar; reflecting, that, though he might incur his hatred and

The Jews petition Petronius that the statue may not be set up.

Answer of Petronius.

Reply of the Jews.

Petronius goes to Tiberias.

The Jews expostulate with him there.

The chief of the Jews petition Petronius to the same purpose.

He deliberates with himself upon the matter.

resentment thereby, it was a duty he owed to humanity, to save so many thousands from destruction, even at the expence of his own life.

*calls the
Jews to-
gether at Ti-
berais.*

Petronius, upon this deliberation, summoned a meeting of the Jews at Tiberais, where they attended in great numbers; and he thus addressed them upon the occasion: "It is not through my own will and desire that I have undertaken this expedition, but by the command of Cæsar. I need not tell you the danger of deferring the execution of my orders, (for sovereign powers will not be trifled with,) to say nothing of the duty incumbent in me to fulfill the pleasure of a prince to whom I owe my preferment. But after all this, as the case now stands, I do not so much regard my own personal safety, or my credit with my master, as I do the preservation of a people, in the justifiable defence of their religion and laws. I shall therefore send express to Caius, and acquaint him with your final resolution concerning the statue; nor shall any thing be wanting in me, that can induce him to comply with every thing you can reasonably desire. May the Divine Providence, that over-rules all human powers and purposes, preserve your religion sacred and inviolate; and avert from the emperor those judgments that may be due to his present design. With respect to myself, if it should be my lot to fall under his displeasure, I am prepared to submit to the loss of fortune, or of life, so that I may not see the destruction of so many good men for well-doing. Let every man, therefore, betake himself to his own home and occupation. Return to your lands and tillage, and leave me to manage the business with the emperor, and you may depend on my utmost exertion to give you all possible satisfaction." With these words he dismissed the assembly.

Petronius had no sooner finished this agreeable address to the Jews, than an extraordinary accident seemed to indicate the approbation of heaven: for there fell a shower, contrary to all human expectation as the day was clear, the sky serene, and there was not a cloud to be seen. This happened after so long a drought, that they almost despaired of having more rain; and if they rarely saw a flying cloud, it blew over without any effect. This wonderful and seasonable relief, beyond all expectation, was looked upon, by the Jews, as a blessing upon the prayers of Petronius in their behalf. Nor was Petronius less sensible of it himself; as it appeared so convincing an evidence from heaven in favour of the Jews, that it would not bear the least doubt or contradiction. He was very minute in his report to the emperor, and laid the necessary points before him, representing the consequences of pursuing such a multitude of resolute people to extremities, and rendering so many thousand men desperate, as nothing but absolute force would ever compel them to desist: beside, that, in the violent prosecution of them, he would but sink his own revenue, and inflict a punishment on himself, that would turn to his reproach; and subjoining likewise, that the Jews were a people acceptable to God, who had given them many wonderful tokens of his peculiar favour.

*Represents
their case
to Cæsar.*

*Agrippa in-
gratiates
himself
with Caius.*

King Agrippa happened to be at Rome at this time, and was insinuating himself daily more and more into the graces of the emperor, to conciliate whose esteem was his whole study and application. To that end he prepared an entertainment for Caius, which, for variety, curiosity, delicacy, order, and expence, exceeded every thing of the kind that went before, not excepting the most sumptuous regalia of Cæsar himself. Caius was so charmed with the magnificence of the treat, and the hearty welcome of the donor, that he determined to enter into a kind of competition, and vie with him in good offices. When his spirits were cheered with generous wine, he frankly disclosed his mind in terms to this import: "This is not the first proof, Agrippa, I have had of your friendship and affection. In the days of Tiberius, I had many evidences of it to your hazard, as you have now obliged me to your cost;

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and to so excessive a degree, that you have consulted my honour and pleasure more than your own convenience. It would be unworthy of my character to suffer myself to be overcome by benefits. I am therefore resolved to make compensation by the advancement of your station in life, as well as your fortune. Upon this frank and unlimited promise, Cæsar imagined that Agrippa would have mentioned commissions, provinces, and ample revenues. But Agrippa, having pre-determined the subject of his boon, suspended the declaration of it till he could introduce it with a better grace, and contented himself with this answer: "As I had no private views, Sire, in the little services I did you in the time of Tiberius, so I propose nothing more to myself at present, than the honour and happiness of your favour and protection. You have done more for me already than I could reasonably expect; and though I am persuaded you have greater things in your power, permit me to make this profession with grateful acknowledgments for what I have received, that I neither deserve nor seek for any thing farther."

*Caius
makes him
generous
proposals.*

Caius was so amazed at the modesty of Agrippa, that he urged him to prefer his request, assuring him that nothing should be denied him. Agrippa then thus addressed him: "Since, Sire, you are so generous as to lay this kind command upon me, I shall presume to offer you one request. It will be neither riches, nor honours; for, through your bounty, I enjoy a plenitude of these. The grant of my request will recommend you to the favour both of God and man; and it will redound to my immortal fame, if I can obtain this concession, after so many others to crown all the rest. My desire is that you will be pleased to revoke your order to Petronius for setting up your statue in the temple of the Jews." Agrippa was conscious that he preferred this request at the hazard of his life. Caius, however, through the complacent influence of the entertainment, and the shame of refusing a request he had himself extorted, together with the deference he paid to the modesty and humanity of the petitioner, immediately complied; and wrote to Petronius, approving his general conduct; and instructing him, if the statue was erected, to let it remain; if not, to trouble himself no farther about it, but disband his army, and return to Syria; assuring him, at the same time, that he remitted the punishment due to a most flagrant contempt of his orders, at the instance of Agrippa; for whom he entertained so great a respect, that he could deny him nothing.

*Promises to
grant what-
soever he
should ask.*

*Agrippa
asks the re-
voking of
the order
to Petro-
nius.*

*Caius
grants his
request.*

This was the substance of the emperor's letter to Petronius, which was written before he had the least intimation of an insurrection intended amongst the Jews: but, upon receiving intelligence that they were ready to revolt, he fell into such a burst of passion, to find his authority trampled on by that obstinate people, that he immediately changed his style, and wrote a second letter to Petronius to this effect: "Since you appear to prefer the Jews' money to my commands, (from your neglecting the one to obtain the other,) judge yourself what you are to expect from my indignation and justice. I am resolved to make an example of you, both to the present age and to posterity, that all the world may know that sovereign power is not to be defied." This letter was sent to Petronius by Cæsar: but he did not receive it while Caius was living; for the bearer of it having a lingering passage, he received letters in the mean time, with intelligence of the death of the emperor. It seems to have been a kind interposition of Providence in favour of Petronius for the zeal he had shewn, and the dangers he had undergone, for the sake of his own honour, and the religion of the Jews. But Caius being cut off in the career of his blasphemous vanity, in arrogating to himself Divine honours, Petronius had the thanks of the Romans, as well as of the Jews, for his eminent services to the public upon that occasion; and more especially the acknowledgment of the senate, whom Caius had treated, in many instances, with most scornful contempt. He died soon after

*A commo-
tion among
the Jews.*

Death of
Caius
Cæſar.

Striking in-
ſtance of
Divine Pro-
vidence.

after he had written the letter to Petronius, denouncing his death. But the ground of the conspiracy, and the manner of executing it, we ſhall treat of upon a future occaſion. The news of the emperor's death to Petronius, was followed by the letter that contained the menace of his own: and as he could not, under thoſe circumſtances, but rejoice at the former, ſo neither could he but admire the Divine Providence, that, in the ſame inſtant, rewarded the veneration he had paid to the holy temple, and his deliverance of the Jews out of their diſtreſs. Thus was the life of Petronius wonderfully preſerved.

CHAP. XII.

Origin of the calamity of the Jews in Babylon and Meſopotamia. Their ſacred treaſure depoſited in Nearda and Niſſibis, two ſtrong places upon the Euphrates. Aſinæus and Anilæus deſert the ſervice of their maſters, form a ſtrong party, and build an impregnable fort, at which the king of Parthia takes alarm. Scouts bring advice of the approach of the enemy. The law of neceſſity a diſpenſation for the ſabbath. Aſinæus totally routs the enemy. Artabanus courts the alliance of the two brothers. The Parthian general aſks the king's permiſſion to put Aſinæus to death, but is reſuſed. Artabanus adviſes Aſinæus to withdraw, and gives him the command of Babylon. The brothers acquire great renown, but loſe it by falling from the religion and cuſtom of their country. Anilæus becomes enamoured with a Parthian woman, ſlays her huſband, and takes her to his bed. The deſection degenerates to idolatry; and a general clamour is raiſed againſt Aſinæus, who is at length poiſoned by the woman. Anilæus breaks in upon Mithridates, and carries off vaſt a booty. Mithridates draws out his army upon Anilæus, but deſers fighting till the ſabbath. Anilæus takes Mithridates priſoner, and routs his army. The latter then gives the former a total defeat. The Jews and Babylonians treat about an alliance, but cannot come to an agreement. The Greeks and Syrians in a league againſt the Jews, of whom upwards of fifty thouſand are ſlain.

THE Jews of Meſopotamia and Babylon were now in a more calamitous ſtate than had ever been known heretofore: it is therefore neceſſary to trace the origin of the various evils that beſet them.

There is, in the province of Babylon, a city, called Nearda, very populous, and fruitful in ſoil, as well as fortified and encompassed by the river Euphrates. Near it is another ſtrong city, called Niſſibis, upon the ſame river. The Jews, depending on the ſtrength of theſe two places, depoſited the common ſtock of their ſacred treaſure, as it was brought in and dedicated, from time to time, according to cuſtom. From hence it was tranſmitted to Jeruſalem, in the proper ſeaſon, under ſtrong convoys, for fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then ſubject. There were among the Jews of Nearda two brothers, Aſinæus and Anilæus. Their father being dead, they were put out by their mother, to learn the art of weaving and making ſail-cloth, which, amongſt the inhabitants of that place, was accounted no diſparagement. Having been remiſs in their attention to buſineſs, they were puniſhed by the ſuperintendant, which they reſented very highly; armed themſelves with the weapons that were kept in the ſactory, and went to a certain place upon the partition of the river, where was great plenty of corn, graſs, fruit, and all manner of proviſion for a winter ſtore. While they continued in this retreat, a neceſſitous band of youthful, daring adventurers enliſted themſelves under their command, ſo that they acted without controul. By the aſſiſtance of this party, they built an impregnable fort; and then

ſent their emiſſaries to raiſe contributions throughout the adjacent country, with ample aſſurances of friendſhip and protection to thoſe who complied, and the ſevereſt menaces againſt thoſe who reſuſed. The inhabitants being, as it were, compelled to a compliance with their requiſition, they became, in a ſhort time, ſo numerous and powerful, as to defy oppoſition, inſomuch that the king of Parthia was alarmed at this commotion.

The governor of Babylon receiving intelligence of theſe proceedings, determined to ſuppreſs them in their riſe; and, to that end, collected his troops, both out of Parthia and Babylon, and marched with all expedition, in order to ſurprize them. When he had advanced thro' bye-ways to the ſkirts of a lake, he made an halt, and depending that (the next day being the ſabbath) they would not dare to fight, proceeded gradually, thinking to fall upon them ſuddenly, and make them priſoners without reſiſtance.

But Aſinæus, who was at that time ſitting upon a bank, with his companions and arms about him, imagining he heard the neighing of horſes, and the champing of their bits, in order to obviate the circumvention of an enemy, propoſed that ſcouts ſhould be diſpatched to make diſcovery. They were accordingly ſent out, and, in a ſhort time, haſtily returned, with aſſurance, that the apprehenſion of Aſinæus was well founded, as the enemy was at hand, and upon the very point of executing their revenge. The ſcouts added, that they had cavalry enough to over-run and trample them under-foot; while many urged, that they were reſtrained by their religion from making reſiſtance on the ſabbath-day. But Aſinæus was of a different opinion, and repreſented the folly and puſillanimity of ſuffering themſelves to be tamely butchered to gratify a barbarous enemy. He then propounded to them the law of neceſſity and ſelf-preſervation, as the moſt powerful of all motives; encouraged them to follow his example, that, at all events, they might not fall unrevenged; and ſo commit the reſt to Providence. Animated by the exhortation of their leaders, the party of Aſinæus boldly advanced to the combat, and finding the enemy in a careleſs ſupine poſture, as if ready to take poſſeſſion of victory, rather than diſpute it, they fell upon them, ſlew great numbers, and put the reſt to flight.

The intrepidity of the two brothers, upon the news of this defeat, alarmed the king of Parthia to that degree, that he became deſirous of an interview with them; and, to that end, diſpatched one of his guards, in whom he moſt confided, with a meſſage, purporting, "that he had a commiſſion from Artabanus, king of Parthia, to inform Aſinæus and Anilæus, that, although he had been unjuſtly treated by them, in making inroads upon his territories, he was ready to bury paſt injuries in oblivion, from the character he had heard of their perſonal bravery: that, in the name of his maſter, and without any fraud or indirec't meaning, he deſired to enter into a league of friendſhip with them: that he had to offer them, upon his faith and honour, all aſſurances they could poſſibly deſire of ſecurity in their journey, backwards and forwards: and laſtly, that they would find the king a munificent and generous prince, ready, upon all occaſions, to give them farther proofs of his gracious intentions."

Notwithſtanding the frankneſs of the invitation, Aſinæus, from cauſes of ſuſpicion, declined the viſit himſelf, but ſent his brother Anilæus with ſuch preſents as he could procure. Upon his arrival, he was admitted to the preſence of the king, who, finding that he came alone, enquired wherefore his brother did not accompany him: and Anilæus giving the king to underſtand, that he remained in his ſtation near the lake, from apprehenſion of danger, he ſwore by the gods of his country, that neither of them ſhould ſuſtain the leaſt injury, in perſon or property; and, as a ratification of his oath, gave Anilæus his right hand, which, with theſe barbarians, is the moſt ſacred tie of good faith that can be given. After that ceremony is paſt, they are free from all ſuſpicion.

The Jewiſh
treſure de-
poſited in
Nearda and
Niſſibis.

Aſinæus and
Anilæus,
runagates
from Near-
da, collect
a party and
ravage the
country.

The gover-
nor of Ba-
bylon deter-
mines to at-
tack them
on the ſab-
bath-day.

Aſinæus ſu-
ſpects the
approach,
and ſends
out ſpies.

Aſinæus
routs the
enemy.

Artabanus
courts the
alliance of
the brothers.

Anilæus
ſent, and
kindly re-
ceived by
the king.

suspicion of false dealing. Artabanus, upon his assurance, sent Anilæus back again, to persuade his brother to pay him a visit, in contemplation of the services they might render him conjunctively, by keeping those provinces in awe, that seemed inclined to a revolt in his absence. Nor could he be certain, that while he himself was employed in the suppression of a rebellion on the one hand, Asinæus was not fortifying himself, and doing mischief about Babylon, on the other.

The brothers go to the king together.

Asinæus, understanding, by the report of his brother, how well disposed Artabanus was towards them both, and with what oaths and protestations he had confirmed the sincerity of his professions, was prevailed upon to visit him, which he accordingly did, accompanied by Anilæus. The king received them courteously; and could not but admire the greatness of Asinæus's mind, especially when placed in comparison with the diminutive figure of his person, which then appeared so disproportionate, that he passed as a remark to his friends, "That the soul of that man was never made for his body."

He admires Asinæus.

Takes care of his preservation.

Taking occasion one day, at table, to mention the martial character, and feats of arms, achieved by Asinæus, to Abdagafus, his general, in terms of the highest commendation, the general made no other reply than that of requesting permission to put him to the sword for the indignity he had offered the Parthians. The king returned, "that he would never consent to the massacre of a man, who had committed himself to his honour, and whom he was bound by solemn oath to protect: but that if the general was inclined to signalize his valour, he might find a means of taking revenge for the indignity offered the Parthians, without involving him in the guilt of perjury, and this by attacking him on his return, without making him privy to his purpose."

Gives him the command of Babylon, and dismisses him with presents.

The king next morning sent for Asinæus, and thus addressed him: "Return home, gallant youth, left, through the indignation and resentment of my officers, you sustain mischiefs which I cannot prevent. Let me commend Babylon to your care; exert your utmost efforts to maintain the peace, and preserve the province from rapine. You have committed your life into my hands, and your safety shall be as dear to me as my own." With these words, and a profusion of presents, the king dismissed Asinæus to take charge of his command. He no sooner arrived, than he applied himself most assiduously to the duties of his commission, building forts, repairing and fortifying as he saw occasion, and acquitting himself to such universal satisfaction, that none of his predecessors ever acquired so much power and fame, from so slender a beginning; and this not only among the people of Babylon, but the Parthian governors and commanders, who, holding him in the highest esteem, his authority increased to that degree, that Mesopotamia might be said to be under his direction.

He great power and influence.

Origin of the calamities that befel the brothers.

The brothers went on in a most flourishing state for the space of fifteen years, to their own honour, and the approbation of all around them. But when once they deviated from those principles and manners, by which they had obtained both their power and fame, and abandoned the precepts and discipline of their forefathers, to the addicting themselves to sensual pleasures, and foreign innovations, they sunk in their credit, and experienced the punishment of their declension, as will appear from examples in the sequel.

Anilæus becomes passionately enamoured with her; and having no other means of compassing his inordinate desire, provoked her husband to single combat, killed him in the first encounter, and took the woman to his bed.

There came into those provinces a Parthian governor, accompanied by his wife, a woman of exquisite beauty, and most engaging qualities. Anilæus became passionately enamoured with her; and having no other means of compassing his inordinate desire, provoked her husband to single combat, killed him in the first encounter, and took the woman to his bed.

This adventure was the source of all the terrible calamities that befel them afterwards. The woman, whether at home or abroad, had constantly with her

images of Barbarian gods. She was now a widow and in custody; and having privately concealed some of these idols, she took an opportunity of worshipping them, for a while, by stealth: but, upon Anilæus taking her to himself, and owning her publicly for his wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies as she had done in the days of her former husband. The most esteemed friends of the two brothers were highly offended at this licentious practice, in open violation of the religion, rites, and laws of the Jews. But neither the good counsel, or reproof of friends, had any effect in reclaiming him: on the contrary, he was so infatuated by his attachment to the idolatress, and so incensed at the liberty his advisers had taken, that he stabbed one of them upon the spot, for discharging his conscience, in telling him plain truths. In his expiring moments, he imprecated vengeance upon this murderer Anilæus, Asinæus, and their companions also: upon the two first, as the examples and abettors of this violation of religion and friendship; and upon the rest, as they were accessory to the massacre of the patron of their laws and liberties, whom they ought to have defended.

He marries her.

Incurs the displeasure of his friends.

Slays one of them that rebuked him.

Though these companions were greatly affected by the death of their associate, the past kindnesses of the brothers, and the sense they retained of their obligations to them for their advancement, induced them to avoid any interference in the matter. But at length the flagrant and bare-faced profession of idolatry became intolerable, insomuch, that the people thronged, in tumultuous crowds, to Asinæus, with complaints against his brother, representing to him the absolute necessity of adopting proper measures, in due time, to prevent further mischief, as the commotion would become universal. They added, that the marriage with this woman was a violation of their ancient laws, and her idolatrous practices a reproach to the worship of the true God. Asinæus acknowledged that he was fully convinced of the dangerous tendency both to himself and people, of his brother's iniquitous conduct; yet, from the impulse of affection for him, as so near a relation, and an allowance for human frailty in so invincible an attachment, he palliated the matter, without proceeding to an exemplary severity. But being persecuted with daily clamour, more and more, he took upon him to reprove his brother for his past conduct, and to caution him as to his future state, charging him withal to put away the woman, and send her home to her relations. But this had no effect with him; and the woman finding the mutinous disposition of the people increase, and fearing that some mischief might befall Anilæus for her sake, poisoned Asinæus, not doubting of the security of her life, as her husband was to be her judge.

Anilæus accused before his brother.

The woman poisons Asinæus.

Expedition of Anilæus against Mithridates.

Anilæus now took the government upon himself alone, and made an incursion, with his arms, into the territories of Mithridates, a man of the first rank in Parthia, and husband to the daughter of king Artabanus. He found money, slaves, and cattle there in great abundance; besides other rich booty, that he carried away, to an immense value. Mithridates was not far off at that time; and hearing of this incursion and rapine, without any kind of provocation, collected a body of his choicest troops, and marched at the head of them to give Anilæus battle. The next day being the Jews sabbath, which they observe most religiously as a day of rest, he halted at a village that night, with an intent of falling upon them by surprize the ensuing morning. A Syrian, who lived in the neighbourhood, gave Anilæus intelligence of the design, and particularly where Mithridates was to be that night at an entertainment.

Anilæus upon this advice ordered his men refreshment; and they marched, by night, to anticipate the design, and take them by surprize. He succeeded to his utmost wish; for, about the fourth watch, he fell into their quarters, and took some asleep, whilst others, in consternation, were put to flight in the dark. Mithridates was taken prisoner, and mounted naked upon an ass, which, amongst the Parthians, is deemed the highest indignity. When they had carried

Mithridates taken captive and disgraced.

ried him into a wood, several of the friends of Anilæus were for putting him instantly to death; but he warmly opposed it, and urged as his reason, "That, as Mithridates was one of the greatest men in Parthia, and allied to the royal family, if they spared his life, it would ultimately redound to their advantage, as the obligation would never be forgotten; besides, it would preserve an interest that, in case of the worst, might procure an accommodation. That, on the other hand, if they proceeded to extremities with Mithridates, they might be assured the king would never rest till he had avenged his blood upon all the Jews in Babylon: and lastly, that, for these obvious causes, as the chance of war is uncertain, it would be prudent, in case of any disaster, to make sure of a retreat."

He is discharged.

He renews the war.

Anilæus is totally defeated by Mithridates

Makes depredations in Babylonia.

The whole multitude unanimously accorded with Anilæus, so that Mithridates was set at liberty by common consent. But his wife, upon his return, finding out the terms of his release, reproached him, for neglecting, as son-in-law to the king, to avenge himself on those that injured him, and suffering himself to hold a life owing to their mercy. She then enjoined him to go back, and redeem his honour, vowing, upon failure, to dissolve the marriage. Terrified by the taunts of this woman, and dreading a repetition of them, he put himself, though reluctantly, at the head of an army; but with this conviction, that the Parthian did not deserve to live who would submit to a Jew. As soon as Anilæus had intelligence that Mithridates was marching towards him, he made it a point of honour not to take advantage of the fastnesses he was possessed of, but to put the dispute to the issue of a battle in the open plain; so that he advanced to meet him at the head of a body of men flushed with former conquests; and, over and above the veteran troops, they were joined by several reinforcements, that fell in with them for the booty. In the utmost confidence of victory, therefore, they marched four score furlongs into a dry, sandy country; and when they were spent with the drought of the place, the fatigue of the march, and the heat of the day, Mithridates fell in upon them with fresh men, put them to a total rout, and cut off several thousands in the pursuit. Anilæus, with those that escaped, made to a forest in the greatest consternation; leaving Mithridates in the happy possession of an absolute victory.

There came over to Anilæus, after this defeat, such multitudes of loose desperadoes, that his army was not long recruiting to its former number; but they were raw, undisciplined men, and by no means comparable to those that fell in the late action. With these recruits, however, he marched into the territories of the Babylonians, and laid all waste. Upon this the Babylonians sent to the Jews at Nearda, to

deliver up Anilæus to justice: but this could not be obtained, for it was not in their power so to do. The next proposal from them was to invite him to a treaty, in order to accommodate matters upon terms. To this they agreed; and sent commissioners on both sides, Jews as well as Babylonians, to conduct the treaty. But the Babylonians strictly observing the spot where Anilæus and his men lay, surprized them in the dead of the night, and finding them intoxicated and drowsy, slew all before them without opposition, and Anilæus himself was slain amongst the rest.

Anilæus and his party put to the sword.

The Babylonians and Jews were perpetually at variance, by reason of their contrariety of laws and customs, and waged war with each other with different success. But the Babylonians, who were kept in awe during the life of Anilæus, took opportunity, on his demise, to renew their depredations on the Jews, inasmuch, that they compelled them to quit their habitations, and withdraw themselves to Seleucia, the capital of that province, and so called from Seleucus Nicanor, the founder of it, being a place of liberty, where Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians lived promiscuously together. The Jews lived quietly here during the space of five years; but the plague breaking out in Babylon in the sixth, the inhabitants were forced to withdraw more and more to Seleucia, which proved the occasion of the greatest calamities.

The Jews are forced into Seleucia.

The Greeks and Syrians in this city were at perpetual discord; but, in their contentions, the Greeks ever had the advantage; till, upon the coming in of the Jews, being a bold and warlike people, with their assistance the Syrians prevailed. The Greeks finding their power decline, and their situation desperate, unless they could disunite the Syrians and Jews, tampered with their particular friends amongst the former, to interest themselves in bringing about an accommodation. The proposal was well received, and the consideration of it referred to some leading men on both sides, to advise upon the expedient. These interposed, and put an end to the contention upon this condition, that the Greeks and Syrians should join in a league offensive and defensive against the Jews. Pursuant to this agreement, they fell upon the Jews by surprize, and slew upwards of fifty thousand; not an individual escaping, unless protected by some neighbour or friend. The miserable remainder retired to Chesiphon, near Seleucia, where the king of Parthia generally resides in the winter. In this place they took up their abode, not doubting of their security in the verge of the place: but they soon had cause to entertain such apprehensions from both Babylonians and Seleucians, that the greater part betook themselves to Nearda and Nibis, depending on the strength of those cities, and the martial disposition of the inhabitants. This was the then state of the Jews in Babylon.

Continual discord between the Greeks and Syrians.

The Greeks and Syrians form a league against the Jews, and cut off upwards of 50,000.

End of the EIGHTEENTH BOOK.



FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XIX.

[Including a Period of about Six Years.]

C H A P. I.

Caius Caligula commits outrages upon the Jews. Stiles himself the brother of Jupiter, and challenges adoration. Plunders the Grecian temples. Orders Regulus to send the statue of Jupiter Olympius to Rome. Arrogates equality with Jupiter. Three conspiracies formed against his life. He upbraids Chæreas with cowardice, who meditates revenge, and takes associates in his conspiracy. Caius orders Chæreas to put Quintilia to the torture, who sustains it with great resolution. Noble speech of Chæreas. Minucianus and Chæreas confer about taking off Caius. LIBERTY, the watch-word. Chæreas encouraged by a voice from among the people to prosecute his design. The execution put off from day to day. Chæreas, impatient of delay, animates his companions, and they come to a final resolution. Caius sacrifices, and goes to the theatre. Description of the theatre. The conspirators execute their design. The glory ascribed to Chæreas. Chæreas, with his associates, retire to the palace of Germanicus. The German guards of Caius beset the theatre. Proclamation of the death of Caesar. The senate disposed to restore the democratical form of government.

THE virulent outrages and barbarous cruelties of Caius, called, by the Romans, Caligula, were not confined to Jerusalem alone, and the neighbouring provinces, but extended over sea and land throughout the whole Roman empire, and that to a degree unheard of before. Nor did any place feel the effects of his savage brutalities more sensibly than the city of Rome itself, whose senators, patricians, and nobility in general, were treated with all manner of indignities, such as contumely, banishment, confiscation, and murder. He had the vanity and presumption to arrogate to himself the majesty, appellation, and honours of a god, and to salute Jupiter in the capitol itself, which is the most celebrated of all the temples

No. 25.

in Rome, with respect to its dedication, by the name of brother, together with other actions equally frantic. Having a design to pass from Puteoli, a city of Campania, to Misenum, a sea-port on the other side of the water, and deeming it a derogation to his dignity to cross it in a galley, he laid a bridge over it, from one promontory to the other, and so passed and repassed in his chariot, triumphing that he had subjected the sea as well as the land, as became the power and dignity of a god.

There was not so much as one temple throughout Greece, which he did not rifle of all the curious paintings, sculpture, ornaments, and donations in general; giving orders for the transportation of the spoil to his palaces, gardens, and retirements of pleasure; and observing that the most glorious city in the universe was the most proper cabinet for the deposit of the choicest rarities which the universe afforded. He had the confidence to send to Memmius Regulus for the statue of Jupiter Olympius, that admirable piece of Phidias, the famous Athenian statuary, and so called from the place in Greece where it is so highly honoured, in order to have it brought to Rome. But in this instance he did not compass his end; for the architects told Regulus, to whom the care of it was committed, that the workmanship would be defaced by the removal. It is reported, that while Memmius had it under consideration, he was alarmed by a prodigy, which caused him to delay it, as he gave Caius to understand in a letter, by way of excuse; but that apology would have cost him his life, if the death of the emperor had not prevented it. His frantic pride came to such a pitch, that, upon the birth of a daughter, he had the child carried into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of the statue of Jupiter, as if there had been an alliance between Caius and the supreme of the gods.

As he prophaned the religion, so he violated the laws of his country, not only in permitting, but encouraging slaves to accuse their masters, and signifying his pleasure at their so doing. As an instance, Claudius was charged by his bond-man, Pollux; and

He rifles the Grecian temples.

Orders the statue of Jupiter Olympius to be brought to Rome.

Claims equality with Jupiter.

Permits slaves to accuse their masters.

Caius had the hardness, on the bench, to countenance the accusation against the life of his own uncle, with a resolution to take him off.

Secret plots
against
Caius.

Josephus
appears an
excellent
moralist.

By this licence, which he gave to calumniators, sycophants, and informers, in the advancement of slaves above their patrons, he provoked the same practices against himself that he had countenanced against others. Plots were laid for him on all hands: some in revenge for injuries received, and some by way of precaution to avert mischiefs apprehended. Justice and law were dormant; corruption and power bore universal sway; and so critical was the situation of affairs, that either Caius must have sunk, or the commonwealth been annihilated. The Jews, in particular, by the seasonable exit of this tyrant, were rescued from impending destruction. It may tend equally to instruction and entertainment, to be very minute and particular in this part of our history; as the concurrence of so many providences in the disposal of events, must serve as a lesson to good men, not to despair, in the greatest extremity, of the infinite power and mercy of the Almighty; and also as a caution to the great men of the earth, how they build their hopes on sandy foundations, or set their affections on transitory enjoyments, which, in the end, lead to disappointment and misery.

Three con-
spiracies a-
gainst Caius
by Emilius
Regulus,
by Annius
Minucianus
and by Cas-
sius Chæ-
reas.

There were three several conspiracies laid against Caius, and each of them conducted by a person of eminence. Emilius Regulus, a Spaniard of Corduba, conducted one party, and had a troop of resolute to assist in the enterprize: Cassius Chæreas, the tribune, had another detachment; and Annius Minucianus a third. These were all determined on the destruction of this tyrant, as they deemed him a monster of abomination. Minucianus was inimical to him partly in revenge for the death of Lepidus, his singular friend, a citizen of unsullied honour, whom Caius most barbarously put to death, and partly through apprehension of the tyrant's design upon his own life. Regulus detested him from a natural aversion to iniquity, being himself a man of genuine probity. Chæreas was piqued at the reproaches he had received from Caius, with effeminacy and cowardice, and alarmed for the imminent danger under which he laid in the service of so outrageous a master.

Different as the causes might be, they all agreed in this one common end, of delivering their country, and the world, from the outrages of so inhuman a tyrant; esteeming the success of their design the salvation of the public, and persuaded it was the duty of a patriot to lay down his life for his country. But Chæreas was more zealous than the rest; partly through ambition of acquiring a name, and partly through the advantage he had above others, (being tribune,) of executing his design from freedom of access to the person of his master.

Caius
causes many
to be slain
in the cir-
cus.

It was the season of the Circensian Games, an entertainment with which the people of Rome were highly delighted. It had formerly been the custom for the multitude to crowd into the palace, and petition the emperor for what they required; and as they rarely met with a denial, their request, on the present occasion, was, an abatement of their tributes and taxes. Caius was so enraged at their petition and their clamour, that he ordered his guards immediately to seize those that made the outcry, and put them to death; in consequence of which numbers were slain on the spot. The people then ceased their importunities, taking warning by the fate of those who had suffered.

These horrid barbarities excited Chæreas to hasten the attempt, who had it in contemplation to dispatch the tyrant as he sat at table. He deferred it, however, from time to time, not from any change of mind, but to wait an opportunity of giving a decisive stroke. He had commanded the guards a long time, and being now in commission for collecting the revenues, he incurred the displeasure of Cæsar for not proceeding with rigour against those that were in arrears, (poor and insolent as they might be,) inasmuch that he upbraided him with cowardice in not enforcing the payment, and cast a

number of reflections on him; which no man of spirit and honour could possibly bear without resentment. To engage him the more, Chæreas never brought the word from Cæsar to the rest of the officers, but it suggested some idea that excited either their laughter or contempt: indeed he was rendered the very butt of their derision.

This was so unpardonable a provocation, and so compulsive an incitement to revenge; that, to forward the design, he communicated it to some confidential friends, and among the rest to Popedius, a man of senatorial dignity, but in principle an epicurean. Popedius had been accused by Timidius, a professed enemy, of uttering reproachful expressions against Caius; and the charge was founded on the pretended testimony of Quintilia, a very beautiful woman, who belonged to the theatre. Quintilia being generally beloved, had the good fortune to stand in the favour of Popedius among the rest. The accusation being groundless, and Quintilia refusing to take away the life of a man by a false evidence, Timidius called for her being put to the torture, and Caius commanded Chæreas to see it executed, as if he reserved those offices of cruelty for him whom he had so frequently upbraided with effeminacy. As they were conducting Quintilia to the rack, she trod upon the foot of the associate, giving him thereby to understand that he was safe, for she would not confess any thing. It was much against the inclination of Chæreas to execute that office, but he was compelled to torment her with the greatest severity. Not being able, however, to extort confession, he conducted her into the presence of Caius, miserably torn and disfigured, even to such a degree that the emperor himself took compassion on her, and discharged Popedius, presenting the woman with a considerable sum of money, as a small compensation for the excruciating pains she had undergone with manly fortitude.

The tenderness of the emperor aggravated the concern of Chæreas, when he reflected on the disgrace brought upon him, in being the appointed instrument of so merciless a cruelty as even Caius himself relented at. Thus enraged, he disclosed his design to Clemens and Papinius; the former of whom was an officer in the army, and the latter a tribune as well as himself. He represented to Clemens, "that neither of them had been wanting in their duty to the emperor; that it had been their care and business to discover and defeat several conspirators against him, some of whom they had put to death, and others to torture, till they had even excited his pity, which proved they were commissions fit for savages, not for soldiers and men of honour."

Clemens made no reply, but indicated, by his countenance, the aversion he had to be employed in so infamous a work, though he durst not utter a word against the majesty of Cæsar. Chæreas, however, having disclosed the matter, thus continued his discourse: "I need not recount the calamities either of the city or empire; they are too notorious to be concealed; and Caius is the reputed author of them. But if I speak truth, I must confess myself the effectual cause; nay, I must include both you, Papinius, and Clemens: we are the men who have brought this ruin upon Rome, and upon mankind, in executing the orders of others. When we might put an end to these outrages daily committed on the citizens and subjects in general, we prostitute ourselves to the vilest offices: we assert the cause not of the Roman empire, not of glorious freedom, but of those who enslave both our bodies and minds. In fine, what do we but execute the commission of an inhuman tyrant, in perpetrating horrid murders, and inflicting execrable tortures upon others, till the same offices shall be executed upon us. The tyrant is so accustomed to the effusion of human blood, that he never consults the reason of things, but acts according to his humour and caprice. We seem all destined to destruction, one after another; and our turn will probably be the next, if we do not, in time, provide for the security both of our own lives and the common liberty."

Clemens

Caius re-
proach-
es Chæreas in
the same
manner.

Chæreas
takes anti-
cipates the
conspiracy.

Is ordered
by Caius to
torture
Quintilia.

She makes
no confes-
sion.

Popedius is
acquitted by
Caius.

Chæreas
discovers his
design to
Clemens
and Pa-
pinus.

He is not
admitted.

Clemens, though he could not but approve the opinion and resolution of Chæreas, charged him yet to secrecy; as the least intimation of the design, before it came to execution, would prove fatal to every one concerned. He observed, that "time would bring forth opportunity; that his age would not permit him to make any attempt; though, perhaps, he might suggest safer means than those prescribed by Chæreas." Clemens having spoken thus briefly, departed, revolving in his mind both what he had heard and said.

The coldness of Clemens raised in the mind of Chæreas a suspicion of the sincerity of his attachment to the cause: he therefore immediately repaired to Sabinus, another of the tribunes, whom he knew to be a man of honour, an asserter of the liberty of his country, and totally averse to the present system of government. He neither doubted his integrity or judgment, and determined to consult him upon the whole affair. When he found that Sabinus coincided in opinion with him as to the main point, only that he had kept the secret to himself, he observed that there was no need of deliberating with a man who had already formed his resolution; inasmuch that Sabinus promised him both his good faith and assistance, which confirmed Chæreas the more in his purpose.

As they were both for bringing the matter to a speedy issue, they applied to Minucianus, a man of a similar disposition, and equally zealous in the cause of liberty. Caius had a jealousy of Minucianus, on account of the murder of Lepidus, his most intimate friend, besides the aversion he had to him as a man of rank and honour, a character that ever incurred his hatred. They were perfectly acquainted with each others mind from some hints they dropped respecting the mode of government, though they had not been absolutely explicit: however, they seemed to be actuated by the same common instinct in the same common cause.

Such was the respect that Chæreas and Sabinus had for the virtue and dignity of Minucianus, that as they formerly paid him all deference upon other occasions, so they desired to have his opinion upon the present business. Minucianus then enquired of Chæreas, what was the word the emperor had given him that day? for the insults which Caius had offered him in his office were notorious throughout the city. Chæreas took the hint, and relying on the honour of Minucianus, replied, "Whatever the emperor's word was, let your's be LIBERTY; and I return you a thousand thanks for encouraging me to attempt what I had long resolved. I rejoice to find that we coincide in opinion. My single sword will serve us both: do you lead the way, and be assured, that whatever you command shall be obeyed. To a mind resolved, to a brave soul, arms are never wanting: it is not the weapon, but the will, that does the execution. Time is lost till we are in action; and as to the event, whether I stand or fall, I am little solicitous. My own personal safety or fortune are no objects, when the laws of my country, and the laws and liberties of so many worthy men, are in danger of being swallowed up by this merciless tyrant. I hope you will not envy Chæreas the honour of a part at least, if not of striking the blow, in an exploit that must merit universal approbation." Upon this generous declaration, Minucianus embraced him, wishing him success in the undertaking; and, after an interchange of mutual assurances, they parted. It was rumoured that, to confirm the conspirators in their design, there was a voice heard among the people, calling out to Chæreas, as he entered the palace, to go on and prosper in his undertaking. He, at first, suspected that he was betrayed; but afterwards found it to be either an animating hint from some of the accomplices, or a declaration from heaven in favour of his design.

There was at this time assembled a number of persons, of all ranks and degrees, that were well affected towards the purpose, as senators, knights, soldiers, and commonalty: for it was universally agreed that either Caius or the commonwealth must fall; so that

a competition prevailed who should do most, either by word or deed, towards the saving of his country, or, which was one and the same thing, towards the destruction of Caius: nay, Callistus himself, the emperor's freeman and favourite, made one of the party. This man had vast influence with Caius, which he perverted to such a degree, that he was equally hated and dreaded: indeed, he behaved himself more like a partner in the government than a subject. He had amassed great wealth by corruption; notwithstanding which, he could not think himself safe under a prince of so fickle and implacable a disposition. He was in danger from many causes, but more especially for his wealth, which, in those days, was a temptation hardly to be resisted. Callistus finding the situation of Caius very precarious, thought he could not do better than secure the friendship of the next successor; and, with that view, to ingratiate himself with Claudius, he went over privately to that interest, telling him in confidence, that Caius had frequently put him on to poison him, but that he had ever found out some device to evade it. This rather appears to me an invention of Callistus to obtain the favour of his new patron, than a matter of fact; for if Caius had been disposed to murder his uncle, it could not have been in the power of Callistus to evade it; nor could he have escaped himself, if he had been remiss in the execution of the emperor's commands. Claudius, however, looked upon him as the instrument of Providence for his deliverance; so that the insinuation subserved his purpose.

In the mean time, through the deliberation of the confederacy, the main design was put off from day to day, though much against the will of Chæreas, who was ever of opinion, that no opportunity should be lost for the execution of so necessary a purpose. Nay, he did not hesitate to declare, that he could not have wished for a better time or place, than the capitol itself, when Caius went up to sacrifice for his daughter; or when he stood on the battlements of his palace, scattering his donations amongst the people; or upon any solemnity at his own private ceremonies: for Caius seemed careless, and free from suspicion of danger; though most of his attendants were traitors in their hearts. Chæreas was at length so impatient of these delays, that he reproached the confederates with want of activity and resolution; and declared that, if they persisted in making obstacles, he would undertake to dispatch the business himself, and be answerable for doing it, even without a weapon. His associates commended his zeal for the common cause; but they were yet for deferring the design till the celebration of the games instituted in honour of Augustus, who first took the sovereign power from the people into his own hands.

There was a theatre erected before the palace for the Roman nobility, with their families, in the presence of the emperor himself. As, upon this occasion, thousands of spectators crowded into so narrow a compass, it was concluded, that the design might be executed with the greatest ease, because the guards could not come up in time to a rescue; whereas, upon an attempt at a venture, there would be danger of miscarriage, and a tumult in the city, which, through searchers and soldiers, might expose the party to detection, and frustrate the whole contrivance.

Chæreas having given his consent, a resolution was formed to do the deed on the first day of the exhibition of the public shews: but fate seems to have over-ruled in the case, and put it off to the third and last day. Indeed it would have been further delayed, if Chæreas had not called his associates together, and animated them with a speech to this effect: "We are here assembled in a righteous cause, and upon a just and honourable design, but, to our shame be it spoken, through sloth and cowardice, without advancing one step in the business. Not only has much time been lost, but our lives, liberties, and fortunes, are in imminent danger, while Caius rides triumphant. What is the consequence of this pusillanimity, but loss of liberty, and increase of tyranny? Whereas we should

"attend

Chæreas is impatient of delay.

They resolve to take off Caius at the Circensian games.

Chæreas animates the conspirators.

Chæreas is impatient of delay.

Chæreas is impatient of delay.

Chæreas is impatient of delay.

Chæreas is impatient of delay.

Chæreas is impatient of delay.

"attend to our own security in the first place, the welfare of the public in the next, and, in fine, acquire for ourselves immortal glory."

Having thus spoken, he gave them some time to deliberate; but finding they stood mute, he rejoined, "My brave comrades, wherefore these delays? Do you not know that the games are upon the point of breaking up, and that Caius is going for Alexandria, to take the tour of Egypt? Would it redound to our honour to part with this scandal to humanity out of our hands, as if we had sent him to proclaim to the world the servility of the Romans, and to afford occasion for some free-spirited Egyptian to do that justice to mankind, upon this bloody thirsty tyrant, which we were afraid to do ourselves? Away then, my friends, with deliberation: I will assist the man, and put the point to immediate issue; nor will I suffer mortal to contend with me for the glory of so noble an action."

A final resolution formed.

This zealous address fired the conspirators with resolution; and Chæreas put on his equestrian sword, and went to the palace as the tribunes usually did; it being his turn that day in course, as commanding officer of the guard, to go to the emperor for the word. The people were pressing in great multitudes towards the palace, crowding to get places; and Caius himself seemed not a little pleased with this scene of confusion: for there were no seats set apart for senators, knights, or other degrees of people, according to their quality, but men, women, masters, and slaves, were all promiscuously huddled together.

Description of the theatre.

This solemnity being dedicated to the honour of Augustus, Caius advanced, and offered up sacrifice to the imperial patron. It so happened that, upon the fate of the victim, some of the blood flowing out, fell upon the robe of Asprenas, one of the senators. Caius sported at the omen; but it proved fatal to the senator, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It was much noticed, that Caius was in better humour this day than usual. When the sacrifice was over, he went with his friends to the theatre, which was only a frame of wood-work, so constructed as to be taken to pieces and put together again, as it was annually upon this occasion. It had two gates, one towards the open court, and the other over against the passage, for the actors to enter without incommoding the audience; and near at hand was an orchestra for the musicians.

When the multitude had taken their places, and Chæreas, with the other tribunes, were seated near Cæsar, upon the right wing of the theatre, Bathynius, a senator and military man, in a whisper, asked Cluvitus, a person of consular dignity, who sat next to him, if he had heard any news? Upon the reply of Cluvitus in the negative, the other informed him that the tragedy of the death of the tyrant was to be performed that day. Cluvitus, in a quotation of a verse out of Homer's Iliad, cautioned him to beware that none of the Grecians overheard him. The vulgar then proceeded to their usual clamour and outrage, with which Cæsar seemed highly delighted. Two circumstances then followed that had an ominous appearance. One was the representation of a corrupt judge brought to public justice: the other was the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein she and her daughter were slain with great fictitious effusion of blood. It is said that this was the anniversary of the day upon which Philip, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, was killed by his friend Paulanius, upon entering the theatre.

This being the last day of exhibition, Caius was undetermined whether he should sit it out, or whether he should go first to the bath, then to dinner, and return. Minucianus taking his place near the emperor, and observing him disposed to move, rose from his seat to encourage him in his resolution, lest the present opportunity should be lost: but Caius, taking him gently by the skirt, asked him, with a friendly smile, whither he was going? Upon this Minucianus, with affected reverence to Cæsar, sat down;

but, in a short time, from the former apprehension, he rose again; and Caius did not oppose his exit, imagining some necessary business might call him aside. Asprenas, one of the confederates, then persuaded him to go out, bathe, dine as he was used to do, and so return.

Chæreas having by this time placed his associates in their proper stations, and given them their necessary instructions, was impatient of longer delay. He at first resolved to assault him on his seat, though he knew this could not be done without much bloodshed both of the senatorial and equestrian orders, preferring the deliverance of his country to the loss of the lives of a few dignified individuals. As Chæreas was going towards the theatre, word was given in the crowd that Cæsar was up, and returning to his palace. The conspirators called to the multitude to make way for the emperor, as if by his order and direction; but, in reality, to afford them scope for the execution of their design. Claudius, the uncle, went first; then Marcus Minucianus, the husband of his sister, and Valerius Asiaticus, persons whose rank entitled them to precedence. Caius himself, with Paulus Aruntius, followed them. When he entered the palace, he left the ordinary way, which Claudius and the rest had taken before him, and turned off to a bye-path, leading to the paths, to see some boys that were sent him out of Asia for their skill in singing hymns, and in the Pyrric way of dancing. In this passage Chæreas met him, and asked for the word, which being given according to former ridicule and insult, the tribune returned the indignity with a stroke of his sword, but the wound was not mortal. Some were of opinion it was contrived by Chæreas, to render his death more painful by a repetition of strokes; but this to me seems improbable, as it was not a business to be protracted. The wound, in short, was between the neck and the shoulder, where it struck upon a bone that prevented its going farther. He made no outcry, nor called to any around him for help, conscious, perhaps, he did not deserve protection. He uttered a groan, however, and made an attempt to escape; but Cornelius Sabinus prevented it by a stroke that brought him on his knees, which being followed by an unanimous outcry of "Down with him, dispatch him," they fell upon him together, and executed their purpose. It is said that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, but the generality of the people ascribed the glory of the action to Chæreas. Though many concurred in it, he was the original proposer, and most essentially conducive to the execution of it. He formed and united the confederacy, animated and supported his associates, and, when it came to the decisive point, struck the first blow, and, by his personal bravery, laid the pride of this haughty tyrant in the dust. So that this laudable exploit must be attributed to the virtue and resolution of Chæreas. Thus fell the emperor Caius, by many hands, and by many wounds.

The conspirators prepare themselves for the execution of the design.

The manner of the execution.

Chæreas principal author of the death of Caius.

Chæreas and his associates were not a little embarrassed as to the manner of getting off after the accomplishment of their design. They had to contend with the outrage of a wild and seditious multitude, and the fury and revenge of the soldiery for the death of their prince. The avenues were narrow where the fact was committed, and filled with guards then upon duty. Finding it impossible to return the way they came, they struck off to the palace of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had lately slaughtered. These apartments bordered on the palace royal; and the whole pile is as uniform as the efforts of the several emperors, from time to time, could make it. Being now freed from the rabble, they were secure, so long at least as the death of Cæsar could be concealed.

Retire to his apartments, palace of Germanicus.

The German body guards, known by the name of the Celtic Legion, were the first that got intelligence of it. These were men naturally fierce and choleric, in common with other barbarians, without any degree of reason or reflection. They were enraged at the news of the emperor's death, not so much from personal regard to him, as to their own

interest.

The Ger-
man guards
avenge the
death of
Caius.

interest; for he had been bountiful to them, and conciliated their attachment by force of frequent donations. This corps, under the command of Sabinus, (originally a gladiator, and preferred merely on account of his bodily strength,) marched, with drawn swords, from house to house, in quest of the murderers of Caius. The first man they met was Asprenas, whose robe was stained with the blood of the emperor; a most unfortunate token for him, as they immediately cut him to pieces. The next they seized was Norbanus, a man of the first rank, and descended from some of the most eminent commanders. Finding the dignity of his extraction availed nothing with those barbarians, he disarmed the first man that assaulted him; and being a person of extraordinary strength and courage, would not have fallen unrevenge, had he not been oppressed by numbers. The third that fell into the hands of these Germans was Anteiis, who was drawn out from curiosity to see the dead body of Caius, as he had banished his father of the same name with himself, and afterwards put him to death. Anteiis came to gratify himself with this spectacle; but, as he was endeavouring to avoid the tumult, the Germans found him out, and involved him in the common massacre. This was the fate of these unhappy men.

When the news of Cæsar's death was brought to the theatre, the multitude were astonished, though they could not believe it; for, though it would have given them pleasure, they were fearful of disappointment, and therefore would not entertain an hope precariously founded. There were others who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that so fatal an accident should befall Caius. These, for the most part, were women, children, slaves, and some of the soldiery, who, taking a double advantage of their services, both by pay and oppression, as the ministers of pride and tyranny, assisted in the persecution of good men, and became sharers in the booty. The women, children, and common people were cajoled with spectacles, drolls, prizes, and other amusements, under pretext of making them easy, but, in reality, to gratify the vanity of the oppressor.

Bondmen, who were indulged in the licence of insulting their patrons, under the sanction of Caius, also lamented his death, as they found no difficulty, during his reign, of making good any accusation against them, and were assured of advantage in discovering where their masters money was deposited, since the law entitled the informer to one eighth part of the value of the confiscation.

With respect to persons of condition, to whom the report might appear credible, as either privy to the design, or well-wishers to it, they were so far from appearing to rejoice at it, that they affected absolute ignorance of it. Those, indeed, who were deepest in the conspiracy, disclaimed all knowledge of it; conscious that death, without mercy, would be the result of the slightest suspicion.

The story, in the mean time, was represented in various lights. Some had it that Caius was wounded, and under the care of the faculty. It was by no means prudent for people, under these circumstances, to declare themselves one way or the other; for either the authors of the report were partizans of Caius, and consequently under a suspicion of partiality on that hand, or, if they were enemies, it was dangerous to publish ill news. There started, at the same time, another report, that alarmed the higher class more than all the rest. This was that Cæsar, upon receiving of his wounds, ran into the marketplace, and, without staying to be dressed, all bloody as he was, made his appeal, by way of declamation, to the people. This variety and uncertainty of reports put people in general upon their guard; but they durst not stir for fear of calumny and misconstruction; for the point was not so much what they intended, as the face the judges and informers would put upon it.

In this distracted state of affairs the Germans, sword in hand, beset the theatre; every man giving himself up for lost upon the sight of them, expecting nothing but immediate death. While they stood trembling, with anxious suspense, whether to go or

No. 26.

stay, as there was danger both ways, the soldiers breaking in upon them, put the whole theatre into an alarm; and the people, with supplications, deprecations, and protestations, accompanied with tears, groans, and invocations upon all the gods, attested their innocence. This dismal spectacle drew compassion from the obdurate hearts even of the Germans themselves, and put a stop to the further progress of their fury, and caused them, in some measure, to repent of their inhumanity in the massacre of Asprenas, and his companions, and carrying their heads up and down by way of ostentation, till, in the end, they were deposited upon the altar. What could be more afflicting to their friends, considering the dignity of their characters, and the insolent barbarity of their triumph, than this horrid action? Indeed, the greatest enemies that Caius left behind him could not now rejoice at his death, from the danger they were in of sharing his fate.

While things were in this confusion, one Aruncius, a public cryer, a man of property, and of great credit and influence with the people, came to the theatre, dressed in deep mourning like a senator of Rome, and, with all the formalities of sorrow and lamentation, that were customary upon the loss of the nearest relations, made proclamation of the death of Cæsar. Upon this the Germans relented, and the officer commanded the soldiers to put up their swords, so that the uproar entirely ceased. To this the people that were pent up in the theatre solely owed their lives, as did all those in general that might have fallen into the hands of the Germans; for so long as they could have flattered themselves with any hope of the emperor's being alive, they would have proceeded in their outrage. They had so great an affection for Caius, that they would have redeemed his life even with the loss of their own, and without any regard to the distracted state of the commonwealth. But now, upon the certainty of the event, the desire of revenge ceased of itself, as there could be no longer any occasion for conferring obligations on one side, or returning acknowledgements on the other. Besides, they had apprehension from the power of the senate, if the democratical form of government should be revived. Thus was the rage of the Celtic legion appeased.

Chæreas, in the mean time, being very anxious lest Minucianus should fall into the hands of the Germans, enquired of as many of the soldiers as he could trust, one by one, if they could give any account of him, recommending him, with earnest intreaties, to their especial care and protection. By this means he had an interview with Clemens and Minucianus; the latter of whom told him, that he could not but infinitely honour him for so noble a resolution; and that he would take upon himself to return him thanks in the name of the commonwealth, for so public a service, as well for his conduct in the undertaking, as his courage in the execution of it. This, he observed, might serve to shew the fate of tyranny, which seldom fails, after the short-lived pleasure of lawless usurpation, to terminate in an untimely death, or such a conclusion as exposes the oppressor to an universal odium. This was the case of Cæsar, who laid the foundation of this conspiracy by a violation of the laws of his country, and acts of intolerable insolence and injustice towards the very best of his subjects, who, upon these provocations, became his enemies, and then the instruments of his destruction: but it must be allowed, on all hands, that he was the author and first moving cause of his own ruin. The guards being now withdrawn, the people in the theatre were all rising to shift for themselves. The occasion of it was this. Arcyon, a physician, was called away to attend some wounded men, and dispatched several about him, under pretence of going for remedies, but, in truth, to secure them from danger.

The senate, in the mean time, met in the palace, where the multitude pressed in upon them in throngs, to demand justice for the murder of the emperor; but the senate, from prudential motives, held fair with them in appearance. While the rabble were in quest of the assassins, Valerius Asiaticus, a man

Proclama-
tion of the
death of
Cæsar.

Chæreas
is solicitous
about Mi-
nucianus.

a man of consular dignity, in the midst of these clamorous outcries, to know what was become of the murderers of Caius, exclaimed, "Would I had been the man," and so departed.

The senate then proceeded to a decree in condemnation of Caius; and passed an order for both people and soldiers to depart quietly to their own habitations and quarters, with promises of certain exemptions and privileges to the one, and of rewards and gratuities to the other, if they demeaned themselves peaceably as they ought to do. By this means there was a seasonable step put to the uproar, which otherwise might have broken out into fresh tumults, sacrilegious violences, rapine, and all manner of confusion. The whole bench of senators being now met, and those especially that were of the plot, began to deliberate on assuming the power themselves, and re-establishing the democratic form of government.

The senate meditates a change of government

CHAP. II.

The senators and soldiers divided about the form of government. The latter are for monarchy, and declare Claudius emperor. Oration of Saturnius against tyranny. Chareas goes to the consuls for the word. They give him LIBERTY. The wife and daughters of Caius put to death by Julius Lupus. Character of Caius. Character of Claudius. Gratus puts Claudius into possession of the empire. His interest espoused by the soldiers. Disputes still prevail between the senate and common people.

Division of the senators and soldiers in the form of government.

WHILE the senate were debating on one hand, the soldiers were deliberating in a council of war on the other, upon the grand point in dispute, whether a popular or imperial government should now take place. The latter came at length to these resolutions: that a democracy was incapable of conducting the weighty affairs of state: that, if it should be set up, it would not redound to their interest: that if any of those, already in administration, should obtain the supreme power, it would tend to their disadvantage, unless they afforded him their countenance and protection: and that, therefore, in the present unsettled condition of things, it would be most expedient to chuse Claudius emperor, being the uncle of the deceased, and much superior, as to birth, qualities, and education, to any of those who were assembled in senate; not doubting but he would reward those according to their deserts, who had promoted his advancement. This being the sense of the whole council, Claudius was immediately brought from his house by the soldiers, and declared emperor. The news of this event being carried to the senate-house, Anæus Sentius Saturninus, finding matters come to a crisis, rose, and delivered his sentiments, upon the important occasion, in terms worthy of an orator and a patriot. This was the tenor of his speech:

Oration of Saturninus in favour of a popular government

"Who would have thought, my noble countrymen and fellow-citizens, after so long an interruption of our natural freedom, that we should ever have lived to draw one breath of liberty after it! and yet, through the goodness of the Divine Providence, in whose power it is to give, or to take, we are at this very day and hour, freemen, in some degree, once again. How long it will last we know not:

"But let the event be what it will,

"A comfort short is yet a comfort still.

"Shall we account it as nothing for a freeman to live free in a free country, and to have some relish of the sweets of our ancient liberties in the flourishing condition of our once free commonwealth, even though we were to enjoy the satisfaction of it but for one single hour? I can say little, it is true, to the liberty of former times, before I came into the world; but I have a great desire, I must confess, for the preserving and improving of that liberty which we enjoy at present.

"I cannot but esteem those men to have been exceedingly happy, whose lot it was to fall in an age that asserted the common liberty of mankind, and the study of virtue. But the persons of all others, that, in my opinion, deserve most to be honoured, next to the immortal gods themselves, are those heroic spirits that have had the courage to give us yet some taste of it, how late soever, even in this abandoned state of the world; a blessing which I fervently wish may be perpetuated. As to what concerns ourselves, one day's experience is abundantly sufficient for our comfort and instruction, both young and old. Those that are in years will leave the world with less regret, when they shall better understand the advantages that attend liberty; and for those that are growing up, the very example will inflame them with a virtuous emulation of treading in the steps of their famous ancestors. Virtue, in short, is the main business of human life, and so it ought to be; for, in truth, virtue is liberty itself; that is to say, the liberty of the mind, whatever becomes of the body. Now I do not take upon me all this while to speak of things before my time, any further than upon the grounds of tradition; but when I come to the subject of tyranny, and the calamitous consequences that attend it, I shall say no more upon that topic than I can make good from what I have seen and felt, and upon the infallible certainty of woeful and miserable experience. It confounds the order of government, and of all civil communities. Great minds, generous dispositions, and glorious actions, are discountenanced and suppressed. It makes men's souls as servile as their bodies, quenches all honourable emulations, and accommodates all rules of law and equity, by fear and flattery, to the arbitrary caprice of ambitious and fantastical princes. If we look back to the usurpation of Julius Cæsar upon the power of the people, and the trampling of their laws, liberties, and government under foot, in the erecting of a tyrannical monarchy upon the ruins of the commonwealth, and all this only to gratify ambition, what a train of miseries has that insatiable affectation of dominion drawn after it, both upon the government and the nation? What has the succession been, but a kind of violent competition, betwixt the predecessor and the successor, who should do most mischief, either in the subverting of the laws, or depopulating of the city, by the suppressing of all men of honour and virtue in it, and by all sorts of persecution, even to the degree of death itself? for they could not be safe but in the hands of wicked instruments, that had abandoned themselves to all sorts of iniquity, without either shame or conscience. There was not one individual in the number of these imperious masters, that had not acted the part of a most barbarous oppressor. But the tyrant Caius, who hath this day received his fate, perhaps has outdone all the rest in the licentious rage of a brutal and an ungovernable fury; sparing neither citizens, friends, or relations, in a defiance, at the same time, both of humanity and justice, and of all the laws both of God and man. It is not enough for tyrants to give themselves up to their vanity, and their pleasures, rapines, adulteries, and extravagant appetites, (for these are only human frailties,) but their satisfaction lies in the diabolical practices of rooting out whole families, and involving children and infants in their father's quarrel. Being conscious, to themselves, of the indignities they multiply upon their subjects, they find no security at last, but in the deaths of those they have wronged, and in the seasonable removal of them out of the way. But since so it is, that we have now shaken off the yoke, and recovered the possession of our primitive freedom, all that we have to do for the preserving of unity among ourselves, and providing for our future safety, is to join in repairing the ruins of our ancient glory, and restoring the commonwealth to its original state of union and integrity. We are now at liberty to propose and to debate, and to like or dislike at pleasure, without any superior power over our heads to con-

"troul



T. West delin.

G. Rippon sculp.

CECONIA, wife of CAIUS CÆSAR the Roman Emperor, while lamenting over the mangled Body of her murdered Husband, discovers LUPUS, who, by order of CLÉRIEAS one of the Tribunes, immediately puts her, & her Children to Death.

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“troul, and call us to an account. For what was it that gave birth and growth to the unbounded progreſs of the late tyranny, but the dull patience of a beſotted people, that had not ſpirit to make head againſt it? Men that were ſlaves to their pleaſures, and men that otherwiſe acted and lived like ſlaves, were the people that, chuſing rather to lead a mean inglorious life, than venture an honourable death, caſt the city into thoſe inſupportable miſeries, of which we ourſelves have been both ear and eye-witneſſes. But let me recommend it to you, in the firſt place, to do right to Chæreas, in conſerring upon him the honours he deſerves, for ridding the world, and the commonwealth, of this abominable monſter. For it was his counſel, and his hand, by the impuſe of a Divine aſſiſtance, that wrought our liberty; and it is but reaſonable that he that procured us our freedom with the hazard of his life, ſhould receive acknowledgements and rewards from the perſons he redeemed, anſwerable to the nature of the obligation. It is the part and duty of an honeſt man to be thankful to his benefactor, eſpecially to ſuch a benefactor as this, who has involved us all in one common debt. The action of Brutus and Caſſius upon Julius Cæſar was great and glorious; but Chæreas, over and above the emulation of their bravery, hath, in this reſpect, gone much beyond it. Their exploit was followed with a civil war, that ran through and ravaged the whole Roman empire; but Chæreas cut off the tyranny itſelf, together with the tyrant, and delivered the whole world at one blow.”

This ſpeech of Saturninus obtained the approbation of the whole body of the ſenate: but he was ſo intent upon the point under immediate conſideration, that he forgot he had, at that very time, a ring upon his finger, with a head of Caius engraved upon it. Trebellius Maximus obſerving it, roſe up haſtily, and took it off his finger; and it was ordered to be broken.

The conſuls give the watch-word Liberty.

As night approached, Chæreas went to the conſuls for the watch-word, and they gave him LIBERTY. The face of things were ſo ſtrangely changed on a ſudden as appeared almoſt incredible, this being the firſt act of authority in which the ſenate had appeared ſince the time they were depoſed; for the ſoldiers had their orders from the conſuls till the Cæſars took it out of their hands. Chæreas, upon receiving the word, delivered it, of courſe, to the troops which eiſpouſed the cauſe of the ſenate; that is, to four companies, which ſtood well affected to lawful government, and declared themſelves againſt the uſurpation. Theſe men went away with their officers, and ſoon after them the people, rejoicing at the thought of the preſent change, and hoping that the ancient glory of the commonwealth was about to be reſtored, while, with ſhouts and acclamations, they hailed Chæreas as their deliverer.

Cæſar ſent Lupus to ſuffice the ſenate and Chæreas.

Chæreas, apprehending it might be dangerous, after the death of Caius, to ſuffer his wife and daughters to ſurvive him, ſent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, with a command to kill them; chuſing him the rather for that commiſſion, both as the kinfman of Clemens, and as it ſeemed proper for a man who was ſo deep in the conſpiracy to have his part in the execution. But ſeveral of the confederates were of opinion, that it was an unmanly action to commit ſo barbarous an outrage upon the perſon of a woman, as ſhe had no concern in the execrable cruelties perpetrated on the flower of the nobility, which was the ſole effect of her husband's malignity. Others imputed his horrid deeds to her ſuggeſtion, and the adminiſtration of a potion that turned his brain, and from thence conſidered her as the principal cauſe of the ruin of the ſtate. The latter opinion prevailing, Julius Lupus haſtened to the execution of his commiſſion, in order to demonſtrate his zealous attachment to the intereſt of his country.

When he came into the palace, he found Ceconia ſtretched upon the ground with her daughters by the body of her husband, beſmeared with the blood of

his wounds, and, in bittereſt accents, exclaiming againſt Caius for not attending to the advice of ſo affectionate a wife, who had repeatedly told him what would be the conſequences of his wild proceedings. Theſe words were taken in a different ſenſe, eſteemed equally ambiguous by thoſe that heard them, and are ſtill interpreted according to the various inclinations of various people. Thoſe who took them in a more favourable ſenſe, intimated that ſhe adviſed him to reſtrain his outrageous fury, and keep himſelf within the bounds of moderation; aſſuring him that, if he perſiſted in theſe acts of cruelty and oppreſſion, he would incur the hate of his people, and draw the blood of his ſubjects on his own head. Thoſe who put another conſtruction upon them, inſinuated, that ſhe preſſed him to conſult his own ſecurity in due time, and rid himſelf of all ſuſpected perſons, ſince, where the life of a prince was at ſtake, a juſt ground of ſuſpicion would have been ſufficient to proceed upon. Thus was the matter differently interpreted.

Lupus approaching Ceconia, who was bewailing her forlorn condition in all the bitterneſs of anguiſh and diſtreſs, ſhe intreated him, with tears and lamentations, to draw near, and behold the horrid ſpectacle of her mangled husband. But reading his deſign in his countenance then, and aſſured of it from his words, after a ſhort ejaculation, ſhe preſented her bare throat to the execution, preſſing him to diſpatch what he had undertaken, and ſiniſh the tragedy his companions had begun. She encountered the ſtroke with wonderful conſtancy of mind; and her daughters died by the ſame hand with her; and the tidings were ſent to Chæreas as ſoon as the buſineſs was accompliſhed.

Ceconia dies with great reſolution.

This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years within four months. He was a man of a ſavage, malicious diſpoſition, even in a private ſtate; ſenſual in his appetite, a patron of calumniators and informers, timid in caſes of danger, and conſequently bloody in his revenge. He enjoined exorbitant power to oppreſs the innocent, and make way to conſiſcations and forfeitures by rapine and murder. He was charmed with the ſervile adulations of the common people; nor would any thing ſhort of temples and altars ſatiſfy his frantic ambition. He was neither reſtrained by law or virtue; nor would ſpare the beſt friend upon the leaſt pique, or a ſuppoſed cauſe for revenge. He was an enemy to all good men; impatient of contradiction; nor would bear reproof even in the caſe of inceſt with his own ſiſter. This, indeed, was a vice ſo abominable, in thoſe days, that it was ſcarcely credible, and ſuch a ſcandal as had not ſo much as been heard of among them for many ages. It does not appear that he ever did, or ſo much as attempted, one action truly magnificent and royal for the honour of the empire, or the common good of mankind, excepting the harbours and ſtore-houſes he built about Rhegium, near Sicily, for the convenience of the ſhips that brought corn out of Egypt. This deſign was laudable, though it was not brought to perfection, partly through the inactivity and neglect of his agents, and partly through the inſtability of his own temper; for his mind was diverted by unprofitable purſuits; and he thought his money better employed upon his own private pleaſures, than upon thoſe undertakings that might conduce to the honour or intereſt in the ſtate. He was an excellent orator, and a great proficient in the Latin and Greek languages; had a wonderful preſence of mind, and an admirable faculty in ſpeaking extempore; to which was added a peculiar talent for gaining upon the judgment, as well as affections, of mankind in affairs of the greateſt moment. Being trained up in the emulation both of his father Germanicus, and his uncle Tiberius, his predeceſſor, two perſons ſo illuſtrious for their literary accompliſhments, he ſeems to have made it a point of honour not to degenerate from the dignity either of his birth or education. But what avails a virtuous education, unleſs its influence is diffuſed throughout life? What a train of ill conſequences enſue when it is perverted to ignoble purpoſes! How hard a taſk it is for men poſſeſſed of power, and, in ſome degree, above law, to act vir-

Character of Caius.

tuouſly

travously for virtue's sake! At his first entrance on the government, he made an excellent choice of men of integrity and abilities for his friends and ministers, by which he gained a deserved reputation with the people. But in a short time he took another bias, turned them off with insolence and scorn, and, by intolerable provocations, forced his subjects to those outrageous extremities of despair and revenge, that afterwards brought on his own destruction.

Claudius retires.

Brief character of Claudius.

Claudius, as before observed, hearing of the death of Caius, and the tumult occasioned by it, betook himself to an obscure retreat; though he had no reason to apprehend danger, unless it might arise from the dignity of his birth. In private life he conducted himself with moderation, and seemed content with his fortune, applying himself to literature, especially the cultivation of the Greek language, and avoiding, as much as possible, scenes of hurry and confusion.

The multitude were now in a state of distraction; the palace thronged with soldiers, hurrying from one part to another in furious consternation; and the common people running from place to place at a venture, without any regard to the order or authority of government; so that the guards, being men of the best credit among the soldiers, in this tumultuous confusion, began to deliberate on the most expedient measures of proceeding. They were not so much troubled at the death of the emperor, who they thought suffered according to his desert, as at the difficulty of settling their own affairs. Indeed, the rage of the Germans against the assassins, rather proceeded from a regard to private interest than good will to the public. These circumstances weighed together, increased the apprehensions of Claudius, especially when he beheld the heads of Asprenas and his companions, that were carried up and down in triumph. Having concealed himself in a dark retreat, Gratus, one of the emperor's guards, espied him in a corner; but not being able to identify his person, advanced towards him (though the other requested him to retire,) and, upon drawing near, finding he knew him, he called aloud to those that followed him, "This is Germanicus; and no man fitter to fill up the vacancy of the empire." Upon these words the soldiers were ready to lay hold of him; and Claudius, for fear they should put him to death for the sake of Caius, earnestly intreated them to spare him, solemnly protesting his innocence of the whole matter. Gratus, upon this, took him by the right hand, assumed a pleasing countenance, and desired him not to entertain the least apprehension for his safety, but rather dispose his mind for receiving the empire, which the gods, he said, had taken from Caius, and now offered to Claudius by the hands of Gratus, for the relief and preservation of mankind, who had been long groaning under the weight of numerous oppressions. He added, "Rise therefore, and take possession of the throne of your ancestors." They then took him up and carried him, as, through the effect of the surprize, between joy and apprehension, he was hardly able to stand.

Claudius discovered by Gratus.

Gratus puts him into possession of the empire.

The soldiers are unanimously for Claudius.

During these transactions between Gratus and Claudius, the guards gathered about the former in great numbers, lamenting the fate of the innocent Claudius, whom they imagined to be carrying to execution, while others were for appealing to the consuls. As the soldiers crowded in more and more, the people, that had no arms, consulted their safety, and departed different ways. This put a stop to the progress of Claudius; for he was not in a condition to walk; and his bearers had withdrawn themselves for fear of sharing his expected fate. The military corps being now possessed of the palace, their numbers increasing, and having none to oppose them, took into consideration, at this juncture, in what manner they should proceed in order to settle the commonwealth. They rejoiced at the presence of Claudius, and were unanimous for advancing him to the empire; partly in honour to his brother Germanicus, whose memory was held in universal esteem, and partly to exclude ambitious pretenders from among the senators, who, having

heretofore embroiled the state, would probably do as much mischief if they had it in their power. They looked upon the republican form of government as lost beyond recovery; and therefore, since an emperor was of necessity to be chosen, they inferred the expediency of taking the utmost care that no person should be advanced to that dignity without owing his preferment to them. From this consideration they concluded that they could not do better than make choice of Claudius, and by that means engross the merit of the obligation entirely to themselves. The whole body of the soldiery were so well satisfied with this mode of reasoning, that, upon conferring with one another, they all joined in the same resolution; so that taking up Claudius, they carried him away to the camp, there to finish what they had begun; and he was attended by the whole army as his guards.

They carry him away to the camp.

In the mean time there fell out a misunderstanding between the senate and the populace. The former were for re-establishing the commonwealth in all its ancient glory, and vindicating their authority from tyrannical usurpations. The latter, envious of the power of the senate, desired nothing more than an imperial check upon their pride and avarice, and a secure appeal for themselves to an higher court from republican oppressions: so that the people were overjoyed at the elevation of Claudius; hoping that, under his protection, they might be preserved from civil wars, and the renewal of those horrid scenes that took place during the contest between Pompey and Cæsar.

The senate and populace divided in opinion.

The senate were no sooner informed of the soldiers conducting Claudius to the army, than they dispatched a certain number of chosen men of their own order, with instructions to admonish him "not to attempt to assume the government to himself by violence, but rather content himself in the station of one of the senators, and leave the care of the public to that body who were qualified by the laws to manage by themselves, and, by their direction, all the offices of administration." They then reminded him how tyrannically the people had been treated by former emperors, and particularly by Caius; and also of the danger in which himself stood from the wanton cruelty of that tyrant. They then assured him, that, if he would submit to the senate, and re-adopt his former principles, he should be crowned with honour by a free and powerful people, and gain the reputation of a wise and good man, by contenting himself to take his lot in the course of things in this world, whether it be higher or lower, as Providence should appoint: but that, if he was determined to follow the example of the late emperor, they must certainly oppose him in his design, as they wanted neither soldiers or arms, nor any other necessities for such an undertaking; and that, after all, their dependence was upon the justice and power of the gods in favour of so righteous a cause as the defence of their country.

The senate send an embassy to Claudius.

When the deputies, Veranius and Brouchus, who were both tribunes of the people, had acquitted themselves of their commission to Claudius in words to this effect, they cast themselves at his feet, with the most earnest supplications to avoid any proceeding that had a tendency to bring the people into a civil war. But finding him beset with the soldiers, and that the power of the consuls was far inferior to that of the army, they briefly added this request; that if he was resolved upon the sovereignty, he would rather accept it from the senate, and take it upon him without violence; as it would be much more auspicious to receive it with the good-will of the people, than to take it from them by force. They concluded with observing, that, if he received the sovereignty from the hands of the senate, it would indicate a disposition to govern with that mildness and serenity that should be the characteristic of royalty: but that, if he refused to accept it from them, it would indicate a design of his wishing to tyrannize over the people, instead of governing them in a manner consistent with the principles of a prudent man, and a good sovereign.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Claudius, at the instance of Agrippa, asserts his claim to the imperial dignity. Upon a report afterwards, that Caius was not dead, is disposed to decline all pretensions. Artful proceedings of Agrippa. Claudius puts the soldiers to their oath of allegiance. The soldiers are vociferous to the senate for an emperor. Chæreas a professed enemy to Claudius. Protest of Sabinus against Claudius. The populace pay court to him. Chæreas and Lupus put to death: The former dies bravely, the latter ignobly. Claudius pardons Sabinus, and he lays violent hands on himself.

CLAUDIUS, being well acquainted with the haughty disposition of the senate, gave their deputies as courteous an answer, for the present, as he could discreetly do, without laying himself at their mercy. But, through the advice and importunity of the soldiery, the instigation of Agrippa, and their promises to stand by him in asserting his pretensions, he was prevailed upon not to decline his claim to the dignity which they had conferred upon him.

Claudius asserts his pretensions to the empire.

When Agrippa had decently disposed of the remains of the late emperor Caius, to whom he owed his crown, and put every thing in as good order as circumstances would admit, he went to his guards, and gave it out that Caius was not dead, but desperately wounded, and that therefore he had sent for assistance to him. Being informed soon after, that Claudius was taken up and carried away by the soldiers, Agrippa immediately pressed after him through the crowd, and, with much difficulty, found him out, involved in the utmost perplexity, and just upon the point of delivering up all to the senate: but Agrippa encouraged him to persist in his resolution of maintaining his right.

Being soon after this invited to take his place in the senate, he attended in most superb attire, and enquired of the bench, what was become of Claudius? They related to him every particular concerning him, and then required his opinion of the present state of things. Agrippa replied, "that there was nothing dear to him, in this world, that he was not ready to sacrifice to the honour of the senate; and yet he could wish that people would rather attend to the substantial good and service of the commonwealth, than the speaking of pleasing things to tickle the ears of the vulgar; as it was most certain, that, without a competent provision of arms, men, and money, for a foundation to proceed upon, it would be fruitless to contend for dominion and power." They replied, "that they had abundance of the articles he mentioned; and that, as to numbers, they had slaves enough to execute their purpose, who would be glad of their freedom for their wages." Agrippa rejoined, with all deference to their sage opinions, "that the partizans of Claudius were veterans in discipline and experience; whereas, on the other hand, their party was composed of a raw and untractable rabble; and therefore he would humbly propose, with their concurrence, to send a deputation to Claudius, to endeavour to prevail with him to relinquish his claim; and that, with their approbation, he would be one to go upon the business."

Agrippa gives the senate his opinion of the present state of things.

Agrippa and others sent as deputies to Claudius from the senate.

His reply.

The senate, coming to a resolution, that the proposal was reasonable, dispatched Agrippa, with some others, upon the commission. But Agrippa, having previously found means of acquainting Claudius of the consternation that prevailed in the senate, and suggesting to him an answer to the deputies becoming the majesty of an imperial prince, Claudius thus addressed them: "I do not wonder to find the senators so averse to the government of a single person, considering what they have suffered under the tyranny of some late princes. For my own part, I propose nothing more to myself than to make my subjects easy and happy in their persons, liberties, and fortunes, and in the impartial

"administration of justice. My desire is only, under the name of a prince, to rule with the common advice and consent of my people. For the good faith of my intentions I refer to the proof I have given the senate of my moderation and integrity, even in the worst of times." With this speech he dismissed the deputies; then harangued his soldiers; gave them the oath of allegiance, and five hundred drachmæ a man, as a gratuity; and in proportion to the officers; with promises of the like to the soldiers that were absent.

He gives the soldiers the oath of allegiance.

Upon this the senators summoned a court, who met the next morning early in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Some, that discerned the impending mischief, absented themselves on various pretences; so that the number of those who attended upon the occasion, did not amount to more than an hundred.

A council of the senate summoned.

While they were in the midst of their debate, a clamour of the soldiers were heard at the door, desiring the senators to appoint some one man to govern them, as many heads they found bred confusion. With respect to the ability of that one man, they submitted it entirely to the senate. This overture embarrassed them much, as, instead of the liberty they promised themselves from Claudius, they now found him to be the person they had most reason to fear; not that there was men wanting among themselves, who, for the honour of their extraction, and their relation to Cæsar, might well pretend to set up for that dignity. For instance, there was Marcus Minucianus, a man of the first rank, and married into the family of the Cæsars, to Julia, the sister of Caius. This person offered himself for one; but the consuls were willing to wave it, and so put it off, as they did one proposal after another. Valerius Asiaticus would have offered himself for another, if Minucianus, one of the conspirators against Caius, had not interposed, and prevented it; observing, that if any man stood up in competition with Claudius, it would be attended with a horrid scene of bloodshed; as his party had at hand whole troops of gladiators, and military men of all sorts, who were ready to exert themselves when occasion required. This diverted several from their intention of standing forth, as they foresaw the mischief that would certainly ensue, both to the public and themselves.

The soldiers require an emperor.

Certain of the senators desire that dignity.

About break of day Chæreas, with his party, came into the senate-house; and having made a signal for silence, desired to be heard. But the soldiers immediately exclaimed, that they demanded the choice of an emperor without further delay, and, by their clamour, prevented him from speaking. The senate now found that all their attempts to settle the government would be ineffectual, as their authority was totally over-ruled by the power of the sword; and the dignity of their rank subjected to the insolence, scorn, and mockery of the vulgar. These considerations put Chæreas out of all patience, inso-much, that he told them, in the conclusion, "If nothing but an emperor would serve their turn, he would give them one, if they would bring him an order from Eutychus." This Eutychus was one of the charioteers of Caius, an infamous wretch, that had been subservient to his master's basest purposes. Chæreas followed this taunt with many reproaches, declaring, "that he would rather bring them the head of Claudius, than ever acknowledge him as emperor; as it would be the greatest absurdity, after having had a lunatic to rule them, to make choice of a fool." But all that he could say was of no effect; for the soldiers immediately drew their swords, and marched with flying colours to find out Claudius, and join in the same oath they had taken before.

The soldiers still press for an emperor.

Chæreas reproaches them.

Thus was the senate abandoned by those that should have defended it, and the consuls reduced to the condition of private persons. An universal consternation prevailed amongst the people for having offered so many indignities to Claudius, inso-much, that they reproached one another; and each endeavoured

The senate deserted by the soldiers.

CHAP. IV.

Liberality of Claudius to Agrippa. Commotions amongst the Jews and Greeks. Edicts of Claudius in behalf of the Jews.

THE first precaution taken by Claudius, after his establishment, was to discharge from the army all those persons whom he suspected, whether in an official or private capacity. He then published an edict, confirming Agrippa in the possession of the kingdom conferred upon him by Caius, as an acknowledgment of his late services. He added, moreover, to his dominions, Judæa and Samaria; over which countries his grandfather Herod had reigned, restoring them to him as the right of his family. But Abela, and the bordering lands upon Mount Libanus, that formerly belonged to Lysanias, were bestowed upon him as an act of bounty out of his own territories. The articles of alliance between king Agrippa, and the people of Rome, were set up in the middle of the forum, as a memorial to posterity. He also took away from Antiochus the kingdom of which he was possessed, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Comagena. He set at liberty Alexander Lysimachus, his old friend, and superintendant of the affairs of his mother Antonia, who had been imprisoned by Caius. He gave Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa, in contract to his son Marcus; who dying before the consummation of the marriage, Agrippa married her to his brother Herod, and obtained for him, of Claudius, the kingdom of Chalcis.

About this time there was a tumult between the Jews and the Greeks, in the city of Alexandria. Upon the death of Caius, during whose reign the Jews of Alexandria had been greatly oppressed, they took up arms in vindication of their rights. Claudius immediately sent an order to the governor of Egypt to use his utmost endeavours to suppress the tumult; and, at the request of the kings Agrippa and Herod, sent an edict to Alexandria and Syria, according to the following contents.

“Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, tribune and prince of the senate, greeting:

“Whereas we are given to understand that the Jews of Alexandria have ever, from time to time, enjoyed the same freedoms and privileges, from former kings of Ægypt, in common with the rest of the inhabitants, as appears by several royal decrees, and instruments of record, at this day extant, in confirmation thereof; and likewise that those rights and benefits have been continued to them ever since the annexing of that city by Augustus to our empire; and so transmitted uncontroverted through Aquila’s days, and all the governors of Alexandria successively, that have been sent thither; having liberty granted them also by the same Augustus, upon the death of their ethnarch, to substitute another in his stead; enjoying the free exercise of their religion and discipline, without any molestation or controul:

“Now, for as much as Caius Cæsar, in a blasphemous excess of madness, hath rigorously pressed upon the Jews to worship him as a god, contrary to the good faith and honour of the imperial grant, and in a manifest violence upon their consciences, and breaking into outrages against the refusers, irritated a party of his own faction in Alexandria against the Jews, their fellow-citizens; this is to declare all those proceedings of Caius null and void, and the said privileges of the Jews to remain still in full force and virtue; requiring and commanding, both the one and the other, by this our sovereign authority, to live, as far as is possible, in a right understanding together, without troubling the public peace. These are the contents of the edict; and after this, in particular for Alexandria, there was another sent abroad by the same prince, in favour of the Jews all over the empire, in the following terms:

“Tiberius

Sabinus protests against Claudius.

voured to transfer the blame from himself to his neighbour. At this juncture Sabinus, one of the confederates, stood forth, and solemnly protested, that he would sheath his sword in the bosom of every man before him, rather than submit to acknowledge the imperial authority of Claudius, and by that means confess himself a slave. He reproached Chæreas, on having been the principal asserter of the common liberty against Caius, and now abating in his resolution from a dastardly fear of death, as if a brave man could exist without freedom. Chæreas declared his unchangeable resolution not to survive liberty, but that he wished to know in the mean time how Claudius stood affected.

Claudius crossed by the people.

During these altercations in the senate, people flocked to the camp, from all quarters, to pay their court to Claudius, and, amongst the rest, one of the consuls, Quintus Pompeius, who had incurred the hatred of the soldiers for encouraging the senate to stand up in defence of their liberties. Upon his advancing, they assaulted him with their drawn swords, and had certainly slain him, had not Claudius taken him into his protection, and placed him by his own side. But the senators, in general, were not only treated with insult, but many of them repulsed by blows as they pressed forward to salute him. Apollonius was wounded; and every one of them subject to imminent danger. At the instance, however, of king Agrippa, who represented to him the ignominy that would attend the total extirpation of the nobility, Claudius was prevailed on to treat the senators, as well as persons of condition in general, with courtesy and respect; so that he desired the senate to meet him at the palace, whither he was conducted by a guard of soldiers.

Agrippa recommends moderation to Claudius.

At the same time Chæreas and Sabinus presented themselves in public, expressly against the order of Pollio, whom Claudius a little before had appointed to the command of his guards. Claudius, being now brought into the palace, and surrounded by his partizans, pronounced sentence of death upon Chæreas for disobedience of orders. It was pretended that the sentence did not proceed from any personal pique, but the expediency of making such examples as might tend to the future security of princes. He was led to the place of execution with Lupus, and several other of the conspirators. According to report, Chæreas sustained the parting stroke with amazing constancy, indicating, neither by countenance or action, the smallest degree of fear, or an affection derogatory to the dignity of an exalted mind. Lupus, on the contrary, betrayed every token of pusillanimity: nor could Chæreas avoid passing a contemptuous sarcasm upon the occasion; for Lupus, when stripping, complaining of cold, his intrepid fellow-sufferer remarked, that “Wolves felt no cold;” alluding to the import of his name Lupus, which, in the Roman language, signifies wolf. When the executioner was prepared, he asked him whether he was accustomed to the office, or only a novice? and desired him to use that very weapon with which he slew Caius. He did his duty, and dispatched him at one stroke. But Lupus, through fear, changing the position of his body, was mangled by repeated strokes, before the officer could execute his business. Some few days after, on the festival of the people’s expiatory oblations to the ghosts of their departed friends, by casting their offerings into the fire, according to the usual ceremony, they paid the same honour to Chæreas as to the rest, begging forgiveness for their late ingratitude to so singular a patriot. Thus died Chæreas in the glorious cause of liberty. He was a man who possessed a magnanimity of soul rarely to be found among elevated characters. His being the instrumental cause of the death of that abominable tyrant Caius, was justly applauded by the people in general, who lamented the death of so distinguished a patriot for the cause of liberty and his country.

Contrast between Chæreas and Lupus at the critical moment.

Sabinus, though pardoned, falls upon his sword.

Claudius not only pardoned Sabinus, but continued him in his command. The noble Roman, however, made no further use of his clemency, than to rid himself of a loathsome life, by falling upon his own sword.

“ Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, high-priest, tribune of the people, and the second time consul elect, giveth to understand, that,

Edict in favour of all the Jews.

“ Upon the request of the kings, Agrippa and Herod, our singular good friends, for the same liberty to the Jews all over the empire, in their ways and worship, that we have already granted them in Alexandria, we do heartily comply with them in their desire; not only for the sake of the advocates, but out of a respect also to the merits of the people, in acknowledgement of the friendship and good offices they have ever rendered to the state of Rome. Wherefore we judge it reasonable to have them admitted to a share of the common rights and benefits of all our cities, as well Greek as other, and to enjoy them in as ample a manner as they did in the reign of Augustus of blessed memory: And we do likewise ordain, for the future, that, wherever they shall happen to be dispersed within the dominion of our empire, they shall be allowed to govern themselves by their own laws, without any lett or interruption, provided that they make a modest use of this our grace and favour, without envying other people the free exercise of their opinion, so long as they themselves are allowed to enjoy the liberty of their own.

“ This is what we have thought fit to declare: And it is our will and command that this our proclamation may be duly notified in all our cities, plantations, towns corporate, and all other parts respectively of our dominions, as well within Italy as without; and copies thereof transmitted to all kings, princes, and governors under our jurisdiction; and to stand posted up and exposed for the space of thirty days to the view of all people.”

CHAP. V.

Claudius sends Agrippa to his government. Agrippa deposes Theophilus from the high priesthood, and confers that dignity upon Simon. Complains to Petronius, governor of Syria, of a statue dedicated to Cæsar in the synagogue of the Jews.

CLAUDIUS Cæsar, by these edicts, having made known to the whole world the opinion he entertained of the Jews, sent away Agrippa to take possession of his government, after he had advanced him to a greater dignity than before, and given him letters of special recommendation to the governors and intendants of the provinces through which he was to pass. Having dispatched all previous business, with expedition and accuracy, he hastened to Jerusalem, where he acquitted himself of all his holy vows, and offered sacrifices according to the strictest injunctions of the law. In compensation for the sufferings inflicted upon Agrippa by Tiberius, who had formerly commanded him to be manacled with an iron chain, Caius had presented him with a golden chain of equal weight. This chain Agrippa caused to be suspended within the limits of the temple, over the receptacle of the sacred treasure, as a memorial of the severity of his punishment, and the interposition of Providence in his behalf, as well as a lesson to mankind, that the same Divine Power can exalt those whom it dejects. The chain represented, at one and the same view, a prince made the sport of fortune, and a prisoner in irons, with his deliverance and exaltation to greater dignity than ever; circumstances exactly corresponding with the vicissitudes of human affairs.

When Agrippa had attended to the duties of Divine worship, he deposed Theophilus from the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose surname was Canthara, and whose daughter king Herod had married. Simon, therefore, held the pontificate with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, which were three, who

held it under the Macedonian government, as we have already shewn.

When the king had settled the office of the high-priesthood; he made it his next care to acknowledge the respect and honour he had received from the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by omitting the tax upon houses which they had formerly paid. He also made Silas general of his forces, a man who had shared with him in many of his troubles.

Agrippa's bounty to the citizen of Jerusalem.

Soon after this, a set of rash, daring, and inconsiderate youths, inhabitants of Doris, under colour of religion, had the hardiness to set up a statue to Cæsar in the synagogue of the Jews. This proceeding highly incensed Agrippa, as it evidently tended to the dissolution of the religion and laws of his country. He therefore, without delay, applied in person to Publius Petronius, then governor of Syria, accusing the people of Doris with an offence of the most heinous nature. Petronius resenting the offence as much as Agrippa, as it tended to violate those laws which should regulate the conduct of mankind, expressed his displeasure in a letter to the people of Doris, couched in terms as follow in the next chapter.

An insolent action of the inhabitants of Doris.

CHAP. VI.

Petronius, in a letter, reproves the conduct of the inhabitants of Doris. Upon the removal of Simon from the high-priesthood, it is offered to Jonathan, who refusing it, and recommending his brother Matthias, he is appointed. Marcus succeeds Petronius as governor of Syria.

“ Publius Petronius, governor of Syria, by the appointment of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, greeting:

“ WHEREAS I have received certain information, that, notwithstanding a full liberty granted to the Jews, by an edict of Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, to live according to the rules and prescriptions of their own laws, some of your people have been so audacious as, in contempt of the said imperial edict, to prophane their synagogue, by setting up Cæsar's statue there, to the scandal and affront of their religion; being not only an usurpation upon the freedom Cæsar hath permitted them, and a violence upon their consciences, but an indignity also to the dignity of Cæsar himself: for his image should have been rather set up in his own temple, than in another, especially in the synagogue, since the emperor himself hath found it meet and just to leave every man master within himself. I shall say nothing of my own orders in this affair, after such an affront put upon the authority of my master, who has not only indulged the Jews in the matter of their religion, but granted them all the privileges of freemen likewise, in the cities where they inhabit, in common with the Greeks. Now, since so it is, that this outrage hath most certainly been committed, and the majesty of Cæsar insolently despised, and that you yourselves disown any hand in the thing, and so turn it off to the licence of a riotous rabble, this is to will and require you, that you send by my officer, Vitellius Proculus, some of the guilty persons, to answer before me for what they have done; or at least to tell him who they are; for you yourselves will be otherwise suspected for parties to the fact. In the mean time, have a care of the public peace, and of those seditious spirits that would put all into a flame. But as for my dear master and myself, there is nothing we lay so much to heart, as to keep clear of giving the Jews any occasion or pretext of being troublesome in their own defence. And now for your better satisfaction, what opinion the emperor himself hath of this matter, I send you hereunto annexed, a copy of his edict to the Alexandrians, which my dearest prince Agrippa shewed

Claudius sends Agrippa to his government.

Agrippa's bounty to the citizen of Jerusalem.

“thewed me (though every body knew it already)
 “as I was sitting upon the tribunal, positively re-
 “quiring that all Cæsar’s concessions to the Jews
 “should be made good. Wherefore I do now
 “charge and require it of you, for the future, to
 “forbear all manner of seditious controversies, and
 “leave them to worship their God quietly in their
 “own way.”

Petronius, by these means, removed the grievance complained of by the Jews, and rendered the Greeks cautious of attempting the like infringements for the future.

On the removal of Simon from the pontificate, it is offered to Jonathan, and, at his recommendation, transferred to Matthias.

Soon after this king Agrippa removed Simon from the high-priesthood, with an intent to transfer it to Jonathan, the son of Ananus, as a person more deserving of that dignity. But he declined it, with due acknowledgment of the favour designed him; observing, “that, since God had been pleased to judge him unworthy of holding it, he should content himself with the honour of having once worn the sacred habit belonging to it, as he could better justify his entrance upon that holy function at first, than he could now in re-assuming it; begging permission to recommend a brother, a man uncorrupt in his morals, inoffensive before God and man, and consequently better qualified for the important office.” The king was so pleased with the candour and modesty of Jonathan, that, with his advice, he transferred the pontificate to his brother Matthias. Much about the same time Petronius was dismissed from the government of Syria, and Marcus appointed to succeed him.

C H A P. VII.

The ambition of Silas is punished by Agrippa, who, at the command of Claudius, desists from repairing the walls of Jerusalem. Instances of the liberality and magnificence of Agrippa. The pontificate taken from Matthias, and transferred to Elionæus. Games and spectacles instituted at Cesarea in honour of Claudius Cæsar. Vanity of Agrippa, and adulation of the vulgar. He is reclaimed from his folly by severe judgments, and reproves his flatterers. His death, revenue, and offspring. The inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste revile his memory. Claudius proposes his son as successor, but, at the instance of his favourites, confers the government on Gusprius Fadus.

Vanity of Silas.

SILAS, the king’s generalissimo, presuming on his fidelity to his master, and the very singular personal services he had rendered him, as well as the great familiarity that had subsisted between them, began to aspire at equality with him, and dictate to him on the most important occasions, as if he absolutely thought himself entitled to a share in the government. He took upon him to behave not only with unlimited freedom, but frequently with manifest intolerance; boasting of his own merit, reminding the king of his former low estate, and ostentatiously representing the good offices he had done him.

He offends Agrippa, and is sent in bonds to his own country.

An endless repetition of these circumstances could not fail to disgust the king, as it is disagreeable to human nature to be reminded of unpleasing events; nor can any thing be more disingenuous than a perpetual intimation of obligations. Silas persisted in this arrogant behaviour so long as to incur the king’s displeasure to such a degree, that he not only deprived him of his commission, but sent him in bonds to his own country. When his resentment, however began to subside, and he reflected on his severity towards a man who had undergone so many dangers and difficulties in his service, the anniversary of his nativity approaching, he sent for Silas to be present at the royal banquet. The general, being a man of a frank disposition, and one that could not disguise his sentiments, especially where he thought he had reason on his side, observed to the messengers that brought the invitation, “that, notwithstanding the apparent honour the king did him, his fit of complacency, as he had often experienced, would not

Agrippa recedes, and sends for Silas.

last long: that, after he had taken away not only his commission, but, as far as he could, his reputation, he could not imagine that, aggrieved as he was, he could conceal such flagrant injustice: that the world should know the distresses from which he had delivered him, and the difficulties and dangers he had encountered for his sake, as well as the rewards he had received for his services; a dungeon and a chain.” He then dismissed the messengers with advice, or rather orders, that they would carry back that answer to the king. This being done, and Agrippa finding his petulance incurable, commanded him to continue in prison.

Silas reproaches him.

Silas is recommended to prison.

Agrippa now turned his thoughts towards the concerns of the city, and repaired the walls of that part which was called the New Town at the public charge, making them much stronger and higher than they were before. Such were his zeal and assiduity, that, in the end, he would have rendered Jerusalem impregnable, had not Marcus, the governor of Syria, given Claudius Cæsar cautionary notice of it; and the emperor, from suspicion of attempts at innovation, laid a peremptory command on Agrippa, by letter, to desist from the work.

Claudius puts a stop to the fortifying of Jerusalem.

The king of the Jews was of so affable and generous a disposition, that his greatest delight was to display his munificence, and acquire fame by the extent of his bounty. He was a character in contrast with that of Herod who reigned before him; the one being inflexibly rigid, implacably cruel, and notoriously partial to the Greeks in preference to the Jews, as appears from his profusion of treasure upon foreign works, both in structure and ornament, as baths, theatres, temples, galleries, promenades, and the like; whereas he was never known to have put himself to any extraordinary expence to aggrandize the nation of the Jews. Agrippa, on the contrary, was gentle and beneficent, the common father of mankind; but particularly attached to the welfare and interest of his country. He made Jerusalem his constant residence, strictly conformed to the rites and ceremonies of his religion, without the corruption of a prophane and superstitious mixture; nor did he suffer a day to pass without its appointed sacrifice.

Liberality of Agrippa.

Character of Agrippa and Herod contrasted.

Notwithstanding the very respectable character Agrippa had justly acquired, one Simon, a professor of the law, endeavoured to vilify him. The king being absent at Cesarea, this man took occasion, in a public assembly, to reflect on him, as not living according to the maxims and precepts of the Jewish religion, and therefore deserving of exclusion from the temple. One of Agrippa’s principal officers sent him information of the charge alledged against him by Simon, who was immediately cited to appear before the king. At the time of his arrival, Agrippa happening to be in the theatre, called to him, and asked him, in a gentle tone, “if he knew of any thing he had done contrary to the laws of his country.” Simon, having no reply to make in justification of his charge, with confusion of face implored his pardon, which the king granted beyond all expectations; and, to confirm his character, added to this singular proof of his clemency as remarkable an instance of his bounty, valuing himself more upon the exercise of mercy than power, and esteeming it more worthy a king to be humane than imperious.

Agrippa’s calumniated by one Simon.

He pardons him.

All the different places through which he passed had some traits of his bounty and magnificence; but Berytus far above the rest: for there he erected, at an immense charge, a stately theatre, an amphitheatre, with several baths and porticos, sparing no cost to render the respective edifices finished models of perfection. The pomp of the dedication of these eminent buildings was equal to the stateliness of them, as the entertainments of the theatre were composed of most pleasing variety. In the amphitheatre were exposed the combats of gladiators; first man to man; and after that whole troops of condemned malefactors, to the number of seven hundred on each side. This might be deemed an execution of justice in the form of a battle, as they were all destroyed, to the very last man.

Agrippa’s peculiar liberality to the inhabitants of Berytus.

Agrippa

Agrippa magnificently entertained four kings at Tiberias.

Agrippa, having displayed these signal proofs of generosity and magnificence at Berytus, passed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee, where he received honours from several kings. There was Antiochus, king of Comagena; Samphigeran, king of Emala; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Polemon, a petty prince; and Herod, brother of Agrippa, and king of Chalcis. These were treated with a magnificent hospitality, becoming the dignity of the host and the guests; while it redounded to the honour of Agrippa, to be held worthy of so many royal visits. During the abode of these kings with him, Marcus, the governor of Syria, came over to him; and Agrippa, to preserve the respect due to the sovereignty of the empire, went seven furlongs out of the city to meet him. But this proved eventually the occasion of a misunderstanding between him and the governor; for as the kings accompanied him, Marcus, observing such apparent friendship amongst them, began to think the public safety might be in danger from the association of so many potentates, and therefore sent messengers to each of them, enjoining them to depart without delay, which gave Agrippa such offence, that he was never after reconciled to him. The pontificate was now taken from Matthias, and conferred upon Elionæus, the son of Cithæus.

Marcus, governor of Syria, incurs the displeasure of Agrippa.

Elionæus made himself.

Agrippa exhibits games at Cæsarea.

Agrippa, in the third year of his reign over all Judæa, came to the city of Cæsarea, formerly called the Tower of Straton, where he exhibited games and shews in honour of Cæsar. This festival drew together great numbers of persons, of the first rank, from all parts of the province. On the second day the king went to the theatre in most sumptuous and magnificent apparel; his vestment being of the most curious contexture, and so interwoven with gold and silver, as well as ornamented with jewels of such brilliant refulgence, that it dazzled the eyes of the spectators to such a degree, as to inspire them with veneration. Some fawning flatterers, indeed, addressed him as a god, imploring him to pardon the sins of their ignorance, in thinking him a mere mortal, whereas they were now convinced there was an excellency in his nature more than human. The king neither rebuked them nor spurned their impious adulation; but while he was gratifying his vanity to this excess, he espied an owl perched on a rope over his head, which he soon found to be a presage of ill to him now, as it had been of good heretofore. He fell into an extremity of internal pains, and turning to many about him, thus addressed them: "Behold your god is condemned to die, and thereby prove the fallacy of profligate flatterers, and convince the world that he is not immortal. I have had no reason to envy the happiness of any prince upon the face of the earth, but yet have aspired beyond the sphere of human nature. The will of heaven, however, be done."

He is revered by the multitude as a god.

From an omen, he apprehends his dissolution.

The multitude solicits for his recovery.

At these words, his pains increasing, he was removed to the palace; and it was rumoured throughout the city, that the king was at the point of death. The multitude was so affected thereby, that men, women, and children, put on sackcloth, according to custom, and joined in fervent supplications for the recovery of the king, who, looking down from his apartment in the palace, could not forbear weeping at the sighs of the mourners prostrate upon the pavement below. After struggling with the acutest pains, without an interval of ease, for five successive days, he departed this life in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and seventh of his reign. He ruled the first four years under the emperor Caius; (the three former of them under the tetrarchy of

Death of Agrippa.

Philip, and the fourth under that of Herod;) the three last under that of Claudius, who, to the government of Judæa, added those of Samaria and Cæsarea. His yearly revenue was computed at twelve millions of drachmæ; yet he was so profusely liberal, that his income, not being adequate to his expences, he frequently borrowed great sums. Before his death was made public, Chelcias, one of his generals, and Herod, prince of Chalcis, both of them mortal foes to Silas, set Ariston to slay him in prison, as if it had been done by the king's command.

His revenue

Silas is slain at the instance of Herod and Chelcias.

This was the end of king Agrippa, who left behind him a son of his own name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters. Berenice, the eldest, at the age of sixteen, was married to Herod, his father's brother. Mariamne was contracted to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chelcias; and Drusilla to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

His offspring.

When the death of king Agrippa was publicly known, the people of Cæsarea and Sebaste, forgetting the obligations he had laid upon them by so many instances of his liberality, vilified his memory with the foulest aspersions. A band of soldiers carried away the statues of his daughters out of the palace into the public brothels, and reviled and ridiculed their characters in a manner too indecent to be related. They also celebrated festivals, with garlands on their heads, ointments and libations, to Charon; and drank to one another in token of their joy for the death of the king. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had so abundantly extended his liberality to them, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and raised them temples and harbours at a vast expence.

Ingratitude of the people of Cæsarea and Sebaste to the memory of Agrippa.

Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at this time at Rome, and trained up in the court of Claudius, who no sooner had intelligence of the death of his father, and the indignities offered to his memory, by the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, than he expressed great sorrow for the loss of Agrippa, and resentment of the ingratitude. He then determined to send away the son to succeed his father in the kingdom, pursuant to the oath he had taken, and agreeable to the laws of equity and reason. But his friends representing to him the danger of reposing a trust in the hands of an inexperienced youth, that was equal to the best abilities in the empire, he was diverted from his purpose, and, through their insinuations, gave the whole government to Cuspius Fadus, with this deference to the memory of the deceased, that he should by no means introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into any office within his jurisdiction. He also gave Fadus express charge to chastise the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste most severely for the indignities they had offered to the memory of the deceased, and the disgrace they had put upon the characters of his daughters. He gave orders that he should send away the troops which were in those two cities to Pontus, and detach a body of chosen men out of the Roman legions in Syria to supply their places. But this last order was not obeyed; for Claudius was prevailed upon, with humble supplication, to continue those troops still in Judæa. These very men became the source of the great calamities that afterwards befel the Jews, and sowed those seeds of dissension, from which sprang the war under the government of Florus, insomuch that Vespasian, though conqueror, was obliged to transport them out of that country.

Claudius is disposed to appoint the son of Agrippa to succeed his father.

Dissuaded by his friends.

Appoints Fadus to the government of Judæa, upon certain conditions.

End of the NINETEENTH BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K XX.

[Including a Period of about Twenty-one Years.]

C H A P. I.

Claudius appoints Cassius Longinus to the government of Syria. Dissentions between the Jews and Philadelphians. Tholomæus, leader of a band of robbers, put to death. Agrippa, son of the late king, moves Claudius in favour of the Jews. Joseph appointed high-priest.

Cassius Longinus made governor of Syria.

UPON the death of king Agrippa, Claudius Cæsar appointed Cassius Longinus successor to Marcus in the government of Syria, out of respect to the memory of his deceased friend, who, in his life time, had often requested, by letters, that he would remove Marcus from his office.

Quarrel between the Jews and Philadelphians.

When Cuspius Fadus entered upon his command in Judæa, he found great contentions prevail between the Jews beyond Jordan, and the Philadelphians, about the bounds of a small village, called Mais, the inhabitants of which were a brave and warlike people. The Jews of Perea had taken up arms, without any colour of authority from their superiors, and killed several of the Philadelphians. Fadus was so incensed at this seditious intolence, that he caused three of the ringleaders to be put in chains, Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar. The first was afterwards put to death, and the other two were banished.

Three of the ringleaders punished.

Tholomæus, chief of the robbers, put to death.

Soon after this Tholomæus, the notorious leader of a band of robbers, who had committed ravages in Idumæa and Arabia, was brought to him in chains, and sentenced to death; nor was any thing wanting on the part of Fadus to clear the country of these plunderers. He sent after this to the priests and rulers of Jerusalem, and shewed them Cæsar's mandate, requiring that the vestments peculiarly belonging to the high-priest should be deposited in the castle of Antonia, and there remain in the custody of the Romans, as they had done in former times. The Jews durst not dispute the commands of the

emperor, and therefore chose to make respectful application to Fadus and Longinus (who had his troops about him by way of security) for permission to move Claudius upon that point, and respite the proceeding till they might receive the emperor's answer. This request was granted, upon condition of delivering up their sons for hostages in the mean time, to which they readily agreed, and the deputies proceeded on their embassy.

Agrippa, being then in Rome at the court of Cæsar, and having timely notice of their arrival and business, petitioned Cæsar in behalf of the Jews, that the sacred vestments might remain in their own possession, and that he would vouchsafe to signify his pleasure to Fadus by an order to that purpose. Claudius, upon this, sent for the deputies into his presence, and having told them that he had granted their request, and called upon them to thank Agrippa for his interposition in their behalf, gave them the following letter.

Agrippa petitions Cæsar in favour of the Jews.

“ Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, tribune of the
“ people, the fifth time consul elect, the fourth
“ time emperor, and the father of his country
“ the tenth time, to the senate, the people of
“ Jerusalem, and the whole nation of the Jews,
“ greeting:

“ Whereas we are given to understand by our
“ dearly beloved Agrippa, whom we have trained
“ up as tender as our own child, that you have
“ sent us your deputies (which deputies he hath also
“ presented to us) with acknowledgment of our
“ constant cares for the good of your people, and
“ likewise with your earnest desire of having the
“ pontifical robes and ornaments in your own cus-
“ tody; we do freely grant ye your request, in such
“ manner as was formerly allowed you in the days
“ of that excellent person Vitellius, our very dear
“ friend. And be it further known unto you, that
“ we have descended to these concessions, partly out
“ of a motive of piety, it seeming unto us a rea-
“ sonable thing for all men freely to enjoy the reli-
“ gion

Claudius to the senate.

“ gion of their country, and partly to gratify king
“ Herod and the young Aristobulus, whose friend-
“ ship we have a great value for, upon the certain
“ knowledge of the friendship they both have for
“ us.

“ We have written to our lieutenant Cuspius Fa-
“ dus about this matter, by Cornelius, the son of
“ Ceron; Tryphon, the son of Theudion; Doro-
“ theus, the son of Nathanael; and John, the son
“ of John. Dated the 4th of the calends of July:
“ Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus consuls.”

Herod, brother of the deceased Agrippa, and
prince of Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cæsar for
the charge of the temple and holy treasure, with
the privilege of appointing the high-priest. All
this was granted him, and the power continued in
the family till the end of the Jewish war. This
prince removed Canthara from the pontificate, and
appointed Joseph, the son of Canaëus, to succeed
him.

CHAP. II.

*Helen, queen of Adiabena, and her son Izates, em-
brace the Jewish religion. Zeal of Izates for their
rites and ceremonies. Eleazar, a professor of the Mo-
saic law, enforces the necessity of circumcision. The
king Izates is convinced, and complies with it. A
dreadful famine in Jerusalem. Liberal contributi-
ons of the queen and Izates for the relief of the inha-
bitants. Conspiracy against Artabanus, king of Par-
thia. Izates interposes in his behalf. Gratitude of
Artabanus. His death. Vardanes, his son and suc-
cessor, presses Izates to a war with the Romans.
Makes war upon Izates, is cut off by his own people,
and the government transferred to his brother. Izates
detects a conspiracy, and punishes the leaders. Izates
involved in various disputes. His singular modesty,
piety, and humility. Death of Izates, and succession
of Monobasus. Death of Helen, who, with her son,
is interred at Jerusalem. Punishment of Theredas,
a false prophet.*

Queen He-
len and
Izates be-
come Jews.

ABOUT this time Helen, queen of Adiabena,
and Izates, her son, embraced the Jewish re-
ligion upon the following occasion. Monobasus,
king of Adiabena, became enamoured of his sister,
and took her to wife. As he was reposing one night
in the term of her pregnancy, he fancied he heard a
voice admonishing him to be cautious, lest, by any
pressure, he might hurt the infant, which was de-
signed by Providence as a blessing to mankind. The
voice startled him; and when he awoke, he related
the circumstance to his queen. The child, at the
birth, proved to be a male; and the father gave him
the name of Izates. He had another son by the same
princess, whom he called after his own name, as
well as several children by other wives; but his af-
fection concentrated in Izates.

Izates is
loved by
his mother
and queen.

Monobasus
gave her
a very extensive
portion of land
as her dowry.

Monobasus
being advanced
in years, and
apprehending
the approach
of his dissolution,
had a great
desire to see
his darling son,
and therefore
sent for him
to that purpose.

This partial preference in the king, excited the
jealousy and envy of the rest of the brothers. The
king at first took no notice of it, hoping that,
through his own prudent conduct, these passions,
by degrees, would subside; but finding them, on
the contrary, rather increase, he thought it expe-
dient, by way of security, to remove Izates from
the palace, and indeed the kingdom. He therefore
dispatched him, with a particular recommendation,
and sumptuous presents, to Abennerigus, at the fort
of Spasinus, who esteemed him so highly, that he
gave him his daughter Samachas in marriage, with
a very extensive portion of land as her dowry.

Monobasus being advanced in years, and appre-
hending the approach of his dissolution, had a great
desire to see his darling son, and therefore sent for
him to that purpose. Upon his arrival he embraced
him with the tenderest affection, and bestowed upon
him the province of Cæron, a spot famous for aro-
matic plants; and particularly for the remains of
Noah's ark that escaped the deluge, and were there
exposed to view. Izates took up his residence in this

place during the life of his father. But upon the
very day of the king's decease, queen Helen called
her great officers of state and commanders together,
and thus addressed them: “ I need not inform you
“ that the late king, my husband, designed Izates
“ for his successor, as esteeming him or all his sons
“ most worthy of that honour. However, I wait
“ your determination, as the happiness of a prince
“ depends not on the approbation of an individual,
“ but the suffrages of the people in general.” This
courteous address was delivered to sound their opi-
nion. It had a very good effect; for the council had
no sooner heard of it, than, with the profoundest
reverence, according to the custom of the country,
they declared themselves unanimously disposed to
advance Izates to the throne, being fully satisfied
that it was agreeable to his father that it should be
so, as the person of his family he accounted best
qualified for that dignity. They assured her that
the people were in his interest; and that themselves
were not only ready to acknowledge him for their
sovereign, but, in case of any danger from the pre-
tensions of brothers, to obviate such obstacles, and
pave him a safe and easy passage to the throne.

Death of
Monobasus.

Izates de-
clared suc-
cessor.

His brother
Monobasus
appointed
viceroy.

The queen most gratefully acknowledged this
zeal and affection; but could by no means consent
to the effusion of any blood, till Izates should be
consulted upon that point. When the council found
the queen thus disposed, they urged, however, that,
for the better security of the new king, they might
be kept in safe custody, and some other persons, that
the queen should best approve of, entrusted with the
administration in his absence. The queen approved
the proposal, and made choice of Monobasus, the
elder brother, for the viceroy, set the crown upon his
head, gave him his father's signet, and committed
the care of the government into his hands, till his
brother should come to take it himself. Izates did
not long delay after he heard of his father's death,
and immediately on his arrival Monobasus resigned
his charge.

While Izates resided at the fort of Spasinus, a
certain Jewish merchant, by name Ananias, having
introduced himself to some of the female attend-
ants belonging to the court, instructed them in the
knowledge of the true God, and the rites and cus-
toms of the Jewish religion. By these means he be-
came acquainted with Izates, whom he converted
to the same religion, and attended in his journey to
Adiabena, whither his father sent to see him a short
time before his death. Queen Helen was also con-
verted to our profession by another Jew. Izates,
upon his return to Adiabena, was much concerned
to find his brothers, and others of his kindred, pri-
soners there. His conscience recoiled at the idea of
either putting them to death, or keeping them in
chains. On the other hand he thought it might be
dangerous to set them at liberty under provocation
to revenge; so that he prudently steered a middle
course, and sent them away for hostages; part, with
their children, to Rome, to Claudius Cæsar; others
to Artabanus, king of Parthia.

Izates con-
verted to
the Jewish
religion.

As is queen
Helen.

Izates sends
his brethren
to Claudius
and Artabanus.

Is desirous
of being
circumcised

He is dis-
suaded
from it.

When Izates began to find how highly his mo-
ther approved of the Jewish mode of worship, he
thought it an incumbent duty to make public pro-
fession of his religion; and supposing he could not
be in reality a Jew, without undergoing the form of
circumcision, determined to perfect the work, by ini-
tiating himself with that ceremony. His mother
endeavoured to divert him from it, apprehending
that it would be attended with dangerous conse-
quences. To this end she suggested to him, “ that
“ his subjects would renounce their allegiance, if
“ they heard that their king had embraced another
“ religion, and that they would never endure a Jew
“ upon the throne.” This dissuasive suspended the
execution of his purpose; and, in the mean time, he
advised upon the point with Ananias, who assured
him he entirely coincided in opinion with his mo-
ther, and threatened to leave him if he persisted in
his resolution. Ananias very pertinently observed,
“ that, if the matter should become public, he him-
“ self would be the greatest sufferer, as the author
“ of this change, and incur the stigma of a seducer
“ and

"and public enemy: besides, that religion being an act of the heart, God might be worshipped in sincerity and truth, without the external ceremony or circumcision, upon principles of obedience to the precepts of Moses; and that God would dispense with the omission of the operation, when the peace and safety of his dominions would be endangered by the observance of it." This persuasive mode of argument prevailed with the king according to the desire of his mother.

But the king soon wavering in his opinion, it happened in a short time, that there came a Jew out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, a man versed in the Mosaic laws. This Eleazar being introduced to Izates, as he was reading in the pentateuch, thus addressed him: "You do not consider, O king, how great an injury you do to the law, and how heinous an offence you offer to God, in knowing his will without obeying it. How long will you continue in a state of uncircumcision? If you have not yet met with the law that requires it, read on, that you may be convinced of the enormity of your crime in the omission of it." This address of Eleazar wrought so powerfully on the king, that he immediately retired to a drawing-room, and underwent the operation. He then sent for, and gave information of the transaction, to his mother and Ananias, who discovered the greatest astonishment and apprehension, lest the discovery should hazard the loss of his kingdom, or his subjects would not endure a prince of another religion; and also lest themselves should be subject to danger, or be the supposed abettors of the innovation. But Providence mercifully interposed in their behalf, by delivering Izates out of great perplexities, and, indeed, desperate extremities, in order to demonstrate that piety and virtue shall never go unrewarded, and that the great disposer of all events will never forsake those who put themselves under his care and protection.

When queen Helen had the happiness of seeing her son settled in the peaceable possession of his crown; and finding he had acquired the reputation, both at home and abroad, of a prince highly favoured of God and man, she was much inclined to visit the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship and sacrifice in that temple, which was so famous all over the world. Her son most cordially gave his consent, furnished her amply with money and every other necessary for her voyage, and conducted her some days upon her way.

She arrived at Jerusalem in an happy hour for the citizens, as so dreadful a famine prevailed at that time, that multitudes were perishing for want of bread. Their distress was no sooner made known to this benevolent princess, than she sent several of her train, some to one place, and some to another, to search for relief; inasmuch that, in a short time, great quantities of wheat were brought from Alexandria, and dried figs from Cyprus, which she immediately caused to be distributed among the poor, and thereby acquired immortal honour throughout our nation. Her son Izates likewise, on receiving intelligence of the famine, sent great benefactions in money, to the rulers of Jerusalem, for the use of their poor: but a detail of these royal bounties will be more properly introduced in another place.

Artabanus, king of Parthia, perceiving that a combined party of powerful and factious nobility had formed a plot against him, determined to apply to Izates for his advice, assistance, and protection, in his then embarrassed situation. Accordingly, having collected about a thousand of his kindred and servants, he proceeded, and met Izates by the way. He had no personal knowledge of him, but imagined him to be the prince to whom he was repairing, by the magnificence of his retinue. On advancing near, he saluted him with reverential awe, according to the custom of the country, and then made known his circumstances in words to this effect: "Behold, great prince, your humble suppliant, nor despise the object of your generous compassion. It has been my fortune to be cast

"down from the throne of majesty to a private and obscure state, which has compelled me to have recourse to your benevolence for succour. Of this I cannot despair from a prince so well acquainted with the vicissitudes of human affairs, and conscious that my case may be your own, as your present degree of elevation is as mine formerly was. I might observe, that it tends to the common interest of princes to aid each other, as the success of one rebellion becomes a precedent for another, by emboldening disaffected subjects." These words were accompanied with tears, and a dejected countenance.

Izates, by this time, perceived his petitioner was no less than Artabanus, king of Parthia; so that dismounting, he requested him to collect his scattered spirits, and console himself with this assurance, that the malady was not past relief, and that Providence would put a speedy end to his distress. He added, that he should find in him a more effectual assistant than he could possibly have expected, as it was his determined resolution to see him restored to his crown, or give up his own. After saying these words, Izates set Artabanus on his own horse, and walked on foot by his side, in honour of a king he owned to be greater than himself. But Artabanus blushed at the compliment, and swore by all the hopes he had of recovering his dignity and fortune, that he would dismount, unless the other would take an horse and go before him. Izates, in compliance with his resolution, ordered another horse, and conducted him to his palace, with all the deference and honour one prince could pay to another. He gave him the precedence in all places private and public, respecting his former glory and dignity, without the least degradation from his change of fortune; wisely considering it as the common lot of mortals to be exalted one day, and dejected another.

His mind being intent on rendering the promised services to Artabanus, Izates wrote a pressing letter to the Parthians to receive their king again, engaging his honour for their indemnity, and assuring them, that all past injuries should be forgiven and forgotten. The Parthians did not absolutely refuse, but pleaded, by way of excuse, that they had transferred the crown to Cinnamus, and thereby prevented themselves from receiving Artabanus again; adding, that the very attempt of such a revocation would lay the foundation of an intestine commotion. Cinnamus, being of a generous and grateful disposition, and having been educated under the immediate care and inspection of Artabanus, informed him in a letter, that if he would return, he would himself be answerable for his reception and security. Artabanus, upon this assurance, returned. Cinnamus met him on the way, paid him reverence in form, saluted him in the style of king, took the crown from off his own head, and placed it upon the head of Artabanus. This was the manner in which he was restored to the kingdom, through the means of Izates, after he had been expelled from it by a faction of his own people. Artabanus expressed his gratitude to his benefactor, by a return of all honourable duty and respect. He gave him the privilege of wearing the Tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are marks of honour peculiar to the king of Parthia. He bestowed upon him the country of Nisibis, formerly belonging to the king of Armenia, a large and fruitful territory, and famous for the ancient city of Antioch, afterwards called Mygdonia, that the Macedonians had erected there. These were the acknowledgments which Izates received from Artabanus, in consideration of the good offices he had rendered him.

Artabanus dying soon after, appointed his son Vardanes to succeed him in his kingdom, who immediately tampered with Izates to draw him into a war with the Romans. But Izates was too well acquainted with the strength and conduct of those people to be drawn into a league against so powerful an enemy. Besides, having five sons trained up among them, to learn their language and discipline, he had some tie of honour upon him, as well as discretion, to reject such a proposal. As he was himself convinced

Izates consoles and promises him assistance.

Treats him with the greatest respect.

Writes to the Parthians to receive their king again.

Cinnamus, who was a benefactor, restores the kingdom to Artabanus.

Vardanes, Artabanus's son, and a powerful leader in the Roman war.

vinced of the impropriety of this undertaking, he endeavoured to divert Vardanes from it, by representing the extraordinary strength and prowess of the Romans. But so far was the Parthian from being discouraged by the pomp of words, that he made war immediately upon Izates. Providence, however, so ordered matters for the humbling his vanity, that he was convinced of the advantages he would hence derive from giving up the enterprize. When the Parthians found Vardanes bent upon a war with the Romans, they took their opportunity to cut him off, and committed the government to his brother Gatarza, who was after taken off by treachery too, and his brother Vologeses succeeded him. He divided the government between his two brothers by the father's side. Pacorus, the elder, had Media; and Tiridates, the younger, had Armenia.

Monobasus, the brother of the king, observing his exemplary piety and virtue, the blessings that attended his general conduct, and the universal esteem he acquired thereby, became desirous of renouncing the religion of their country, and embracing that of the Jews. When this was made known to the grandees of the kingdom, they were not a little displeased, but stifled their resentment till a proper opportunity for shewing it. To this end they wrote to Abias, king of Arabia, and tempted him, with large promises of money, to make war upon their prince, with a solemn assurance that, upon the very first encounter, they would desert him, because they were determined to punish him for having abandoned the religion of his country. They entered into a league with the Arabian king, and pressed him to prosecute the design without delay. Abias complied with their desire, and forthwith marched with a considerable army against Izates. At the first onset, before they came to a close engagement, the army of Izates, according to former assurance, deserted the field as in a panic of consternation, without so much as striking an effective blow. Izates, by this time, found himself evidently betrayed, but retreated without disorder to his camp, where, upon strict enquiry into the cause of this desertion, he discovered it to be a manifest treason betwixt his people and the enemy, detected some of the conspirators, and punished them according to their deserts. The day following he went in pursuit of Abias, routed him, made a great slaughter of part of his army, put the rest to flight, and drove their king to the castle of Arsianus, which he took by storm, rifled, and carried off vast booty, and returned in triumph to Adiabena. Abias, finding himself encompassed on every side, fell by his own sword.

The grandees of Adiabena, however, though they failed in their first attempt, and were now at the mercy of the king, would not desist; but in a supplicatory letter to Vologeses, then king of Parthia, requested him to take them under his protection, rid them of Izates, and appoint some potentate of his own nation to rule over them; observing, that their king had incurred an universal odium, by apostatizing from the religion of his country.

The Parthian king, upon this application, commenced hostilities against Izates, without any colourable pretence. His first step was a revocation of all the honours and privileges which his father had conferred upon him, together with a menace of immediate war, if he dared to dispute his pleasure. This at first alarmed Izates, who deemed it reproachful to be terrified into a resignation of those privileges he so honourably possessed and deserved. Persuaded that submission to the Parthian would avail him nothing, he came to a determinate resolution of committing his cause to Providence, and, in full dependance on the Divine aid, of setting life, honour, and fortune, upon the issue of a battle. Thus resolved, he secured his wives and children in a strong castle, laid up stores of corn in his magazine, burnt and destroyed all the forage about him, and put himself in a posture to receive the enemy. The king of Parthia had raised a formidable army of horse and foot, with great expedition, and pitched his camp upon the bank of a river that parts Adia-

No. 27.

bena from Media. Izates encamping also not far from thence with a body of six thousand horse, Vologeses gave him to understand by a messenger, that he was now advancing against him with the whole force of the empire, from Bactria to Euphrates, to chastise him for his ingratitude to his master, impiously observing, that the god whom he adored could not deliver him out of his hands. Izates replied to the messenger, that he was sensible of the superiority of the king of Parthia in point of numbers, and as sensible that he was under the protection of an omnipotent God, who was infinitely above all the controul of human power.

With this declaration he dismissed the messenger, and prostrating himself, with his wives and children, in a suppliant posture, thus offered up his prayer to the Father of mercies to this effect:

“ Great God, and Governor of the universe, whom none of thy creatures ever served in vain, vouchsafe in mercy to look down upon thy servant, who hath now wholly cast himself upon thy Almighty power and infinite goodness. Deliver him out of the hands of his enemies, repress their presumptuous boldness, for the vindication of thine own honour, and avenge thyself upon them, for their blasphemous defiance of thine omnipotence.”

The prayer and humiliation of this pious prince appeared so effectual, that, upon intelligence, the very same night, of the Dahæ and Sacæ (people of Scythia) falling into Parthia with a strong army, Vologeses drew off his forces, without carrying his menaces into execution, which was an indication of the interposition of Divine Providence in favour of Izates.

This pious prince died soon after, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. He left four sons behind him, but appointed his brother Monobasus for his successor, as a due acknowledgment of the integrity of his conduct, in delivering up the crown which he held in trust, in the absence of Izates, upon the death of their father. Queen Helen, the mother, could not but be greatly afflicted for the loss of so dear and dutiful a son, but it was some alleviation to her grief, to find that the elder brother succeeded to the government. She therefore immediately repaired to him at Adiabena, but did not long survive her favourite son Izates. Monobasus sent the bones of his brother and mother away to Jerusalem, to be deposited in the pyramids which she had built there. They were three in number, and about three furlongs distant from the city. The history of Monobasus will be given in another place.

While Fadus was governor of Judæa, there was a certain magician, called Theredas, who, by his arts, wrought the common people into a belief, that if they would follow him to the river Jordan, and take their effects along with them, he would but give the word, and the waters should divide, and afford them an easy passage over it on foot. This impostor drew after him a numerous train of followers; but they suffered for their presumption and folly; for Fadus, sending a troop of horse among them, before they were aware, many of them were slain, and many taken alive, and among the rest their deluder Theredas, whose head was carried as a spectacle to Jerusalem.

CHAP. III.

Tiberius Alexander succeeds Cuspius Fadus in the government of Judæa. A great famine in that province. Crucifixion of James and Simon. Cyrenius taxes Galilee. Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander. Death of Herod, brother of Agrippa. Claudius transfers the government to his youngest son, Agrippa.

FADUS was succeeded in the government of Judæa by Tiberius Alexander, son of Alexander of Alexandria, a much more respectable character than his son, who renounced the religion

Insolent threats of the Parthian king.

Modest and pious reply of Izates.

His prayer.

Vologeses retires without executing his purpose.

Izates dies, and is succeeded by his brother Monobasus.

Death of queen Helen.

Theredas an impostor in the days of Fadus.

He is apprehended and slain.

Tiberius Alexander governor of Judæa after Fadus.

of his country. Under these procurators, the great famine happened in Judæa as before mentioned, when the benevolent and humane queen Helen procured relief for the distressed out of Egypt at immense charge. It was at the same time also, that Alexander caused to be crucified James and Simon, the sons of Judas of Galilee, who, while Cyrenius was taxing Galilee, was inciting the Jews to revolt from the Romans. Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydæ, from the office of high-priest, and appointed Ananias, the son of Nebo-dæus, to the succession. Cumanus succeeded Tiberius. At the same time Herod, brother of Agrippa the Great, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar, leaving behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by a former wife, and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, whom he had by Berenice, his brother's daughter; but Claudius conferred the government upon Agrippa the younger.

CHAP. IV.

A tumult between the soldiery and populace, upon the feast of the passover, is productive of the most fatal consequences. The books of Moses found amongst the plunder, and destroyed by a soldier. The multitude apply to Cumanus for justice. He inflicts condign punishment on the offender.

WHILE Cumanus ruled in Judæa, a tumult happened at Jerusalem upon the following occasion, which proved fatal to many thousands of the inhabitants. The festival of the passover, or unleavened bread, now approaching, vast multitudes of people repaired to Jerusalem to be present at that solemnity. Cumanus, the governor, thought it expedient, for fear of any disturbance, to set a band of soldiers as a guard upon the temple, sufficient to suppress a tumult, if occasion might require it, as had frequently been done by his predecessors. Upon the fourth day of the festival, a soldier exposed himself naked to the people; an act at once so indecent and insolent, that they exclaimed most outrageously against it; not so much as an affront put upon them, as an indignity offered to God himself, to whose honour this feast was dedicated. Some of them reproached Cumanus, as if the soldier would not have had the hardiness to behave in this manner without his encouragement. Cumanus, though incensed at so foul an imputation, suppressed his resentment, and desired them, in fair words, to avoid any instance of behaviour that might look like sedition. But he soon found that gentle means would have no effect, as they tended to increase rather than suppress the outrage. He therefore commanded the whole army, compleatly accoutred, into the castle of Antonia, which, as before observed, overlooked the temple. The common people were so alarmed at the approach of the soldiery, that they betook themselves to flight with the utmost precipitation, and pressing one upon another, through several narrow avenues, many of them were thrown down and trodden under foot, insomuch that twenty thousand persons perished upon the occasion; a circumstance that turned that day of festival into a day of mourning, in which outcries and lamentations universally prevailed.

This calamity was attended by another equally fatal; for some of those, who had escaped the pressure of the crowd, and advanced an hundred furlongs from the town, meeting with a domestic of the emperor's on the highway, whose name was Stephanus, they assaulted and robbed him of all he had. Cumanus receiving intelligence of this outrage, dispatched a band of soldiers to the spot where it was committed, with orders to rife all the adjacent villages, and bring away some of the principal inhabitants prisoners. In the midst of the pillage, one of the soldiers seized upon the books of Moses amongst the other plunder, and presenting them to the populace, inveighed both against them and the whole nation of the Jews in the most opprobrious terms, and then tore them to pieces. This flagrant contempt of what they held most sacred was no

sooner made known to the Jews, than they assembled in great numbers, preferred their complaint to Cumanus, who was then at Cæsarea, and desired him to do them right on the rioter, not as guilty of a private injury, but an heinous offence to the majesty of heaven. The governor durst not deny them justice, lest a popular revolt should ensue; so that, after consulting his friends, he ordered the criminal's head to be struck off for the violation of the law, and by that means put a stop to the progress of the tumult.

CHAP. V.

A dissention between the Jews and the Samaritans. The Jews chuse Eleazar for their leader. Cumanus puts the mutineers to the rout. Arts used to pacify the multitude. The Samaritans call upon the governor for justice on the Jews, who had sacked their villages. Several Jews put to death. Ananias and Ananus sent bound to Rome. Claudius hears the cause between the Samaritans and Jews. The former are condemned to die. Cumanus banished, and Celer, the tribune, dragged to death in the streets. Claudius Felix sent governor into Judæa. Does great honour to Agrippa. Agrippa and his wife burned under mount Vesuvius. Berenice suspected of incest. Death of Claudius Cæsar, who is suspected to have been taken off by poison. Nero proclaimed emperor of Rome. Poisons Britannicus, and causes his own mother and Octavia to be put to death. Confers the government of the Lesser Armenia on Aristobulus, and that of part of Galilee upon Agrippa.

AFTER this tumult a dissention arose between the Samaritans and the Jews upon the following occasion. It being usual for the Galileans to travel by the way of Samaria to Jerusalem, upon the celebration of their festivals, they happened to pass by a village called Nais, under the jurisdiction of Samaria, and situated on the great plain, where a dispute arose between the passengers and the villagers, and several of the Galileans were slain. Some of the chiefs resented this matter so highly, that they animated the Jews to take up arms, and assert their liberties at the point of the sword. Slavery, they observed, was, at best, base and disgraceful, but when accompanied with arbitrary justice, intolerable. The magistrates did all in their power to appease them, and undertook for Cumanus, that he should do them satisfaction upon the abettors of the tumult. But the multitude were deaf to all terms of pacification, were resolutely bent upon having recourse to arms, and made choice of Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, to head them. This Eleazar was a mountaineer, and one that made it his profession to live upon the spoil of ravaging up and down in Samaria with fire and sword. Cumanus, having intelligence of the present situation of affairs, drew out some squadrons of horse from Sebaste, and four companies of foot, with a body of the Samaritans in arms, advanced upon the Jews, slew many of them, and took more prisoners. The most eminent persons in Jerusalem, finding things in this hopeless and forlorn situation, betook themselves to prayer and humiliation in sackcloth and ashes, for the averting of those dreadful judgments they feared were impending; not omitting, at the same time, such popular arts and arguments, as appeared most conducive to bring the multitude to sober reason. They set before them the desolation of their country, the demolition of their temple, the enslaving their wives and children to prophane nations; and intreated them, upon the whole, as they loved their country, their lives, liberties, families, laws, and religion, to adopt more moderate counsels in future, return to their own habitations, and peaceably lay down their arms. This representation so far prevailed, that the common people dispersed, and the tumult subsided; but the free-booters betook themselves to their lurking places, so that Judæa was exposed to continual ravages.

James and Simon crucified.

Death of Herod.

The offender's head struck off.

A tumult at Jerusalem at the passover, occasioned by one of the soldiers.

The army ordered into the castle of Antonia.

Many Jews perished.

Stephanus, a domestic of Cæsar, is robbed.

Cumanus orders the villages to be riled.

The books of Moses found and destroyed by a soldier.

Quarrel between the Jews and Samaritans.

The Jews take up arms.

Chuse Eleazar for their leader.

Cumanus puts the Jews to the rout.

Means used to pacify the multitude.

The

The Samaritans accuse the Jews before the governor of Syria.

The heads of Samaria now went in a body to Numidius Quadratus, governor of Syria, who was at Tyre, with a charge against the Jews, of firing and plundering their villages, for which, they said, they were not so much concerned on their account, as for the encroachment on the sovereign authority of Rome, which had singly and solely the cognizance of cases of that nature. They observed, that they committed lawless depredations, and usurped a right of judgment, thereby setting the Roman legislature at open defiance.

The Jews vindicate themselves.

The Jews, on the other hand, affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult, and of course the disasters which ensued. They laid the main stress of the charge upon Cumanus, who, they said, had been bribed into connivance at a most notorious murder. Quadratus, having attended to the allegations on both sides, adjourned the hearing, assuring the parties, that he would go himself into Judæa, and, upon a perfect investigation of the whole matter, pass judgment accordingly; so that they were dismissed for the present. Quadratus went soon after this into Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he concluded that the Samaritans were guilty of the riot. He was likewise informed, that many of the Jews had been accessory to commotions, and therefore caused several prisoners, whom Cumanus had taken into custody, to be put to death. From thence he went to Lydda, a place of considerable extent, where he heard the Samaritan cause a second time, and understanding that one Dortus, an eminent Jew, with four more of his own tribe, had incited the populace to an insurrection, he passed sentence of death upon them all. But Ananias, the high-priest, and Ananus, the principal officer, were sent bound to Rome, to answer for themselves before Cæsar. He likewise ordered into Italy the principal men both of the Samaritans and the Jews, with Cumanus, the governor, and Celer, the tribune, that the emperor might hear and determine upon the cause depending; but returned himself to Jerusalem, lest new tumults might require the exertion of his authority. Finding, however, every thing in a peaceable state, and the Jews wholly intent upon the celebration of one of their usual festivals, he would not interrupt them in the exercise of their profession, and so went back to Antioch.

A great contest between the Jews and Samaritans.

Agrippa intercedes humbly in behalf of the Jews.

The Samaritans found guilty, and sentence passed.

Felix made governor of Judæa.

Part of Claudius to Agrippa.

Drusilla, sister of Agrippa, married to Azizus, a Jew.

When Cumanus and the Samaritans arrived at Rome, they were ordered to appear at the time and place appointed for the trial, and having made very powerful interest beforehand, would most probably have carried the cause, had it not been for the interposition of Agrippa the younger, who finding the Jews in danger of being overpowered by numbers, importuned Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, to press her husband for a candid and impartial hearing, and an indiscriminate execution of justice upon the authors of this encroachment on the sovereignty of the Roman empire. Claudius was so prevailed upon by this intercession, that he gave both sides a fair hearing, and finding, upon the whole, that the Samaritans had been the authors of this tumult, passed sentence of death upon those who came up to him; of exile upon Cumanus; and commanded Celer, the tribune, to be carried to Jerusalem, and dragged to execution through the streets in the face of all the people. He then appointed Felix, the brother of Pallas, to the government of Judæa.

Claudius Cæsar, in the twelfth year of his reign, conferred upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, with Batanæa; and added to it Trachon and Abila, which had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took Chalcis from him, after it had been under his government four years. Agrippa, having received those bounties from Cæsar, gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, who was now become a Jew. She had before been promised to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, on condition of his embracing the Jewish religion; but, upon refusal, the match broke off. He married Mariamne, another of his sisters, to Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, to whom she had been contracted some time before by her father Agrippa, from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Berenice.

Soon after this Drusilla and Azizus were parted on the following occasion. Drusilla possessing great personal charms, Felix, the governor of Judæa, became passionately enamoured of her. To obtain his desire, he sent for Simon, his particular friend, (a Jew of Cyprus, who pretended to divination,) and enjoined him to use all his art with Drusilla to detach her from her husband, and persuade her to marry him, with full assurance that nothing should be wanting to compleat her happiness. Drusilla, to avoid the envy of her sister Berenice, on account of her beauty, imprudently acceded to the proposal, renounced her religion as well as her husband, and married the Roman governor, by whom she had a son, called Agrippa, who, in the days of Titus Cæsar, and in the prime of life, perished, with his wife, at a conflagration of the Mount Vesuvius.

Felix enamoured of Drusilla.

Drusilla is married to Felix.

Berenice lived in a state of widowhood a considerable time after the death of Herod, who was both her husband and her uncle, but lying under the disgraceful imputation of incestuous familiarity with her brother, in order to wipe off that stigma, she persuaded Polemon, king of Cilicia, to embrace the Jewish religion, and take her to wife, as it might pass for a confutation of the report. Polemon, lured by her fortune, came into the proposal; but Berenice, being a woman of a licentious disposition, soon parted with her husband, as he did with his new religion. Mariamne also put away Archelaus, and was married to Demetrius, the most eminent Jew of Alexandria, as well for birth as fortune, and at that time alabarcha of this place, by whom she had a son, called Agrippinus.

Claudius Cæsar, having reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, departed this life, not without a strong presumption of his having been poisoned by his wife Agrippina. She was the daughter of Germanicus, the emperor's brother. Her first husband was Domitius Aenobarbus, a man of eminence in the city of Rome, who leaving her a widow, she remained in that state till Claudius took her to wife. She had a son by Domitius, who was called by his father's name, which, upon his being adopted by Claudius, was changed for that of Nero. This emperor had a former wife, whose name was Messalina, by whom he had issue Britannicus and Octavia. He caused Messalina to be put to death, upon a suspicion of jealousy, and married Antonia, his eldest child, whom he had by Petronia, a former wife, to Nero, his adopted son.

Death of Claudius Cæsar.

His wives and children.

Agrippina being bent upon the advancement of her own son to the empire, it is reported that she consulted the death of Claudius and the securing the succession to Nero at the same time, lest Germanicus should interpose and supplant him. She had suborned Burrhus, commanding officer of the guards, with some tribunes, friends, and favorites, to be in immediate readiness, upon the demise of Claudius, to carry Nero into the camp, and proclaim him emperor. This they no sooner did, but his first exploit, after his elevation, was the poisoning of Britannicus, which was followed by the atrocious murder of his own mother, in requital for the life she had given him, and the empire she had procured him. He put his wife Octavia to death, and divers persons of the first eminence for integrity and honor. But the history of Nero is so well known, that it is needless to enlarge upon the subject. Some writers are as extravagant in their panegyric, as others have been in their defamation; so that truth, the chief excellence of an historian, is totally obscured. Nor do I much wonder at the palpable contradictions evident in the recital of the acts of Nero by different authors of his life, when I consider the partiality and prejudice that are as evident in the histories of his predecessors. With respect to myself, truth shall ever be my direct aim. Matters foreign and contingent shall be passed over with brevity; while particular attention shall be paid to the concerns of our own nation, which shall be related without the guise of exaggeration of our virtues, or palliation of our vices. But to return to the subject before us.

Nero proclaimed emperor.

Proves a most cruel tyrant.

Josephus censures the Roman historians for partiality and prejudice.

Professes truth and impartiality.

Azizus,

Josephus
returns to
the acts of
Nero,

Azizus, king of Emesa, died in the first year of the reign of Nero, and was succeeded by his brother Sohemus. Nero gave Armenia the Lesser to Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis. He also gave to Agrippa a part of Galilee, subjecting Tiberias and Taricheæ to his government, with the addition of Julius beyond Jordan, and fourteen villages under that jurisdiction.

CHAP. VI.

Judæa infested with robbers and impostors. Felix seizes Eleazar, a ring-leader, and sends him bound to Rome. Jonathan, the high-priest, is assassinated, through the contrivance of Dora, at the instance of Felix. The people seduced by the wiles of magicians and false prophets. Disputes between the Jews of Cesarea and Syria, concerning their privileges. Felix turns the soldiers upon the contending parties, and gives them the booty. The high-priests divide from, and oppress, the priests in ordinary.

Robbers de-
tected and
punished.

THE affairs of the Jews grew daily worse and worse, as the country was infested with robbers and impostors, who deluded the credulous multitude. A day scarcely passed in which Felix did not cause some of them to be apprehended, and brought to condign punishment. Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, a ring-leader of the party, was taken by stratagem. Felix gave him a solemn invitation to come over to him, with assurance of perfect security, which inducing Eleazar to compliance, he no sooner arrived, than the governor sent him in chains to Rome.

Eleazar, as
a ring-lead-
er, is taken,
and sent
bound to
Rome.

Felix a-
verse to Jo-
nathan, the
high-priest.

Felix conceived a mortal aversion to Jonathan, the high-priest, because he frequently gave him wholesome advice, concerning the regulation of the affairs of Judæa, to prevent the murmurs of the people, and ensure the approbation of those friends who had recommended him to the government. Felix considered his counsel as reproach, and therefore concerted means for ridding himself of the ungrateful importunities of the high-priest, as men of depraved minds cannot bear to be chastised for their faults. To this end he tampered, by presents, with Dora, a citizen of Jerusalem, one of Jonathan's particular friends, to suborn a set of bravos to fall upon and assassinate him. Dora undertook and executed the commission. Matters were so concerted, that these ruffians went to Jerusalem on pretence of devotion, with daggers concealed under their garments, and intermixing with the promiscuous multitude, took an opportunity of stabbing the high-priest. As these miscreants came off with impunity, others were encouraged to perpetrate the same massacres, under the same disguise, upon such festive occasions; so that murders were frequently committed, from motives of revenge, or other execrable causes, not only in divers parts of the city, but in the very temple itself, as if that sacred spot could sanctify the foulest of crimes. Can it then be matter of wonder, that, for the practice and connivance of such abominable profanations, the Almighty, in his wrath and indignation, should deliver up his city, nay, his own house, into the hands of the Romans; and that the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, should be condemned to misery and bondage, to bring them to a due and penitential sense of their enormous offences?

Jonathan
assassinated
at the in-
stance of
Felix.

Impostors
twice in
Judæa.

While plunderers and murderers were injuring the public in one quarter, magicians and impostors were preying upon them in another, and alluring the multitude by thousands, to see the signs and miracles they pretended to work. But they suffered severely for their credulity and curiosity, being apprehended, and many of them put to death, by order of Felix. There arrived, at that time, out of Egypt, a certain reported prophet, who invited the populace, and misled the common people to follow him to the top of mount Olivet, about five furlongs from the city, assuring them, that, when he came thither, he would but give command, and the walls of Jerusalem

An Egyp-
tian false
prophet.

should be levelled with the ground, and open to them an entrance into the city through the ruins.

When Felix received intelligence of this adventure, he commanded his soldiers to take to their arms, so that breaking in upon them with horse and foot, they soon routed them, slew four hundred on the spot, and took two hundred alive; but the Egyptian impostor made his escape. Those who fled endeavoured to incite the people to a rebellion against the Romans, notwithstanding their late defeat, by insinuating that their yoke was intolerable, and should therefore be shaken off, and committed ravages upon all those who would not join them.

The soldiers
attack, and
route the par-
tisans of the
Egyptian.

There happened, at this time, another dispute between the Jews of Cesarea and Syria, on a claim to some certain privileges. Those of Cesarea claimed a precedence in right of their king Herod, the founder of that city. When the report of this contest came to the knowledge of the neighbouring governors, they caused the incendiaries on both sides to be apprehended, and punished with stripes, in consequence of which the tumult for some time subsided. But the Jewish citizens, depending on their wealth, reproached the Syrians in the most vehement terms. The Syrians, though inferior in wealth, relying on the assistance of the soldiers, returned the opprobrious language of the Jews; so that they proceeded from words to stoning one another, and many were wounded and fell on each side; but the Jews came off conquerors. When Felix found this contest was brought to a kind of war, he urged the Jews to decline it; but when words proved ineffectual, he sent armed troops among them, who killed many, took more prisoners, and permitted the soldiers to plunder the houses of the opulent for their booty. The more respectable and moderate part of the Jews, dreading worse consequences, applied to Felix, and intreated him to call off the soldiers, and afford them time to repent of their rashness. Felix complied with their request.

A contest
between the
Jews of Ce-
sarea and
Syria.

The parties
proceed to
blows.

The sol-
diers at
last obliged
Felix.

King Agrippa, at the same time, gave the high-priesthood to Hamael, the son of Phabeus; and the high priests began to divide themselves from the other priests and the governors of Jerusalem, each of them taking a guard of the boldest and most seditious partizans, insomuch that all authority seemed to be set at defiance, as if there had been a total vacancy of administration. Such was the insolence of the high-priests, that they sent their emissaries up and down into Baras, to seize upon the tithes of the priests, so that the poorer sort of that holy order perished for want of bread. These were the dire effects of faction.

CHAP. VII.

Portius Festus being appointed to succeed Felix, the Jews of Cesarea accuse him before Nero. His brother Pallas obtains his pardon. Beryllus procures a mandate for disfranchising the Jews. They are annoyed by robbers. An impostor decoys the multitude into the wilderness. Festus destroys both the seducer and followers. Agrippa builds a magnificent palace, that overlooks the temple, which occasions a murmuring amongst the Jews. They appeal by commissioners to Caesar. Joseph appointed to the office of high-priest.

FELIX being removed from his government, and Portius Festus appointed, by the emperor, to succeed him, some of the principal Jewish inhabitants of Cesarea, went up to Rome to accuse Felix, and would certainly have brought him to condign punishment, had not Nero yielded to the solicitations of his brother Pallas, who at that time stood highly in his favour.

Portius Festus
succeeds Felix
as governor of Ju-
dæa.

Felix is
sent to
Rome.

There were two eminent Syrians of Cesarea, who, by a vast sum of money, formed so powerful an interest with Beryllus, tutor and Greek secretary to Nero, that he obtained the emperor's letters mandatory to Cesarea, for the disfranchising of the Jews, and

The Jews
celebrate
the abolition
of slavery.

and abrogating all the privileges they enjoyed within that city, which had been hitherto common to Jews and Syrians. This grant was the source of all the calamities that afterwards betel our nation; for the Jews of Cesarea, after this mandate, would never rest till they waged war with their enemies.

Judea in-
fested with
robbers.

When Fadus came into Judæa, he found the country desolate, the people forced from their habitations, their houses exposed to fire and pillage, and all at the mercy of a brutal clan of free-booters, who ravaged up and down, in great numbers, at pleasure. These robbers were denominated Sicarii, from Sica, alluding to the short sword they wore, a weapon bending towards the point, and formed in a manner betwixt a Persian scymetar and the Roman falchion. With these weapons they did great execution, by intermixing with the multitude at festivals, under colour of religion, and dispatching whom they pleased in that confusion, without difficulty, or danger of discovery.

Festus de-
stroyed a se-
dicer.

There were in those days a notorious impostor, who had deluded a credulous rabble into an opinion, that, if they followed him into such a wilderness, they would be protected from harm. But Festus, with a detachment of horse and foot, destroyed the seducer and his belotted followers together.

The Jews
take offence
at a palace
built by A-
grippa.

The wall
built to in-
tercept the
view of the
temple.

Nero's
indulgence
was not
without end.

Joseph
transfers
the ponti-
ficate.

About the same time king Agrippa caused to be erected, near the porch of the royal palace, at Jerusalem, belonging to the Armenian family, a stately, magnificent apartment, for the entertainment of guests. It stood upon an eminence, commanded a noble prospect of the city, and was so contrived, that the king could see every thing that was done in the temple, which afforded him very great satisfaction. This gave much offence to the principal men amongst the Jews, as it is contrary to our laws, that our rites and ceremonies, and especially our sacrifices in the temple, should be exposed to the view of others. They therefore erected a wall, by way of prevention, before the seats, that enclosed the inner part of the temple, towards the west, which not only intercepted the prospect from the king's apartment, but also the view of the galleries to the westward on the other side of the temple, where the Roman guards were placed upon days of festival. This proceeding highly displeased Agrippa, and more so Festus, who ordered the wall to be pulled down. The citizens, upon this, assured him, that they prized the temple above their lives, and therefore desired permission to send deputies to Cæsar, before they proceeded to the execution of his orders. Their request being granted, they sent to the emperor ten eminent citizens, with Imael, the high-priest, and Chelcias, the treasurer of the temple, as their commissioners. When Nero had heard their petition, he not only passed over what they had done, but gave them his grant for the continuance of the wall they had built. This indulgence they obtained on the intercession of the empress Poppea, a religious woman, who was greatly disposed to favour the Jews. The ten deputies were permitted to return; but Poppea detained Imael and Chelcias as hostages. When Agrippa heard of these transactions, he transferred the pontificate to Joseph, otherwise called Cabis, the son of Simon, formerly high-priest.

CHAP. VIII.

Death of Festus, and succession of Albinus. Ananus made high-priest. Calls a council, and cites James, the brother of Jesus, to appear before him, on a charge laid against him. James is stoned. Agrippa deposes Ananus, and transfers the pontificate to Jesus, the son of Damneus. Agrippa enlarges Cesarea Philippi, and calls it Neronias. Builds a magnificent theatre at Berytus. Deprives Jesus of the high-priesthood, and gives it to another Jesus, the son of Gamaliel. Gessius Florus succeeds Albinus in the government of Judæa. Agrippa allows the Levites
No. 27.

particular privileges. The temple finished. High-priesthood frequently transferred. Enumeration of the high-priests.

Albinus suc-
ceeds Festus,
and Ananus
Joseph.

James, the
brother of
Jesus,
is stoned at
the instance
of Ananus.

Ananus de-
posed from
the ponti-
ficate.

The priests
tithes taken
away by vio-
lence.

Liberality
of Agrippa
misapplied.

CÆSAR, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus to take upon him the government of Judæa; and Agrippa, at the same time, deposed Joseph, and conferred the dignity of high-priest upon Ananus, the son of Ananus. Ananus, the father, was deemed singularly honoured, as he had five sons that came successively into the pontificate after him, a circumstance of which no other of an high-priest could boast. The younger Ananus, of whom we are now speaking, was naturally fierce and impetuous, and of the sect of the Sadducees, a very censorious and uncharitable people. Actuated by these principles, he took an opportunity, in the interval between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor Albinus, to call a council, with the assistance of judges, and then to cite James, the brother of Jesus, together with some other persons, to appear before him, and answer to a charge brought against them; upon which they were all condemned, and delivered up to be stoned. The conscientious part of the citizens were so displeased at this proceeding, that they privately represented it to the king as highly unjust, requesting that Ananus might be so reproved for it, as to caution him not to act in the same manner for the future. Others were sent with an account of it to Albinus, who was then upon his journey to Alexandria, setting it forth as an usurpation upon his authority. Albinus was so offended, that he wrote a menacing letter to the high-priest upon it; and king Agrippa, at the expiration of three months, removed him from his office, and conferred it on Jesus, the son of Damneus.

Albinus no sooner arrived at Jerusalem, than he applied himself, with all possible diligence, to the maintaining of the public peace; and to that end brought many of the robbers, called Sicarii, to deserved punishment. Ananias, the high-priest, by his bounty and affability, greatly conciliated the esteem of the people; and also cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and the high-priest Jesus, by means of caresses and presents. But he had a number of abandoned servants, who, joining with others as profligate as themselves, went from barn to barn, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, beating and maiming those that refused to deliver them. Many other high-priests acted in the same unjust manner, as they were subject to no controul, insomuch that the priests in ordinary were perishing for want of food, being deprived of their only means of support.

A band of these Sicarii entered the city by night, on the eve of a festival, and surprized the secretary of Eleazar, an officer of the first rank in the army, and son of Ananias, the high-priest, whom they bound, and carried away with them. They then sent information to Ananias, that they had the secretary in custody, and were ready to deliver him up, on condition of his prevailing with Albinus to release ten of their party, whom he held in prison. The department of the secretary was of such importance, that Albinus was under a kind of necessity of complying with the request of Ananias, though it was productive of disastrous events: for when the robbers had found out this mode of compounding their villainies, they were incessantly contriving means for surprizing some of the domestics of Ananias, in order to detain them, and thereby procure the release of any of their party who might be in custody; so that they were more and more emboldened, and infested the whole country with their ravages and depredations.

King Agrippa had now enlarged Cesarea Philippi, and gave it the name of Neronias, in honour of the emperor Nero. He also erected at Berytus a magnificent and sumptuous theatre, which he largely endowed, for the exhibition of annual shows, and distribution of corn and oil among the people in due proportions. He caused the city to be beauti-
fied,

fied, and adorned with curious statues and pictures, and a collection of antique originals, from the hands of the greatest masters in the several branches; so that this town might be deemed a repository for all that was rare and precious in the kingdom. But this munificence to strangers, to the impoverishing of his own people, of course incurred their ill will.

Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, made high-priest.

Agrippa soon took away the pontificate from Jesus, and gave it to another of the same name, who was the son of Gamaliel. This created such feuds between them, that they formed parties of abandoned followers, and reviled each other in the public streets in the most opprobrious terms. From words they sometimes proceeded to stones; but Ananias, by dint of money, had the strongest party.

Costobarus and Saul being of the blood royal, and nearly related to Agrippa, had great interest, and drew together a band of resolute ready to execute their commands. They were insolent and rapacious towards the lower class of people, who had no patronage or protection; so that from this juncture we may date the declension of the Jewish nation.

Gessius Florus succeeds Albinus.

When Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was appointed to succeed him, he thought the most effectual means of ingratiating himself with the Jews, was to do justice upon those whom he had in custody. He therefore caused all the prisoners to be brought before him, and, upon due examination, proceeded against them according to their demerits; putting to death those who were manifestly guilty of capital crimes, and discharging those who were only convicted of misdemeanors upon fine and ransom. These means might tend to clear the prisoners, but they let loose robbers upon the country.

Privileges granted to the Levites.

Those of the tribe of Levi, that officiated as choristers in the temple, prevailed on the king to call a council, and grant them the use of the linen vestments which had been peculiar to the priests, suggesting that such a concession would stand upon record as an act of grace to the king's eternal honour. This request was heard and granted in form and manner according to desire, and the choristers were permitted to wear the linen vestment. There was another class of Levites who officiated in the services of the temple, and were likewise allowed to serve promiscuously as choristers. But these licences were repugnant to our national laws and customs, which were never abandoned without a judgment upon the violation.

The temple finished.

The repairing of the temple being finished, and near eight thousand artificers and labourers destitute of employment, and consequently of the means of subsistence, the people, unwilling to stock their money as an easy prey to the Romans, and desirous of making some provision for them, proposed the repairing of a building on the east side of the temple, which overlooking a deep narrow valley, was supported by a wall four hundred cubits in height, and six in depth, being the work of Solomon, the first founder of the temple. But Agrippa, who was entrusted by the emperor with the repairing of this glorious structure, revolving in his mind how much easier it would be to destroy such a work than rebuild it, did not think it expedient to comply with the desire of the people, and therefore gave them to understand, that if they would rest content with beautifying the city by paving the streets with white stone, he would not oppose it. Agrippa also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the pontificate, and conferred it on Matthias, the son of Theophilus, in whose time commenced the war between the Jews and the Romans.

Matthias, the son of Theophilus, appointed high-priest.

Enumeration of the Jewish high-priests.

It appears to me necessary, as introductory to a work under contemplation, to give an account in this place of the origin of high-priests, the qualifications requisite for that sacred function, and the number of those who were admitted to such dignity, as far as to the end of the war.

The first of this order was Aaron, the brother of Moses; and after his death his children succeeded him, and so the honour descended in course to his family. This right of hereditary succession prevailed

so far with our forefathers, that none but those of the blood of Aaron were accounted worthy of that holy office, kings themselves not excepted. From Aaron to Phanaeus, who was declared high-priest by a faction in a time of war, there were eighty-three in number; thirteen of them officiating in the station from the time that Moses erected a tabernacle to God in the desert, to their entrance into Judaea, where king Solomon built and dedicated the holy temple. At first there was no succeeding to the pontificate, but by a vacancy upon death; though it became a practice afterwards, to appoint succession during the lives of predecessors. These thirteen persons descending from two of the sons of Aaron, succeeded in their turns to that dignity. The form of government was at first aristocratical, then monarchical, and lastly regal. The number of years from the time in which Moses carried our forefathers out of Egypt, to the building of the temple of Solomon, was six hundred and twelve.

Different forms of government.

After those thirteen high-priests abovementioned, there followed eighteen more, in the course of four hundred sixty-six years, six months, and ten days, in succession one to another under the government of kings. These are computed from king Solomon to the days of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, when he marched up to Jerusalem, and took it, burnt the temple, and carried away the whole nation, together with Jozedek, their high-priest, captives.

After a captivity of seventy years in Babylon, Cyrus, king of Persia, dismissed the Jews to their own country, with permission to rebuild their temple; Jesus, the son of Jozedek, exercising, at that time, the function of high-priest. Fifteen of his posterity succeeded him in the same dignity, but under a democratical form of government, till the time of king Antiochus Eupator, a term of four hundred and fourteen years, when this same Antiochus, with his general Lysias, took away both the dignity and life of Onias, otherwise called Menelaus, at Berytus, excluded his son from the succession, and, in his place, appointed Jasinus, one of the race of Aaron, but not of the pontifical family.

Upon this Onias, son of Onias deceased, went away into Egypt, and insinuating himself into the good opinion of Ptolemy Philometer, and Cleopatra his wife, prevailed upon them to build and dedicate a temple to God at Heliopolis, in imitation of that in Jerusalem, and to constitute him high-priest there. Jasinus died, at the expiration of three years, in the execution of the pontifical office, without a successor; so that there was a vacancy for seven years.

When the Jews revolted from the Macedonians, the dignity was transferred to the family of the Asmoneans, and Jonathan advanced to the pontificate, which he enjoyed for the space of seven years, and then being taken off by the treachery of Tryphon, his brother Simon was promoted to his place. Upon his being afterwards assassinated by his son-in-law at a public entertainment, his son Hyrcanus succeeded him, and held it for the space of one and thirty years. Upon his death it devolved on his son Judas, otherwise called Aristobulus, who was the first that took upon him the name and quality of king. After a reign of one year he left his brother Alexander heir and successor both to the kingdom and pontificate, in both which capacities he administered for twenty-seven years, and then departing this life, transmitted the regency to his wife Alexandra, with authority to dispose of the pontificate; in consequence of which she conferred it upon her brother Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it during the nine years of her reign. At her death Aristobulus, the younger brother, made war upon him, overcame him, and reduced him to the condition of a private man, assuming both the kingdom and the pontificate to himself, which he held for three years, and as many months. When Pompey, upon the taking of Jerusalem, carried away him and his children prisoners to Rome, Hyrcanus, being restored to the pontificate, accepted also of the principality, but not under the title of king, enjoying the high-priesthood twenty-three years more, besides

besides the nine above-mentioned. At the expiration of this term, Barzaphanes and Pacorus, Parthian generals, passed the Euphrates, made war upon Hyrcanus, and carried him away prisoner, advancing Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, to the crown, who, in three years and three months after, was taken in Jerusalem by Herod and Sossius, and then, by command of Anthony, put to death at Antioch.

Herod having now received the kingdom from the Romans, made no scruple of chusing the high-priests out of the Asmonean race, but conferred the dignity indiscriminately upon persons of obscure birth, provided they were in holy orders; except in the instance of Aristobulus, of whom he made choice, being the grandson of Hyrcanus, that was taken by the Parthians, and brother of his wife Mariamne, to ingratiate himself with the people, who held the memory of Hyrcanus in great veneration. He was, in fine, so generally beloved, that Herod grew jealous of him, and caused him to be drowned in a fish pond at Jericho, as before related. After this time he would never vest any of the Asmonean family with that dignity. His son Archelaus took the same measures, and so did all the Romans after him, who were successively appointed governors of the province.

From the days of Herod to the burning of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus, there were, in all, twenty-eight high-priests, in the course of an hundred and seven years. Some of these were political governors under the reign of Herod, and of his son Archelaus; but, after their deaths, the government was changed to an aristocracy, and the high-priests held dominion over the nation.

CHAP. IX.

Gessius Florus succeeds Albinus, and causes the Jews to take up arms against the Romans. Conclusion of the Jewish Antiquities.

Florus made Governor of Judaea.
GESSIUS Florus, appointed by Nero to succeed Albinus in the government of Judaea, entailed upon our nation the direst calamities. He was a native of the city of Clazomena, and the husband of Cleopatra, a character as infamous as himself. Through her interest with the empress Poppea, he obtained the dignity, which he abused to such a degree, that the Jews wished for the restoration of Albinus; as the latter endeavoured to conceal his vices, whereas the former openly gloried in his shame. He was rapacious to a degree, inexorably cruel, and insatiably covetous, that he seemed disposed to universal depredation. He shared in the plunder of rob-

bers, and thereby gave a sanction to rapine. Such, in fine, was the oppression under his government, that the wretched Jews were forced to abandon their habitations, their country, and their altars, and fly for sanctuary even to the most barbarous or foreign nations. Florus laid us under a necessity of taking up arms against the Romans, resolving rather to fall together, than perish ingloriously one by one. This was commenced in the second year of the government of Florus, and twelfth of the reign of Nero. The particulars of it may be accurately known, by perusing the books we have written upon that subject.

End of the Jewish Antiquities.

The Jewish Antiquities I have deduced from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, recounting, in historical progression, the several events which related to the Jewish nation throughout so many ages; as in Egypt, Syria, under the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Macedonians, and lastly the Romans. I have enumerated the high-priests in regular order and succession for the space of two thousand years. I have faithfully extracted, according to promise, at the first entrance upon this work, from holy writ, the descent of our kings, and the course of other forms of government, as they succeeded one another, with their power, and administration of affairs.

Conclusion of the Antiquities of the Jews.

I will be bold to affirm, that no man living could have written the Jewish Antiquities in a style and manner so accurate, or so acceptable to the Greeks, as myself; for those of my own nation acknowledge me to be perfectly versed in the learning of the Jews; and my proficiency in the language of the Greeks has been cultivated with unremitting assiduity. The knowledge of different languages, and the embellishment of discourse, by pointed accents, and turned periods, are not so highly estimated by our nation, as the knowledge of our laws and the holy scripture. This is an excellency to which two or three, of all that ever aspired to it, have attained, to their immortal honour, and to the essential benefit of succeeding ages.

It will not, I presume, be deemed amiss, to relate some memoirs of my own life, as there are living witnesses to expose falsehood, and confirm truths. Thus I close my Antiquities, which are here comprized in twenty books, intending, with the Divine permission, to draw up a concise narrative of the whole war, from the period of its commencement, to the present state, being the thirteenth year of Domitianus Caesar, and the fifty-sixth of my own life. I also intend to write a treatise on the peculiar tenets and opinions, as held by the different Jewish sects, concerning the nature and essence of the Divine Being, and the particular licences and restrictions of our laws.

End of the Jewish Antiquities of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.



PREFACE of JOSEPHUS
TO THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS OF THE JEWS.

The Jewish wars the most memorable of all others.

AS the Wars between the Jews and Romans were, in point of events, the most memorable of all others, whether national or civil, many have been induced to present the public with a pretended history of them. But it has appeared, upon impartial examination, that their several productions have been deficient in the statement of facts; or that they have tended to veil truth by partial representation, either from a desire of conciliating the favour of the Romans, or manifesting their hatred to the Jews.

Actuated by these considerations, I, Josephus, the son of Matthias, an Hebrew by birth, and a priest of Jerusalem, have undertaken to translate those books, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, into the Greek tongue, for the common benefit of the subjects of the Roman empire; and having first borne arms, for the Jews, against the Romans, I find an irresistible impulse to prosecute my design.

These dreadful wars commenced at a very critical juncture, when the Roman state was embroiled by faction, and the affairs of the Jewish nation flourished in an eminent degree. Power and opulence incited sedition, which was inflamed into tumults that alarmed the whole eastern world; for the Jews, as well those beyond the Euphrates as the rest, seemed all in a confederacy to rise as one man. Commotions prevailed among the Gauls upon the borders of Italy, as also among the Germans. In a word, all was in disorder upon the death of Nero: some arrogating sovereignty to themselves, and some attempting innovations from motives of personal advantage.

Josephus alleges the reason of his undertaking.

In this situation of affairs I hold myself bound, in honour and conscience, to vindicate so many important truths from imposture and mistake; and, after having instructed the Parthians, the Babylonians, the most remote of the Arabians, the Jews on the farther side of the Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, in the particulars of the rise, progress, and event of the wars, not to suffer the Greeks, and so many of the Romans, to be imposed upon by fictions, and remain ignorant of most essential transactions.

Josephus censures other historians.

These writers, indeed, have the confidence to call their accounts histories, though they are destitute of sense, connection, and even truth itself. An evident partiality runs through the whole; and to vilify the Jews without cause, in order to aggrandize the Romans, seems to be their main and principal design. Where is the glory of triumphing over an enfeebled adversary? Why was not the conquest more speedily achieved, considering the mighty power of the Romans, and the valour of their commanders? All their honours are sullied, if they deny or misrepresent the bravery and resolution of the vanquished.

Professor imputes partiality.

Far be it from me to exaggerate the exploits of the Jews, as others have done those of the Romans. I profess to do right indiscriminately to both parties, without addition to, or diminution from, plain matter of fact; to content myself with an affectionate concern for the ruin of my country; while I justly impute our unhappy divisions, and the very burning of the holy temple itself, to the tyranny of our own governors, who compelled the Romans to proceed to that extremity. As an instance of this I shall cite Titus Caesar, who compassionated our miseries, when we were rent by intestine factions, to that humane degree, as to suspend the final destruction of the city, (which he afterwards laid in ashes,) to give the authors of the war time for reflection and repentance. If it should be urged that, in the warmth of passion for the oppression of my country, I have transgressed the bounds of an historian, I have only to offer, by way of excuse, that I was impelled by an irresistible concern for the fate of my country. It is beyond a doubt, that of all the places that ever fell under the dominion of the Roman empire, none arrived to so great a degree of eminence, or was reduced to so abject a state, as the city of Jerusalem. As the calamities of our nation were brought on by our own countrymen, I could not but be particularly affected by them: nor can any candid reader censure me for the tragical stile in which I have related them.

The

The Greek historians have discovered a very reprehensible partiality, not only in the omission of the transactions of as memorable a war as ever occurred in the revolution of time, but in derogating from the merits of those who have undertaken so laudable a task. They have compiled the histories of the Medes and Assyrians from the productions of ancient writers, to whom they are greatly inferior both in style and manner.

The Greek historians
partial and
negligent.

It is the part of a judicious and faithful historian, to furnish himself, if possible, with such materials as have not been previously transmitted to the world. Pursuant to this maxim, I have, at great expence and labour, (being a stranger,) furnished both Greeks and Romans with a memorial of transactions worthy of being known. In points of controversy the Greeks have sufficiently displayed their abilities; but they seem to have neglected the province of history, or assigned it to men inadequate to the task. But the inattention of the Greeks does by no means depreciate the merit of the History.

I might here relate the origin of the Jews, the cause of their leaving Egypt, the countries through which they passed, and the vicissitudes of fortune they underwent. But all this would be superfluous, as those subjects have been amply treated by several of our own people, and faithfully translated by some of the Greeks into their own tongue. I shall begin my History where their writers and our prophets left off. With respect to the transactions of the wars, of which I was eye-witness, I shall be as copious and particular as possible; and, on the other hand, as concise and general, with respect to such events as preceded my own time.

Method and
design of
Josephus.

The method I propose shall be to set forth the cause of the expulsion of Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, after taking Jerusalem by force, and keeping possession of it three years and an half, by the sons of Asimonæus. I shall then relate the contest betwixt the successors about the government, and the advantage the Romans, under the command of Pompey, took of that division; together with the manner in which Herod, the son of Antipater, with the assistance of Sosius, the general, put an end to the power of the Asimonæan line.

The popular revolt under the government of Quintilius Varus, the war that commenced in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, together with the exploits of the Jews upon their taking up arms under the command of Celsus, will comprize a part of my plan. In this narrative I shall endeavour to observe the strictest impartiality, and do justice to the merits of the Romans as well as our own countrymen. Nor will I suppress any part of the calamities that befell the Jews; as I have contemporaries ready to controvert whatever may be advanced contrary to the truth.

It will be also necessary to state the events which took place on the death of Nero, and succession of Vespasian, who was called back to assume the Imperial government as he was going to attack Jerusalem, with the presages he had of his future greatness, the changes that happened at Rome under his government, and his being declared Emperor against his will. To this will be added the sedition that arose amongst the Jews upon his going into Egypt to give necessary orders, the slavery they endured under tyrannical oppression, and the animosities that prevailed amongst them.

The acts of Titus will also be attended to; such as the inroads he made into Judæa, the number of his approaches, the strength of his works, the fortifications of the city and of the temple, and the model and dimensions of the altar. Nor shall I omit an account of our solemn festivals, the ceremonies that attend them, the seven sorts of purification, the offices of the sacerdotal function, the vestments of the priests, or whatever is sacred belonging to the holy temple.

I shall represent, with impartiality, the cruelty of our governors towards those of their own tribe and profession, the humanity of the Romans even towards strangers, and the candour and liberality of Titus, in inviting the Jews to come to an agreement amongst themselves, from an honourable design of saving both the temple and city. I shall enlarge upon the sufferings and calamities of the people, that arose from war, sedition, and famine, till, in the end, they were made prisoners; nor shall I pass over the destruction of the fugitives, or the torments inflicted upon those that were taken. I shall also advert to the conflagration of the temple against the will of Cæsar, the consumption of the sacred treasure, the sacking of the city, the prodigies that preceded the captivating of our tyrannical masters, and the slavery of the people that were carried away. Lastly, I shall describe the progress of Titus through the city and country, together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

These are the heads of the seven following books, which I have written in confirmation of truth, and to exempt myself from the censure of those who are well acquainted with the subjects.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Competition between Antiochus and Ptolemy. Antiochus enters Judæa, and takes Jerusalem. Persecutes the Jews, as does Bacchides. Matthias avenges their cause. Judas restores the worship of the true God. Death of Antiochus and Judas.

THE great men of the Jews being divided into factions amongst themselves, at a time that there was a competition between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy the Sixth, Onias, the high-priest, got the ascendancy, and drove the sons of Tobias out of the city, who applied themselves to Antiochus, with intreaties that he would make an inroad into Judæa, and use them for his guides. The king being easily persuaded to an exploit he had in contemplation before, marched into Judæa with a powerful army, took Jerusalem by assault, and put great numbers to the sword that were suspected to be friends to Ptolemy. The pillage, in general, he gave to the soldiers; rifled the temple himself; and, for three years and an half, discontinued the prayers that were there daily offered up to Almighty God. Onias, the high-priest, fled to Ptolemy, who gave him permission to build a temple and city near Heliopolis, after the model of that at Jerusalem, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Antiochus takes Jerusalem.

Persecutes the Jews.

As does Bacchides.

Antiochus was not satisfied with his unexpected taking of the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but, being overcome with the violence of his passion, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, compelled the Jews to renounce the laws of their country, keep their infants uncircumcised, and sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar. These were violations dreadful to all good men; but none dared to oppose them without hazard of their lives.

Bacchides had, at this time, the command of Judæa, under Antiochus, who could not have found out a fitter instrument for his purpose, being a man

naturally fierce and merciless, and as ready to execute cruelties as the other to enjoin them. It was his common practice to treat men of quality with the greatest indignity; and Jerusalem was little more than a city in name, without privilege, and without commerce. Thus proceeded this insolent tyrant, till the sufferings of the people spurred them on to meditate revenge. Matthias, the son of Asmonæus, one of the priests, that lived at a village called Modin, drew up a band of his own domestics, who, arming themselves with daggers, slew Bacchides, and withdrew immediately to the mountains, out of the reach of the garrisons, for their safety. The people came flocking into Matthias, till he found himself strong enough to venture down into the plain, where he gave the enemy battle, and forced them out of the borders. This success gave him such reputation, that the people, in acknowledgment of their deliverance, chose him for their general, in which command he died, leaving the government to his eldest son Judas.

Matthias becomes leader of the Jews.

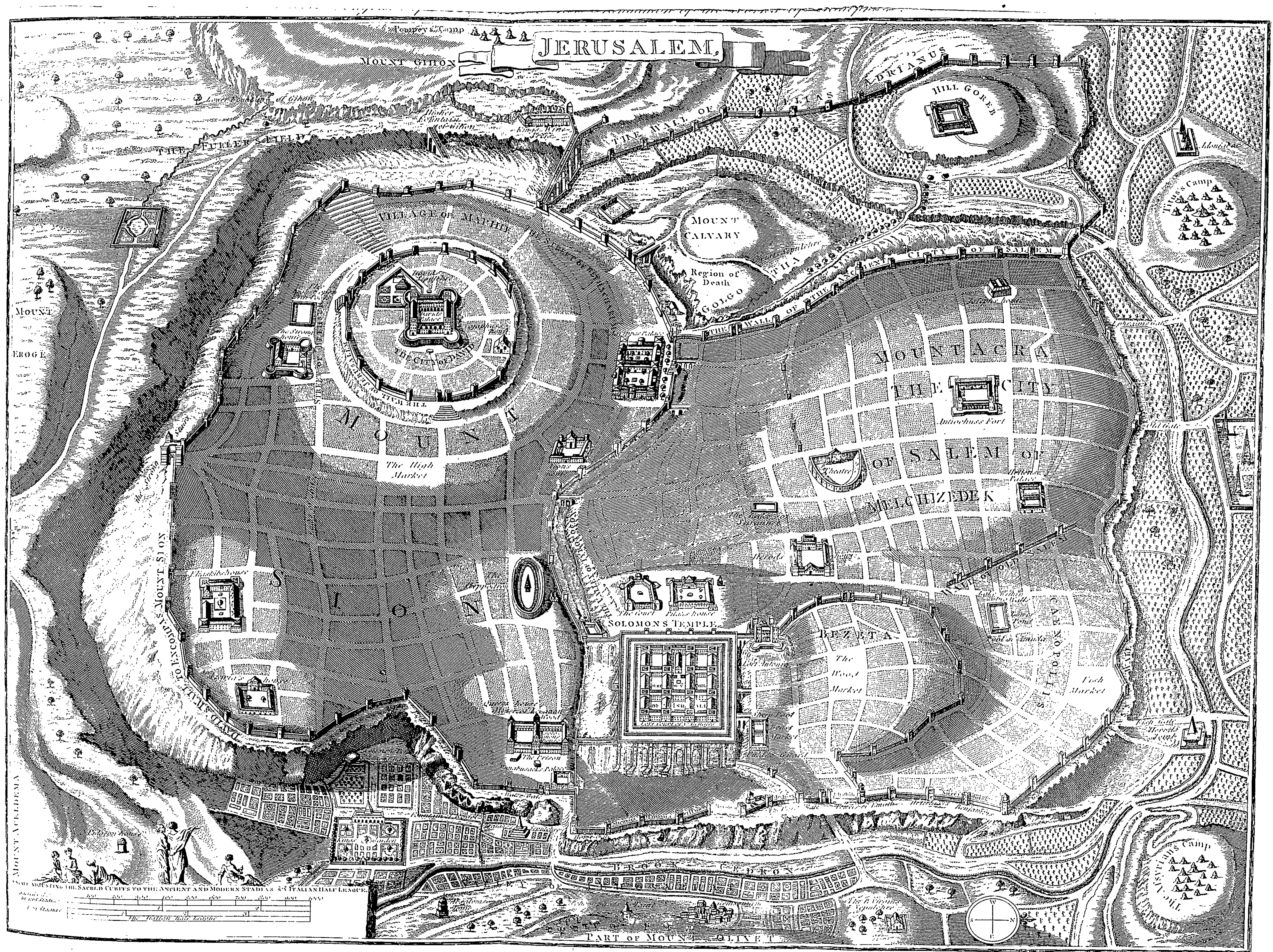
Is slain by Judas.

Judas, upon a presumption that Antiochus would renew his hostilities, levied a considerable army of his own countrymen, and entered into an alliance with the Romans. Antiochus, upon this, made another incursion into Judæa, where he met with a total repulse. Judas availed himself of this advantage, and assaulted the city garrison, in which action the soldiers were beaten out of the upper city (commonly called the holy place) into the lower. He then got possession of the temple, purified it throughout, ran up a wall about it, and furnished it with all sorts of vessels for Divine worship; the other being accounted polluted and prophane. He caused another altar also to be erected, and sacrifices to be offered upon it; but as soon as the true religion was restored, Antiochus died.

Judas purifies the temple.

Death of Antiochus.

This Antiochus was succeeded by a son of the same name, who bore as much enmity to the Jews as his father had done before him. He put himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand foot, near five hundred horse, and eighty elephants, and fell in upon Judæa by the way of the mountains. He took the



the town of Bethfura, and passing through a narrow defile, in a place called Beth-zacharias, Judas engaged him in the pass; and, before the armies could join, his brother Eleazar, taking notice of one elephant, taller than the rest, with a castle upon his back, and arrayed with sumptuous trappings, he took it for granted, that the rider must be Antiochus. In this confidence he advanced upon the enemy, and made his way up to the elephant; but finding the person upon him, whom he took for the king, out of his reach, he stabbed the beast with a weapon, and was crushed to death under the weight of him upon his fall, giving those around him to understand, how much a brave man valued his honour above his life. But it seems that the rider of this elephant was only a private man; though, it had been Antiochus himself, Eleazar could have got no more by it, than the reputation of sacrificing his life to the very hope of achieving so heroic an exploit. This disappointment was looked upon by his brother as a presage to the fate of the battle; for, though the Jews maintained a long and obstinate engagement, they were, in the end, overpowered by numbers, and, after a great loss of men, Judas, with the remainder, retired into the toparchy of Gophnis, while Antiochus repaired to Jerusalem. After a few days stay, however, he was forced to withdraw through want of necessities, leaving behind him a competent garrison, and sending the rest to take up their winter quarters in Syria.

Judas, availing himself of the king's absence, and having obtained some reinforcements from his own countrymen, in addition to those who had escaped out of the late battle, encountered a party of Antiochus, at a place called Adasa, where he so signalized himself by his valour, that he was oppressed by multitudes, and fell in the action. His brother John did not survive him many days, being drawn into an ambush by the friends of Antiochus, that cost him his life.

C H A P. II.

Jonathan betrayed, and put to death, by Tryphon. Simon recovers Judaea, and falls by a plot of Ptolemy, his son-in-law. Hyrcanus made high priest, and attacks Ptolemy. Cruelty of Ptolemy to the relatives of Hyrcanus. Antiochus invests Jerusalem. Sebasle destroyed by Aristobulus and Antigonus.

JUDAS was succeeded, as prince of the Jews, by his brother Jonathan, who conducted himself with great caution and prudence towards those of his own nation, strengthening his interest, by making friends of the Romans, and coming to a better understanding with the son of Antiochus. But this did not subserve any essential purpose; for the tyrant Tryphon, the tutor of young Antiochus, had recourse to treachery, and, at the same time, to the means of depriving Jonathan of the assistance of his friends; so that upon Jonathan's coming to Antiochus, at Ptolemais, with a slender train, Tryphon seized him by surprise, and having made him prisoner, marched with his army against Judaea, when Simon, the brother of Jonathan, repulsed, and routed him. Upon this he wreaked his vengeance on Jonathan, and caused him to be put to death.

Simon pursued his success, took Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia; made himself master of Accaron, and demolished it; assisted Antiochus against Tryphon, who, before his expedition into Media, laid siege to Dora. But such was the avarice of the king, that, though Simon had contributed to the death of Tryphon by the aid he had given him, Antiochus soon sent Cendebeus, with an army, to lay waste Judaea, and to enslave Simon himself. This prince of the Jews, though rather advanced in life, conducted the war with great spirit. He sent his sons before with a chosen band of troops, and took himself another way with the rest. Having planted several ambushes about the mountains, he met with great success, gained an important victory, and afterwards was declared high-priest. Thus was Judaea freed out of the hands of the Macedonians after a subjection of 170 years.

Simon was afterwards taken off at a feast, thro' the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy, who had, at the same time, his wife and two of his sons prisoners. He also sent some bravoes to dispatch John, who was also called Hyrcanus. Having notice of their design, John hastened to the city, where he had many friends, partly through reverence for the memory of his father, and partly through aversion to Ptolemy, for his cruel disposition. Ptolemy endeavoured to get into the city by another post, but the people, having admitted Hyrcanus, repulsed him. Upon this Ptolemy betook himself to the castle of Dagon, beyond Jericho; and Hyrcanus, being at this time possessed of the sacerdotal dignity, in succession to his father, as soon as he discharged the duties of his function, speedily advanced to besiege Ptolemy in the castle, and set his mother and brothers at liberty. Hyrcanus invested the fortress, and had even a superiority over Ptolemy, but was overcome by the impulse of natural affection. When Ptolemy found himself pressed, he caused his mother and brothers to be brought out, and exposed on the battlements, with menaces to cast them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus immediately retired; and those menaces were accompanied with stripes. Hyrcanus, though transported with rage and resentment at such unworthy treatment, gave way to the tender emotions of filial duty and fraternal affection: but his mother, with heroic fortitude, defying torture, and even death itself, adjured her son to do justice upon the monster, without any regard to what she suffered; declaring, that to die by the hand of Ptolemy, would be more eligible to her than the longest life, provided that she and her family might have justice done them upon the inhuman wretch. Hyrcanus, through the resolution and authority of his mother, was prevailed upon to resume his courage, and prosecute the assault; but finding that, as he repeated the attack on the one side, Ptolemy repeated the stripes and indignities on the other, he became overwhelmed with compunction. These expostulatory deliberations and transactions protracted the siege to the sabbatic, or seventh, year of rest, which is observed by the Jews as strictly as the seventh day. Ptolemy finding that, upon this revolution, the siege was repited, put both mother and brothers to death, and then fled to Zeno, otherwise called Cotylas, the governor of Philadelphia.

Antiochus, resenting the defeat he had sustained from Simon, marched with an army into Judaea, sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus, who, in this distress, opened the sepulchre of David, (the most opulent of princes,) took upwards of three thousand talents out of it, and came to a composition with Antiochus, for three hundred talents, to raise the siege. This was the first prince of the Jews who ever entertained foreign mercenaries.

Antiochus having quitted Jerusalem, and being upon the march with all his troops into Media, Hyrcanus moved towards Syria, upon intelligence that their towns were neither manned nor fortified, which he found accordingly to be true, and took Medaba and Samara, with divers other places adjacent. He over-ran the country of the Chuthites, a people bordering upon a famous temple, erected there in imitation of that at Jerusalem. He likewise took Dorion and Marissa, with many other towns in Idumaea. He afterwards went to Samaria, a city re-built by Herod, now called Sebasle. He encompassed it with a wall, and committed the care of the siege to his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus, who brought the inhabitants to such distress, for want of provisions, that a great mortality ensued. In this distress they applied to Antiochus for succour, who came readily to their assistance, but to his own undoing; for the two brothers gave him a total overthrow, pursuing him as far as Scythopolis; but in the end he made his escape. The brothers, after this, returned to Samaria, shut the multitude again within the walls, forced the city, demolished it, and made slaves of the inhabitants. Every thing succeeding to their wish, they did not suffer their ardour to abate, but marched as far as Scythopolis, made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

Hyrcaus dies, and is succeeded by his eldest son Aristobulus. His cruelty to his mother and brother Antigonus. Prediction of Judas, one of the sect of the Essenes. Death of Aristobulus caused by a judicial distemper. Alexander set at liberty, and declared king. After various successes, he is routed by Obodas. Demetrius assists the Jews. Eight hundred prisoners inhumanly crucified for a spectacle.

Death and character of Hyrcanus.

THE succession of John and his sons excited the envy of the adjacent country to that degree, that a sedition ensued, and terminated in an open war. After that decision, the remainder of John's life and government was easy and happy; and, at the end of thirty-three years, he departed this life, leaving five sons behind him. He was a man of so amiable a character, as to be universally respected; and was in possession of some advantages peculiar to himself, being, at the same time, a prince, an high-priest, and a prophet; so that, having Divine revelations, he seldom or never failed in his predictions. He foresaw, and foretold, that the dominion of his two eldest sons would not last long; and it will evidently appear, from a brief view of the transactions of their lives, how short they fell of the reputation and happiness of their father.

Cruelty of Aristobulus to his mother and brethren.

On the demise of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, the eldest son, changed the government into a monarchy, and was the first that set a crown upon his own head. This was 481 years and three months after the return of the people into Judea, from the captivity of Babylon. Aristobulus was very partial to his brother Antigonus, inasmuch, that he admitted him to a share in the government; but he caused his mother, and the rest of his brethren, to be taken into custody: nay, he carried his cruelty towards his mother to such excess, that he caused her to perish with famine in prison, upon a suggestion that Hyrcanus had left the regency in her hands.

Antigonus is calumniated.

But Aristobulus was justly punished for these unnatural proceedings in the lots of Antigonus, whom he caused to be put to death upon the calumnies of a faction, whose business it was to render him odious. Aristobulus had so great an affection for this brother, and so fair an opinion of him, that, for a long time, he looked upon these reports as mere forgery and slander. But an unlucky circumstance at length raised his suspicion, and confirmed the insinuations of the enemies of his brother. Aristobulus happening to be seized with a malignant disease, during the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, Antigonus in the mean time returned from the camp to Jerusalem, in all the pomp of a conqueror. Towards the end of the solemnity he marched up, attended by a train of armed men; thinking that the more grandeur he assumed, the greater honour he did his brother; and all this upon an impulse principally of devotion. The courtiers immediately took advantage of the circumstance, suggesting to the king the ill effects that might arise from this parade of arms and guards, and that Antigonus could have no honest design in it, as from thence it appeared he could not rest content with a share in the government, without the absolute possession of it.

The queen and others plot his death.

Aristobulus was at length prevailed upon, by degrees, to provide against all hazards, without discovering any sort of jealousy. He resided at that time in the castle of Baris, afterwards called Antonia, where he sent for his guards, and ordered them to wait for Antigonus in a certain subterranean passage. If he came unarmed, they were to let him pass; if otherwise, they were to finish him on the spot. Aristobulus then sent for Antigonus, requiring him to come unarmed. The queen concerted the plot with the conspirators, by engaging the king's messenger not to deliver the order in express and definitive terms, but rather obliquely hint, that the king intimated a desire of seeing the suit of armour he had got in Galilee; upon which Antigonus, without the

least suspicion of the good faith of his brother, speedily arrayed himself in armour, and hastened to present himself. But in the subterranean passage, known by the name of Straton's Tower, the guards fell upon him, and slew him. This instance may serve as a lesson, that the bonds of nature, equity, and friendship, are all cancelled where the ear is open to calumny and slander, and that no reliance should be placed in sycophants, that generally infest courts.

In this place I cannot omit a remarkable story of one Judas, by sect an Essene, a man famous for divination, who had never been known to fail in his predictions. Judas happening to pass by as Antigonus went through the temple, exclaimed to some of his disciples, "that it was time for him to leave the world, when truth itself was dead; that his prediction was false, as that very Antigonus, who was to have been slain that day, is still living. The fatal place where he was to have been taken off was Straton's Tower, which is no less than 600 stadia from hence, and that they were then but in the fourth hour of the day." This exclamation was accompanied by a dejection of countenance that betrayed the anxiety of his mind. News arrived soon after, that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous passage, bearing the same name of Straton's Tower with that of Cesarea upon the sea-coast, and this ambiguity misled the prophet.

The death of Antigonus foretold by Judas, the Essene.

The crime of fratricide was no sooner committed, than Aristobulus was seized with all the horrors of conscience, which greatly inflamed his distemper, and brought on an excessive vomiting of blood, which was thrown by the servants on the very spot where Antigonus was slain. This raised a lamentable outcry among the spectators, which the king overhearing, sent immediately to enquire into the cause of it. The more reluctant they were to disclose it, the more he pressed them, till at length they related the whole matter, when the king, fetching a deep sigh, exclaimed, "that it was not to be expected his secret sins should escape the eye of an all-seeing God, and that divine vengeance shall not follow so horrid a crime. He lamented that his body should retain his soul from doing the justice he owed to the manes of a murdered mother and brother; and that he should linger and go off, at last, in the bitterness of agony, the sport of fortune." With these words he resigned his breath, having reigned no longer than one year.

Last words and death of Aristobulus.

The widowed queen set Alexander at liberty, and caused him to be declared king. He was the eldest son, and reputed a prince of moderation. When he came to the crown, however, he put one of his brothers to death for aspiring to the sovereignty; but the other reconciling himself to a private station, was admitted to his friendship and favour.

Alexander declared king.

Ptolemy Lathur, king of Egypt, having taken Aschois, Alexander gave him battle, and slew many of his men; but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. Cleopatra, the mother of that prince, forcing him away into Egypt, Alexander took Gadara by siege, and Amathus, the strongest of all the fortresses beyond Jordan, and the place where Theodore, the son of Zeno, had deposited his choicest treasure. But Theodore attacking him before he was aware, not only recovered his treasure, but took the king's baggage, and cut off near ten thousand Jews in the battle. Alexander, however, by the addition of some reinforcements after this defeat, carried the war towards the sea coasts, to Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon, which Herod, in process of time, called Agrippias.

Wages war with various fortune.

As public assemblies and festivals are frequently productive of seditions, the Jews raised an insurrection against Alexander, on an accusation of this kind. It came to such a pitch, as to fall little short of a general revolt; so that the king, in his own defence, was under the necessity of taking foreigners into pay, as Pisidians and Cilicians; but for Syrian mercenaries, such was their aversion to the Jews, that he durst not admit them into the service. However, with the forces he had raised, he cut off upwards

A sedition against Alexander.

upwards of six thousand of the mutineers, and then made war on Arabia, where he subdued the Galaadites, and the Moabites, made them his tributaries, and returned to Amathus. By this time Theodore, alarmed at the successes of Alexander, quitted the place; and the other, finding it without a garrison, razed it to the ground.

His next expedition was against Obodas, king of Arabia, who laid in ambush for him near Golan. Alexander was there surprized, and driven into a deep valley, where his army was crushed by the multitude of camels. He escaped himself, with great difficulty, to Jerusalem, where he found his former foes more implacable than ever since his last disaster. They embarrassed him much; though, in every encounter, he overcame them; inasmuch that, within the course of six years, he destroyed at least 50,000 Jews. But he could derive no satisfaction from victories attended with the devastation of his kingdom; so that, in the end, he had recourse from arms to reason, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his people by lenient measures. But the mutability of his conduct, instead of gaining them over, rendered him so odious and contemptible, that, on his asking them what he should do to appease them, they replied, that he must die; adding, that they could hardly pardon him in his grave for the injuries he had done them in the time of his life.

The Jews called to their assistance king Demetrius Eucerus, who, finding it his interest to come over to them, readily complied, and advancing with an army, joined the Jews near Shechem. They were computed to amount, in number, to 3000 horse, and 40,000 foot. Alexander, however, with only 10,000 well affected Jews, encountered them. The two kings, before they engaged, used their endeavours to gain deserters from each party; Demetrius applying himself to the mercenaries of Alexander, and the other to the Jews that followed Demetrius: but when they found that neither the Jews or Greeks could be wrought upon to prove unfaithful, they put it to the decision of a battle, in which Demetrius came off conqueror, though Alexander's mercenaries displayed great courage. Demetrius, indeed, was abandoned by some of the troops that invited him to come over to them; and the compassion of several of the Jews for their unfortunate king, induced 2000 of those who had fought against him, to seek him out, and join him, in the mountains, where he had taken refuge. This sudden turn of fortune alarmed Demetrius to that degree, that, through fear lest the rest of the army should follow this example, he gave up his design, and withdrew.

But these desertions of the auxiliaries had no effect on the multitude, who still maintained the war against Alexander, till he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the remainder into the city of Bemezel, where they were all made prisoners, and carried to Jerusalem. We have now before us a striking instance of the ungovernable rage of an impetuous passion. Alexander, revelling with his concubines, as one part of the entertainment, caused to be exhibited the horrid spectacle of 800 prisoners on crosses in the midst of the city, having first commanded the throats of their wives and children to be cut before their faces. This dreadful scene had such a terrific effect on the opposing multitude, that 2000 of them fled their country the next night; nor did they return till after the death of this prince. By these inhuman means he at length suppressed the tumults that disturbed the peace of his kingdom.

C H A P. IV.

Antiochus Dionysius makes an expedition against the Jews. Is surprized, and routed, by Aretas, king of Arabia. Exploits and death of Alexander. The regency left to his queen, Alexandra, and his two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The former is made high-priest. Alexandra wholly under the influence of the Pharisees. Aristobulus takes the government upon
No. 28.

himself; but Alexandra, at her death, leaves it to Hyrcanus. Diffention between the brethren. A compromise ensues.

THOUGH intestine broils amongst the Jews had subsided, Antiochus Dionysius, the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of Seleucus, involved Alexander in fresh troubles. This prince, having overcome the Arabians, put Alexander into some apprehension for himself; so that he ran a line, with a deep ditch, and an high wall, before it, with wooden towers, in order to prevent any sudden approaches. This line, or retrenchment, was carried all along the mountains near Antipatris, to the borders of Joppa. But it was no obstruction to the progress of Antiochus; for he set fire to the towers, filled the ditches, and so passing over with his army, marched straight away against the Arabians, regardless of his revenge upon Alexander.

Aretas, king of Arabia, upon the approach of Antiochus, drew his army into strong holds, and then on a sudden, when the latter thought himself secure, fell upon him with ten thousand horse. The action was obstinate and bloody; for while Antiochus survived, his men stood bravely by him, though the Arabians made very great slaughter. When he fell in the heat of the battle, they turned their backs and fled; so that upon the issue, betwixt those that were cut off in the engagement and the pursuit, the army was nearly destroyed. Some escaped into the village of Cana, where the greater part of them perished with famine. The people of Damascus had such an hatred for Ptolemy, the son of Menæmus, that they entered into a league with Aretas, and made him king of Cœlo-Syria. He carried the war into Judæa, defeated Alexander, and then retired upon mutual agreement.

The king of the Jews having taken Pella, assaulted Gerata, and carried it, though fortified with a triple circumvallation, making himself master not only of the place, but of all the treasure of Theodore deposited therein. After this he demolished Gaulan, Seleucia, and a place called the Valley of Antiochus, together with the strong castle of Gamara. In this place he took prisoner Demetrius, the governor, (a man of infamous character;) and so returned to Jerusalem, where he was received with joyful acclamations, after a success of three years. At the expiration of the war he fell into a quarrel, and being of an opinion that action would do him good, entered into a fresh and unreasonable war, and struggling beyond his strength, wore himself out with fatigue; and thus closed the scene of life in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.

Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra, his queen, as one that had acquired popularity by her moderation and virtue: he therefore made no doubt of the people's ready submission and resignation to her authority. Nor was he deceived in his opinion; for the reputation of her goodness atoned for the disadvantages of her sex; being a woman versed in the Jewish rites and customs, and one that had given constant proof of her zeal for the observance of those holy laws. As she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus, the elder, high-priest; not only on account of his seniority, but the inactivity of his disposition, which would prevent him from disturbing the public peace. Aristobulus, the younger, being of an enterprising spirit, she thought it more expedient to keep him in a private station.

There was amongst the Jews a certain sect called Pharisees, who valued themselves upon being thought more holy than their neighbours, and better skilled in the law. Alexandra, who was bigotted in her religion to a degree of superstition, held these men in the most profound reverence upon account of their mighty pretensions; and they availed themselves so far of her favourable opinion, as to engross the honour and privileges of government, recommend to places under administration, and imprison or discharge whom they thought proper. They reserved both the honourable and profitable commissions

Expedition of Antiochus against the Jews.

He is attacked by the Arabians.

Falls in the action.

Aretas defeats Alexander.

Exploits of Alexander.

His death.

He leaves the regency to Alexandra.

Hyrcanus advanced to the pontificate.

commissions of government to themselves; but the cares, expences, and difficulties, were left to Alexandra. She had great sagacity in the conduct of affairs; made a point of augmenting the militia; kept two armies on foot, and a great number of foreign auxiliaries in pay, which rendered her respectable at home, and formidable abroad. But though she had thus far the command of others, she was herself under the absolute dominion of the Pharisees.

Alexandra governed by the Pharisees.

The leaders of this sect caused Diogenes, a man of the first rank, and a particular friend of the late king, to be put to death, upon a suggestion that he had a concern in crucifying the eight hundred prisoners at the command of Alexander. Nay, further, they prevailed with the queen not to suffer one man to escape that was an adviser to that horrible proceeding. The queen was so captivated, that she could deny them nothing; so that under the colour of such prevailing influence, they destroyed whom they pleased, and carried their violence to such lengths, that no good man was safe; inasmuch, that several persons of condition were forced to take sanctuary with Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare those persons out of respect to their dignity, and for the future to expel those from the city whom she might suspect of having been guilty. This being granted, they were banished, instead of being put to death.

They oppress the Jews.

Alexandra, about this time, sent an army to Damascus, upon a pretext that Ptolemy grievously oppressed that city, and got possession of it without any considerable resistance. Cleopatra was now besieged in Ptolemais, by Tigranes, king of Armenia, while Alexandra plied him with presents and proposals; but Lucullus having already entered Armenia with a Roman army, he marched away to prevent further mischief at home.

Damascus taken by Alexandra.

Soon after this Alexandra fell dangerously ill; whereupon the younger brother, Aristobulus, with a train of adherents, in the prime of youth, faithful and brave, got possession of the castles, seized what money he could find, engaged a body of auxiliary troops, and declared himself king. Hyrcanus complaining of this usurpation to his mother, she so far commiserated his case, that she caused the wife and sons of Aristobulus to be confined in the castle on the north side of the temple, formerly called Baris, and afterwards Antonia under the government of Anthony, as Sebaſte and Agrippias drew their names from Augustus and Agrippa. Alexandra, after a reign of nine years, departed this life, before she could revenge herself upon Aristobulus for endeavouring to depose his brother.

Aristobulus seizes on the kingdom.

Death of Alexandra.

She left Hyrcanus all she possessed, and transmitted the government to him while she was living; but Aristobulus was much his superior in power and magnanimity. The dispute between the two brothers came to a battle near Jericho, where the greater part of Hyrcanus's men went over to Aristobulus, while he, with his wretched partizans, escaped, with much difficulty, into Antonia, where they had their security, the wife and sons of Aristobulus being there in custody. The brothers, however, before matters proceeded to extremities, came to this agreement, that Hyrcanus should yield up the kingdom to Aristobulus, and content himself with such honours and privileges as belonged to the dignity of the king's brother. The reconciliation being interchangeably declared in the temple, they embraced each other, and Aristobulus repaired to the royal palace, while Hyrcanus went to the former residence of his brother.

Disputes between the brothers for the kingdom.

They come to a composition.

C H A P. V.

Hyrcanus, at the instance of Antipater, applies for assistance, in the recovery of his kingdom, to Aretas, king of Arabia, who enters Judæa with a formidable army, forces Aristobulus into Jerusalem, and besieges him there. Scaurus, the Roman general, tempted by a bribe, raises the siege. The two bro-

thers prefer their suit to Pompey, who treats the younger with great contempt. They plead their cause before Pompey. Aristobulus submits to Pompey, and is made his prisoner. Jerusalem besieged, and the temple taken by assault. Moderation of Pompey. He declares Hyrcanus high-priest. Aristobulus and family carried away prisoners to Rome.

THE sudden elevation of Aristobulus to the royal dignity was a great mortification to his enemies, and especially to Antipater, with whom he had been long at variance. Antipater was by extraction an Idumæan, and, for birth and estate, a man of the first rank in the country. Hyrcanus being now deposed, and arrogantly deprived of his dominions, Antipater advised him to apply to Aretas, king of Arabia, for assistance towards the recovery of his kingdom; employing his own interest, at the same time, with Aretas, to gain the point, by censuring the usurpation of Aristobulus, and applauding the pacific disposition of Hyrcanus. He adduced arguments supported by the honour of contributing to the restoration of a much injured king, and enforced them by representing it as becoming the character of a great prince to vindicate the prerogative of royalty.

Antipater persuades Hyrcanus to apply to Aretas, king of Arabia, for assistance towards the recovery of his kingdom.

Having thus pre-disposed Aretas in favour of Hyrcanus, Antipater conveyed him out of the city by night, and brought him, with the utmost expedition, to Petra, the royal palace of Arabia, where he consigned him, with plausible words, and sumptuous presents, to the care and protection of the king, who promised to exert his utmost endeavours to restore him to his crown.

Aretas sends the prince Hyrcanus to Petra.

To this end he entered Judæa with an army of 50,000 men, horse and foot; so that Aristobulus, through inferiority in point of numbers, being incapable of making resistance, was routed at the first charge, and forced to take sanctuary in Jerusalem. He was there besieged; and had certainly been taken, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not seasonably interposed, and raised the siege. Pompey the Great, who was then at war with Tigranes, sent Scaurus, with an army, out of Armenia into Syria; but, upon his arrival at Damascus, he found the place taken by Metullus and Lellius, and their troops drawn off. Receiving intelligence of the state of affairs in Judæa, he thought it most expedient to bend his course that way, and had no sooner reached the borders, than he was encountered by two deputies from the brothers, who had each of them instructions to implore the assistance of the Romans for their respective matters. But the three hundred talents presented by the deputy of Aristobulus, had much more weight than the pretensions of his brother Hyrcanus, as appears from an herald being sent by Scaurus to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, threatening them with the resentment of Pompey and the Roman senate, unless they immediately raised the siege. Aretas, terrified into compliance, withdrew with precipitation out of Judæa into Philadelphia; and Scaurus returned to Damascus. Aristobulus, not satisfied with his escape, assembled all his forces, and pursued the enemy to a place called Papyron, where he engaged them, and cut off above six thousand of their men, and amongst the rest Cephalon, the brother of Antipater.

Aristobulus is routed by Pompey's army, and forced to take sanctuary in Jerusalem.

Scaurus, the Roman general, interposes, and raises the siege.

The Roman senate threatens Aretas with their resentment, unless he raises the siege.

Hyrcanus and Antipater, thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, transferred the same to their very adversaries; and upon Pompey's entering Syria, and coming to Damascus, cast themselves upon his honour for protection. They used the same means of presents and arguments which they had done with Aretas; entreating Pompey to consider the violent usurpation of Aristobulus, and the right of Hyrcanus, as well with respect to seniority as character. Aristobulus, relying upon his interest with Scaurus, arrayed himself in royal attire, and presented his person to Pompey with the train and equipage of a king. But finding that his assuming of royal dignity had no weight with Pompey, and disdaining a servile application, he abruptly took his departure, and returned to Diospolis.

The

The arrogant behaviour of Aristobulus gave Pompey great offence, a most desirable circumstance to Hyrcanus and his adherents. He immediately drew out his Roman troops, and some Syrian auxiliaries, and marched after him. When he had passed Peila and Scythopolis, and came to Corea, upon the borders of Judæa, in the Mediterranean passage, he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandria, a strong hold, situated on an high mountain, whither he sent, and commanded him to come down to him. Aristobulus, naturally proud and ambitious, could not brook this imperious mandate, and therefore determined to run all hazards rather than comply with it: but, through the murmuring of the people, and the pressing instances of his friends, to consider the power of the Romans, and the urgency of the case, he was at length prevailed upon to come down; and after speaking in defence of his pretensions, went up again. He afterwards, at the requisition of his brother, came down a second time; and when they had each of them preferred their respective claims to Pompey, returned without the least molestation. He was now divided between hope and fear, and alternately disposed to submission and resistance, till, upon mature deliberation, he was resolved to go up to the castle again, lest he should be tempted to do any thing derogatory to his royal state.

Pompey was now strongly inclined to take possession of the castle; but being told that Aristobulus had given a positive charge to all the governors to attend to no orders but those under his own hand and seal, he commanded him to write to them severally, to deliver them up immediately upon the sight of his letters. Aristobulus obeyed the injunction; but went away, in disgust and indignation, to Jerusalem, meditating a war with Pompey.

The Romans did not give him time to make preparations to withstand a siege, but hastened immediately after him; and he was incited to an expedition in his progress, by the intelligence he received at Jericho of the death of Mithridates. This is the most fruitful country of Judæa, bearing a vast number of palm-trees, besides the balsam-tree, the juice of which, upon the incision of the bark with a sharp stone, drops down like tears. He staid there that night, and posted away the next morning for Jerusalem. Aristobulus, alarmed at this expedition, cast himself at Pompey's feet, with supplications and tears: he made him promises of money, and proposal of giving up both the city, and his own person, into Pompey's hands. This appeased him for the present; but Aristobulus did not perform the condition; for, when Gabinius was sent to receive the money, his partizans would not admit him into the city.

This prevaricating behaviour irritated Pompey to so great a degree, that he kept Aristobulus prisoner, and advanced to the city, took a view of the fortifications, and considered upon what quarter to attack it. He observed that the walls were strong and impregnable, and the temple so invincibly sure, that if the city itself was taken, the work would be but half accomplished.

While Pompey was deliberating upon the most expedient means to pursue, a violent sedition arose in the town, between the parties of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. The former were for putting the matter to the decision of an engagement, and relying their long by dint of arms; the other for opening the gates, and admitting Pompey into the town without any opposition. This was the sense of the majority, from the awe in which they held the Romans. The friends of Aristobulus, upon this, retired into the castle, and cut down the bridge of communication betwixt that and the city, determining to maintain it to the last. But as the others had received the Romans into the city, and put them into the palace, Pompey sent Pilo, one of his general officers, with a strong detachment, to take possession of it. When he perceived the obstinacy of the Jews in the temple, and that there was no longer any hope of accommodation, he posted his guards, and

put all things in order for an attack; Hyrcanus and his party contributing the best they could, both in action and counsel, to his assistance.

The first business was to fill up the ditch and valley upon the north-side of the temple; and the soldiers were obliged to carry materials for that purpose. It was a work of infinite difficulty, both with respect to the prodigious depth, and the advantage the Jews had of annoying them from their superior station. Nor could the Romans have succeeded in their efforts, had not Pompey reminded them of the Jews strict observance of their seventh day or sabbath. This great leader, knowing that the Jews made a conscience of doing any work upon that day, but what was of absolute necessity, either for the support of life, or the defence of it in case of immediate danger, commanded his soldiers only to ply their entrenchments on that day, without any other act of hostility. When the ground was now levelled, the bulwarks advanced, with strong and large turrets planted upon them, and manned, the Romans, with certain engines they had brought from Tyre, began the battery; the soldiers, at the same time, beating the defendants out of the towers above, with stones from the walls, till, in the end, they were tired out with the labour.

Pompey could not but admire the fortitude of these people, and more especially in this particular, that, in the midst of extremity and danger, they never discontinued the ceremonies of their religion, but offered up their daily prayers and sacrifices as regularly as if it had been a time of profound peace. Nor, indeed, did they relax in their attention to Divine worship, even after the temple was actually taken, and many were slain before the altar. In short, after a three months siege, and the loss of only one tower, the temple was taken by assault.

The first that entered the breach was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sylla; and after him Furius and Fabius, two centurions, with their cohorts, who beset the temple, and put to the sword all that fell in their way. There were several priests at that time in the very exercise of their holy function, who, with the point of the sword at their breasts, went on with their oblations and incense, without any regard to the safety of their lives, out of a veneration they had for the duties of their profession. The greater part of them were slain by their own countrymen of the adverse faction; and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices: others, in a rage or desperation, set fire to what they could reach about the walls, and then cast themselves into the flames. There perished in this outrage 12,000 of the Jews. Few of the Romans were slain, but great numbers wounded.

But nothing affected the Jewish nation so much in their present calamities, as that their holy place, which had hitherto been seen by none, should be exposed to the view of strangers. Pompey, with a train of attendants, went into the temple itself, where it was not lawful for any but the high-priest to enter, and saw what was reposed therein, the candlesticks, lamps, and tables for incense, with other vessels, all of gold, a mass of spices, with 2000 talents of sacred treasure. Yet such was his liberality, that he would not suffer any thing to be touched that was dedicated to Divine worship, but commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to superintend the purification of it, and go on with their ceremonies as before.

He also declared Hyrcanus high-priest, in consideration of the good offices he had rendered him, both in the siege and otherwise, by drawing off great numbers of the faction from Aristobulus. By these means, like a wise and good man, he secured himself the affections of the people. Amongst the captives was the father in law of Aristobulus, who was also his uncle. Pompey caused the principal authors of the revolt to be beheaded; and conferred upon Faustus, and those of his party who had signalized their bravery, the most honourable rewards. He imposed a tribute upon Judæa, took away from

The priests slain at the altar.

Great slaughter of the Jews.

The molestation of Pompey.

He makes Hyrcanus high priest.

Many cities
taken from
the Jews.

the Jews the cities they had possessed themselves of in Cœlo-Syria, and annexing them to the jurisdiction of the then Roman governor, reduced them to their own bounds. He rebuilt Gadara, which they had destroyed, to gratify Demetrius, one of his freemen, and a native of the place. With respect to the inland cities of Hippion, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethusa, and the sea-coast towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that which was formerly called Straton's Tower, and afterwards Cæsarea by Herod, who beautified it with magnificent buildings, he took them all from the Jews, to restore them to their inhabitants, and so joined them to the province of Syria. After the passing of these orders, and settling Scaurus in the government of Judæa, and of all the country of Egypt to the borders of the Euphrates, with the command of two legions, Pompey hastened to Rome by way of Cilicia, carrying Aristobulus, and his family, prisoners with him; that is, two daughters, and two sons, Alexander and Antigonus; the former of whom made his escape on his passage; but the latter, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

C H A P. VI.

Scaurus makes war upon Aretas, king of Arabia, and compounds with him for a stipulated sum. Alexander is defeated by Gabinus, and retires to Alexandrion. Mark Anthony signalizes his valour. Takes several cities from the Jews, and restores them to their former inhabitants. Gabinus changes the government of Judæa, and commits the care of the temple to Hyrcanus. Aristobulus is defeated by the Romans. Sent back to Rome. Gabinus vanquishes Alexander. Crassus succeeds Gabinus, and comes into Judæa. Rifles the temple, and loses both his life and army.

Expedition
of Scaurus
into Arabia.

IN the mean time Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, towards Petra, but found the country so craggy, that he could not advance without the greatest difficulty. He laid waste Pella and its environs; though he had many hardships to encounter, through want of provisions for his army. Hyrcanus, however, at length found means, by the assistance of Antipater, to furnish him with a supply. Scaurus, well knowing that there was a good understanding subsisting between Antipater and Aretas, prevailed with the former to go to him upon terms of amity, and endeavour to bring him to consent to a composition of the war for a stipulated sum of money. Antipater undertook the commission, and brought the king of Arabia into compliance with the proposal; who, entering into an agreement to pay three hundred talents as the purchase of a peace, Scaurus drew his army out of Arabia. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who escaped from Pompey, had, by this time, raised a considerable body of men, was ravaging Judæa, and pressing so hard upon Hyrcanus, that Jerusalem was supposed to be in danger, upon a presumption that the walls which Pompey had beaten down were not as yet repaired. But Gabinus, the successor of Scaurus, an officer eminent for his conduct and valour, being sent into Syria, and marching against him, Alexander found the necessity of putting himself in the best posture of defence against so formidable an enemy. He had raised an army, consisting of 10,000 foot, and 1500 horse; and had fortified several defensible places, as Alexandrion, Hyrcanus, and Machærus, near the mountains of Arabia.

Alexander
recom-
mences hos-
tilities in
Judæa.

Is defeated
by Gabi-
nius, the
successor of
Scaurus.

Gabinus sent Mark Anthony before him, with a detachment of some of Antipater's choice troops, and a great number of Jews, under Malichus and Pitholaus, to join him. Gabinus himself followed with the main body, and advanced towards Alexander, who, finding himself so greatly overpowered in number, was forced to retire. But Gabinus pressing upon him in his retreat, came up with him, and engaged him not far from Jerusalem, where he lost 6000 men; of whom 3000 fell in the action, and the remainder were taken alive; while he himself

fled with those that escaped to Alexandrion. When Gabinus came up to the castle, he offered an act of indemnity to all deserters that would come over to him, and join him before the battle; but as they were too haughty to listen to terms of accommodation, he fell upon them, slew great numbers, and shut up the rest in the citadel. Mark Anthony signalized himself in this action; and though upon every occasion he displayed his valour and conduct, he seems upon the present to have outdone himself.

Eulogium
upon Mark
Anthony.

Gabinus, leaving a sufficient force before the castle, took a view of all the cities and towns in the province, with an intention of repairing those that had sustained damage, and rebuilding those that had been destroyed. He then gave peremptory orders for the re-peopling of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Dora, Gadaza, Azotus, and several other places, where the inhabitants came flocking in with the utmost joy to resume their former habitations.

Laudable
acts of Ga-
binus.

When Gabinus had thus disposed of these places, he returned to the siege of Alexandrion, and carried it on with renewed vigour. Alexander was so alarmed at the desperate situation of his affairs, that he sent ambassadors, with an absolute resignation of himself to his pleasure, an acknowledgment of his errors, and a solicitation for pardon. They were commissioned to tender to him not only Machærus and Hyrcanion, but Alexandrion itself. This offer being made and accepted, Gabinus demolished them all at the instance of Alexander's mother, lest they might prove the occasion of another war. Such was her tenderness for her husband and children, that were carried prisoners to Rome, that she omitted no application nor address that might ingratiate herself with the general.

Alexander
absolute-
ly surren-
ders to
Gabinus.

After this Gabinus brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, committed the temple to his charge, appointed officers for the civil administration, and divided the whole province of Judæa into five jurisdictions. The first was Jerusalem, the second Gadara, the third Amathus, the fourth Jericho, and the fifth Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. It gave great satisfaction to the people to find themselves delivered from a monarchy to an aristocracy.

Hyrcanus
vests the
care of the
temple in
himself, and
divides the
province into
five parts.

It was not long before Aristobulus afforded occasion for new disturbances. He made his escape from Rome, and collected a great body of Jews, partly through love of innovation, and partly through the regard they bore him. His first attempt was the repairing of Alexandrion; but upon information that Sifenna, Anthony, and Servilius, were marching towards him with an army from Gabinus, he withdrew to Machærus, where he dismissed the unprofitable multitude, and took with him only a body of eight thousand men well armed, including a thousand fugitive Jews, that Pitholaus had brought out of Jerusalem. The Romans followed them close, and brought them to action. Alexander and his men behaved gallantly upon the occasion; but, in the end, being overpowered with numbers, the Romans obtained a decisive victory. Five thousand were slain upon the spot, two thousand withdrew to a hill, and made a little stand, and the other thousand, with Aristobulus himself, cut their way through the Roman army, and marched to Machærus. Though, upon their arrival there, they found it in ruins, Aristobulus did not despair of gaining time enough, by a truce, to repair the castle, and reinforce his army.

Aristobulus
collects a
great army,
and makes
his first at-
tempt.

He is
defeated
by the
Romans.

The Romans in the mean time plied the attack, and, at the end of two days, after a very brave resistance on the part of the besieged, took the place, with Aristobulus, and his son Antigonus, that fled from Rome with him. They were both bound, and sent to Gabinus, and thence to Rome again. The senate put the father under confinement; but sent the son back to Judæa, at the instance of Gabinus, who had promised as much to the wife of Aristobulus upon the delivery of the castles.

Sent back
to Rome.

Gabinus was now preparing for a war upon the Parthians; but Ptolemy, having quitted the Euphrates,

phrates, and being on his return from Egypt, gave him a diversion. Hyrcanus and Antipater afforded him all possible assistance, supplying him with men, money, arms, corn; in fine, with all provisions necessary for carrying on a war. They also prevailed with the Jews, that guarded the avenues to Pelusium, to let Gabinius pass over at his return. His departure to alarmed the other places of Syria, and caused such a revolt amongst the Jews, that Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having collected a vast multitude of people, took up a resolution to put every Roman to death that was to be found in that quarter. The general was not insensible of the danger, and the sedition increasing, he made use of his interest with Antipater to bring matters to an accommodation. But Alexander being a warlike prince, and having an army of thirty thousand men, was eager to come to an engagement, which accordingly fell out near the mountain of Itabyr. Ten thousand of Alexander's army were slain upon the spot, and the rest routed and dispersed. Gabinius then returned to Jerusalem, to settle the government, according to the advice of Antipater. Thence he marched after the Nabathæans, having privately discharged two Parthian deserters that came over to him, Mithridates and Orsanes, pretending to the soldiers that they had made their escape.

Crassus, who succeeded Gabinius in the government of Syria, rifled the temple not only of the two thousand talents that Pompey left untouched, but all the gold that was deposited there for the purpose of carrying on the Parthian war. Upon this he passed the Euphrates, where he himself was lost, together with his army.

Crassus was succeeded by Cassius, who put a stop to the Parthians, when they were just ready to break into Syria. He was no sooner in possession of his government, than he marched into Judæa, took Tarchen, and carried off near three thousand Jews into bondage. He also caused to be put to death Ptholæus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus, and this through the advice of Antipater. Cypris, the wife of Antipater, was a noble Arabian, by whom he had four sons, Phasael, Herod, afterwards king, Joseph, and Pheroras, and one daughter, whose name was Salome. He was a man universally beloved for his many excellent qualities; but his most particular friend was the king of the Arabians, to whom he recommended the care of his children when he undertook the war against Aristobulus. When Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms, and remain quiet, he returned to his post at the Euphrates, to take possession of the pass, and prevent the inroad of the Parthians.

CHAPTER VII.

Aristobulus released by Julius Cæsar, emperor of Rome, and afterwards taken off by Pompey's faction; as is his son Alexander by Scipio. Antipater cultivates the friendship of Cæsar, and performs many heroic actions.

UPON the sudden flight of Pompey, and the Roman senate, beyond the Ionian sea, Julius Cæsar was left in the sole possession of the empire, and immediately released Aristobulus from his bonds. He then dispatched him with two legions into Syria; taking it for granted, that the country would submit on the appearance of the Roman soldiery upon their borders. But the expectation of the emperor, and the confidence of Aristobulus, were both disappointed, the latter being soon poisoned by some of Pompey's faction. The body was embalmed, and lay some time uninterred, till Anthony caused it to be transported to Judæa, and there deposited in the royal sepulchre. Nor did Alexander, his son, long survive his father; for he was beheaded by Scipio, at Antioch, according to the direction of Pompey, upon an accusation exhibited against him before his tribunal, for seditious practices against the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, and prince of Chalcis, upon mount Libanus, sent his

son Philippion to Ascalon, to the widow of Aristobulus, in order to bring with him his son Antigonus, and his daughters. Philippion became enamoured of the younger, whose name was Alexandra, and took her to wife, for which his father caused him to be slain, and afterwards married her himself. This alliance greatly attached him to her brother Antigonus, and her sister.

On the demise of Pompey, Antipater changed his system of politics, and made court to Cæsar: and Mithridates, of Pergamus, finding a stop put to his expedition into Egypt, by prohibiting his forces a passage through the avenues about Pelusium, he halted with his army at Ascalon, and not only prevailed with the Arabians for assistance, though a stranger, but raised, upon his own account, three thousand well armed Jews. He brought also several of the leading men of Syria into the party, as Ptolemy of Libanus, Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy; so that men of their reputation and interest induced the whole country to engage in this war. Mithridates finding himself, through the help of Antipater, in a condition to enter upon action, marched forwards to Pelusium, and, upon the inhabitants opposing his passage, laid siege to the city. Antipater added to the honour he had acquired by his intrepid behaviour in this encounter; for he was the first man that mounted the breach, and entered the town with his people after him.

Antipater assists Mithridates, and takes Pelusium.

Thus was Pelusium taken: but the Egyptian Jews, of the province of Onias, stopped their further progress. Antipater, however, prevailed with them not only to offer no hostilities, but to furnish provisions for the army. This example wrought so far upon the people of Memphis, that, of their own accord, they delivered themselves up to Mithridates. Upon this he went on to Delta, and engaged the rest of the Egyptians at a place called "The camp of the Jews," where Mithridates, and the whole right wing, were in extreme danger of being totally cut off; but Antipater having already broken the enemy's other wing, wheeled about, passed the back of the river, and came up so seasonably to the rescue of Mithridates, that he turned upon his pursuers, slew many of them, and followed the remainder to their camp, which he plundered, and all this with the loss of only fourscore men on his side. Mithridates lost in the pursuit about eight hundred men. He escaped with his life beyond all expectation, and became an irreproachable witness to the Roman emperor of the gallant exploits of Antipater. Cæsar was so frank and generous in his professions and acknowledgments to this great man, that he became more and more zealous and ambitious, upon every occasion, to lay down his life for so illustrious a master. He needed no other proofs of his fidelity and courage than the honourable marks he wore on his body. When Cæsar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and returned into Syria, he gave Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and rendered him at once an object of admiration and envy, by the singular tokens of respect and esteem he conferred upon him. On his account he confirmed Hyrcanus in the dignified office of high-priest.

Memphis delivered up to Mithridates.

Antipater finalizes his victory against the Egyptians.

Mithridates commends him to Cæsar, who confers upon him the highest honours.

CHAPTER VIII.

Antigonus addresses himself to Cæsar, and, contrary to design, promotes the interest of Antipater. Cæsar appoints Hyrcanus to the pontificate, and Antipater to the government of Judæa. Antipater prefers his sons Phasael and Herod. Herod is cited to appear before the council, and acquitted of the charge exhibited against him. He is declared general in Syria and Samaria. Sextus Cæsar is taken off by the treachery of Bassus, and succeeded by Marcus.

ABOUT this time Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, addressed himself to Cæsar, and became, very contrary to his design, the means of the advancement of Antipater. He seems to have been actuated by a desire of pouring forth the most extravagant

Antipater receives Herod and Phasael from Cæsar.

travagant invectives against Hyrcanus and Antipater, as having expelled him and his brethren from their native country, and oppressed the public to gratify their own ambition and caprice. He also represented, that the assistance they sent to Cæsar in Egypt, was from a motive of fear rather than goodwill, hoping to atone, in some measure, for the services they had formerly rendered to Pompey. Now if he had adhered to matter of fact, he would have imputed the death of his father to the instrumentality of Pompey's faction, and complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother.

Antipater vindicates himself.

Antipater, to obviate effectually these reproaches, threw aside some parts of his garment, and exposed his wounds as a testimony of his loyalty to Cæsar, enforced by remarking, "that he could not but wonder at the confidence of Antigonus, the son of an enemy to the Romans, a fugitive, and, like his father, a seditious incendiary, in exhibiting accusations to Cæsar against the most faithful and dutiful of his subjects, and insisting upon pretensions to merit of which he was wholly devoid; and that his desire in obtaining power, was to employ it in opposing the will of his benefactor."

Hyrcanus made high-priest.

Cæsar was so wrought upon by this manly conduct, that he declared Hyrcanus well qualified for the office of high-priest, and gave Antipater the liberty of nominating his commission. As he referred this matter to the good pleasure of his master, the emperor constituted him governor of Judæa, with the additional favour of permission to repair the walls of his country. These honorary grants Cæsar ordered to be engraved on brass, and the table hung up in the capitol, as a memorial of the deserts of Antipater, and his own justice.

Antipater governor of Judæa.

He repairs the walls of Jerusalem, and pacifies the tumults.

When Antipater had conducted the emperor to the borders of Syria, he returned to Judæa, where the first thing he did was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, that Pompey had caused to be overthrown. He then made a tour through the province to prevent disorders, and keep the peace; giving the people to understand, that, if they behaved with due reverence towards Hyrcanus, they should live in plenty and happiness; but if they should prove retrograde, and desirous of advancing themselves by the ruin of their country, they would find Antipater, instead of a gentle governor, a rigid master; and Hyrcanus a cruel tyrant, instead of a gracious prince.

Prefers his sons Phasaël and Herod.

Herod quells the robbers of Syria.

Notwithstanding this apparent deference paid to Hyrcanus, Antipater took upon him to settle the state of the province, and supply the defect and incapacity of the other for political administration. He gave to Phasaël, his eldest son, the government of Jerusalem, and the provinces adjacent: to Herod, his second son, that of Galilee, with the same power. Herod, being naturally bold and active, soon found honourable occasion for the display of his genius. Syria was greatly infested with bands of robbers, till he took Hezekias, the leader of them, and caused him to be put to death, with several of his followers. This exploit was so acceptable a service to the Syrians, that the towns and villages resounded with acclamations to the honour of Herod as the restorer of their liberties and possessions. It also made him known to Sextus Cæsar, the kinsman of Cæsar the Great, who was then governor of Syria. The fame of this achievement inspired Phasaël with a generous emulation to excel his brother, and to gain more and more upon the hearts of the people of Jerusalem, where he exercised his power with such moderation and justice, as to produce universal satisfaction. The wise conduct of this administration inspired the people with as great a reverence for Antipater, as if he had been their absolute sovereign; and he behaved himself, at the same time, with the profoundest respect towards Hyrcanus.

Antipater in great esteem.

Afterwards exiled.

But as the human mind is too susceptible of envy, we find, upon this occasion, a notorious instance of it in Hyrcanus. The renown these young governors had acquired in their respective provinces, and

the daily informations he received of the exploits of Herod in particular, raised this ignoble passion in the heart of Hyrcanus. There were not wanting, as in all palaces, adulating sycophants, to undermine the sons of Antipater, through a jealousy of the fame they had obtained with the people. They suggested this end, that it was derogatory to the dignity of Hyrcanus, that the administration of government should be divided betwixt Antipater and his sons, while he held but an empty name; that it was absurd in him to set up kings in opposition to himself; and that they disclaimed his authority in their general conduct; but more especially in the instance of Herod's causing so many to be put to death, in direct violation of the Jewish law, and without any mandate from him. In short, they demanded if Herod was a private man or a king; referring, that if he was only the former, he was amenable to the king himself, and to the laws of his country, for the murder of so many innocent persons.

Hyrcanus was gradually incensed by these insinuations to so violent a pitch, that he commanded the proper officers to summon Herod to make his appearance for trial. Herod, conscious of his innocence, with the advice of his father, secured his garison in Galilee, and repaired to Jerusalem, taking with him only a competent guard for the security of his person, without any design of offering an affront to Hyrcanus. Sextus Cæsar, however, anxious for his safety, sent a peremptory requisition to him to acquit Herod of the charge alledged against him. Hyrcanus seemed disposed to compliance; but Herod, too cautious to depend upon fair words, went to Sextus at Damascus, with a resolution not to attend to a second summons. The court sycophants renewed their application to Hyrcanus, and represented the abrupt departure of Herod as indicating a design of some desperate attempt. Though Hyrcanus credulously admitted of their intimation, he remained undetermined as to the steps he should pursue, apprehending the enemy too powerful for him, till Sextus declaring Herod general of all his troops in Syria and Samaria, it struck such a terror into Hyrcanus, from a consideration of his own strength, and the affections of the people, that he conceived him marching at the head of an army against him.

Nor was he mistaken in his conjecture; for Herod, from a transport of indignation at finding himself treated as a criminal, collected a body of forces, and marched towards Jerusalem, with a full determination to depose Hyrcanus from the government, which he had certainly done, if his father and brother had not stopped the violence of his passion. They advised him to carry his revenge no farther than threatening, and to spare the prince under whose patronage he had been advanced to his present dignity. They reminded him, that, though he might have been arraigned, yet, as he was acquitted, it was but setting the conservation of his life against the hazard of it; and that if the Almighty was the author of success in war, an unjust cause would meet with a deserved fate; and that therefore he should not be too presuming nor confident in his attempt upon a prince who had been his supporter and benefactor, and would never have treated him with rigour, had he not been misled by calumny and evil counsel. Herod was prevailed on by these arguments, and contented himself with giving the nation this proof of his great power and interest.

In the mean time the Romans fell into a civil war near Apamia. It was occasioned by the treacherous murder of Sextus Cæsar, by Cecilius Bassus, which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey, and then assumed his command. The officers of Julius Cæsar, in revenge for the death of Sextus, fell with their utmost force upon Bassus. Antipater also sent his sons to join them with succours, from a regard to the character of the living, and the memory of the deceased, Cæsar. The war was protracted to a considerable space of time, and Marcus was ordered out of Italy to succeed Sextus Cæsar in the government of Syria.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

The murder of Julius Cæsar in the capitol entails horrible factions. Cassius an intolerable oppressor. Herod ingratiates himself with him. Malichus plots against Antipater. Augustus Cæsar and Anthony wage war with Brutus and Cassius. Herod made governor of Syria. Antipater is taken off by the treachery of Malichus, who is put to death at the instance of Herod.

THERE fell out, at this time, a more desperate war amongst the Romans than the former. The murder of Julius Cæsar, in the third year and seventh month of his reign, by the treachery of Brutus and Cassius, was followed by destructive factions in divers parts of the empire. The great men were divided into parties, each individual acting as his humour or interest led him, without any regard to the public good. Cassius proceeded to Syria, to possess himself of the forces that were then before Apamia, where he effected a reconciliation between Marcus and Bassus, and the raising of the siege of Apamia at the same time. He laid the cities under excessive contributions, and imposed a tax of seven hundred talents upon the Jews, which Antipater provided for in time, by an equal distribution of the charge, appointing his sons, friends, and Malichus, though his professed enemy, to take a seasonable care of the levy. The first that wrought himself into the good graces of Cassius was Herod, who presented him with an hundred talents for the quota of Galilee, and for that very important cause was ranked amongst his friends. But Cassius resented the delay of others in bringing in their proportions to such a degree, that he razed Gophna, Thamna, and two other places of less note, to the ground; and when this was done, formed a resolution of cutting off Malichus for being so dilatory in exacting his tribute. But Antipater prevented his death, and the destruction of several cities, as well as conciliated the esteem of Cassius, by bringing in an hundred talents in due time.

Cassius, however, had no sooner taken his departure, than Malichus, dead to every sense of gratitude and moral obligation, entered into a plot upon the life of the very man whom he had so often acknowledged as his friend, and whom he determined to remove as an obstacle to his wicked practices. Antipater, persuaded of his power and art, beheld him with a cautious eye, and therefore passed the Jordan, in order to raise forces to guard himself against his treacherous designs. Malichus, finding himself suspected, had recourse to delusive arts with the sons of Antipater, and plied both Phasael and Herod so effectually with excuses, oaths, and protestations, of his plain dealing and integrity, that he engaged them in a mediation with the father for a reconciliation; and by the same means made peace with Marcus, governor of Syria, who had determined to put him to death as a mutineer.

Augustus Cæsar and Anthony, being now at war with Brutus and Cassius, the latter having had convincing proofs of the bravery of Herod, appointed him governor of the whole province of Syria, with a considerable guard of horse and foot: nay, Cassius went so far as to promise him the kingdom of the Jews at the end of the war. But it so happened, that the hope and bravery of the son was the cause of the destruction of the father; for Malichus held him in such dread, that he bribed one of the cup-bearers of Hyrcanus to intermix poison with his drink, by which means he lost his life at a banquet. Thus was this great man requited for the favours he conferred on the most ungrateful of wretches. He was a man of singular prudence and prowess, to which Hyrcanus might be said to be indebted for his kingdom. The people were so enraged at Malichus, from a suspicion of this execrable practice, that they were ready to sacrifice him to their resentment. But, upon his renouncing and adjuring any knowledge of the matter, they suspended their pur-

pose; and Malichus, in the mean time, by way of prevention, put himself into a posture of defence, as it could not be expected that Herod would suffer so atrocious a murder to pass unrevenged. He knew Herod was absolutely for taking his revenge at the head of an army; but his brother Phasael dissuaded him by all means from that resolution, for fear a tumult should ensue. The brothers, upon this, gave him a hearing, with a semblance of allowing his defence, and a countenance as if they thought him innocent, and then proceeded to the funeral obsequies of their father, which were very sumptuous and magnificent.

Samaria being at this time rent with factions, Herod went thither to appease them, but returned, upon all solemn days, to keep his festival at Jerusalem, being attended, at his going and coming, by his guards. Hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his approach, forbade the introduction of foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were exercising the rules of their holy profession. But Herod, in contempt both of the cause itself, and of the authority that issued the command, entered the city by night. Upon this Malichus came to him, and, with tears, bewailed the loss of Antipater. Herod, on the other hand, dissembled his rage and indignation. But, at the same time, he wrote to Cassius for justice upon Malichus, for the murder of his father. This was easily obtained, as the traitor was odious to Cassius; so that he left Herod to take due course of law, and sent private orders to his tribunes to give him assistance as occasion might require.

Dissemination of Malichus and Herod.

Laodicea being lately taken, persons of rank resorted from all parts to Herod, with congratulations and presents. This, therefore, he looked upon as the fairest opportunity for the execution of his purpose: but Malichus, suspecting his design, laid a plan to evade it, by getting away his son from Tyre, who was an hostage there, and conveying him privately to Judaea. Fearing this plan might fail, he concerted a greater exploit. This was to set the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans, while Cassius was fully engaged in the war with Anthony. By this means he flattered himself he could effect the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the acquisition of the government to himself. But fate had otherwise determined it; for Herod, suspecting a mischievous design, invited Malichus and Hyrcanus to an entertainment, and sending a servant out, under pretence of making preparations, gave him private instructions for the tribunes to attend, and execute the plan concerted between him and Cassius. The tribunes accordingly marched out with their swords towards the sea side, where they met Malichus, surrounded him, and cut him to pieces. Hyrcanus was so alarmed at this incident, that he fell down in a swoon, from which, as soon as he recovered, he enquired of Herod who it was that killed Malichus? One of the tribunes replied, that it was done by order of Cassius. Hyrcanus then rejoined, that Cassius had saved both him and his country at once, in the destruction of a tyrant so dangerous to both. Whether Hyrcanus spoke the sentiments of his mind cannot be determined; but this was the revenge of Herod, and the end of Malichus.

Malichus slain by the officers of Herod.

C H A P. X.

A sedition is raised at Jerusalem. Felix routed by Phasael. Herod expels Marius, king of Tyre, out of Galilee. Overcomes Antigonus. The Jews accuse both Herod and Phasael before Anthony, who acquits them without a hearing, and makes them tetrarchs of Judaea.

WHEN Cassius departed from Syria, new tumults arose in Jerusalem, where Felix made war upon Phasael and Herod, to revenge the death of Malichus. It so happened, that Herod, being then at Damascus, with Fabius, the governor, was prevented, by indisposition, from marching to the relief of his brother. But Phasael stood in no need of his

Phasaël
overcomes
Felix.

Herod ex-
pels Marion
from Ga-
lilee.

Vanquishes
Antigonus.

Is well re-
ceived at Je-
rusalem.

Complaints
made to
Anthony a-
gainst Pha-
saël and
Herod.

The plain-
tiffs are dis-
missed.

The bro-
thers ac-
cused again.

Made te-
trarchs of
Judæa.

his assistance, for he defeated Felix with his own troops, and took an opportunity of reproaching Hyrcanus for his ingratitude, in affording aid to Felix, and putting several strong castles into the hands of the brother of Malichus, and amongst the rest Massada, one of the best fortified places in that country. But this availed them little against the power of Herod, who no sooner recovered from his indisposition, than he re-took all he had lost, and brought Hyrcanus to submission, even in Massada itself. He drove Marion, king of Tyre, out of Galilee, and recovered three castles of which he had possessed himself. He not only spared, however, the lives of those Tyrians whom he took, but gratified many of them with donations, thereby attaching them to himself, and rendering them inimical to Marion. This Marion was a fit instrument for Cassius, who had let so many tyrants over Syria. It was from his aversion to Herod, that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and Fabius also, who was the hireling of Antigonus; but Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, supplied them all with necessaries.

Herod made every necessary preparation for the encounter, which soon took place on the borders of Judæa, and was decided in his favour; so that having totally defeated Antigonus, he returned to Jerusalem, and was received with every token of honour and respect, even by those who had despised him before; but this was from a particular regard to his family alliance with Hyrcanus. Herod had formerly married a woman of his own country, who was of noble extraction, and called Doris, by whom he had his son Antipater. He afterwards took to wife Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus.

Upon Cæsar's coming into Italy, and Anthony into Asia, after the death of Cassius, at the battle of Philippi, ambassadors were dispatched from several places to Anthony in Bithynia, whither the chiefs of the Jews were repaired also, with complaints against Phasaël and Herod, for usurping arbitrary power to themselves, and allowing Hyrcanus merely the name of sovereignty. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation; but had so effectually ingratiated himself with Anthony, by dint of presents, that the plaintiffs were dismissed without an hearing.

Anthony being some time after this at Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch, (about the beginning of his intrigue with Cleopatra,) there came an hundred of the principal men among the Jews to prefer their complaints to him against the brothers. They selected their best orators for the purpose of advancing their plea. Messala undertook the cause of the brothers, and was seconded by Hyrcanus, upon the score of alliance. When Anthony had heard the allegations of both parties, he demanded of Hyrcanus, whom he esteemed the fittest man for the administration of government? Hyrcanus replied, that he knew of none so compatible as the two brothers. Anthony was highly gratified at this declaration, having been greatly obliged to Antipater of old, for a generous reception and entertainment upon his coming into Judæa with Gabinius. So he pronounced them both tetrarchs of Judæa, and committed the whole administration to their conduct. The deputies were so disgusted at this proceeding, that, for their behaviour, he committed fifteen of the hundred to prison, and they escaped narrowly with their lives: the rest he reprimanded, and then dismissed them. This served to inflame the mutineers at Jerusalem to a greater degree, so that, instead of an hundred, they sent a thousand deputies to Anthony at Tyre, who was at that time preparing to fall upon Jerusalem. They were so clamorous, that the magistrates of Tyre were ordered to disperse them; and, in case of resistance, to put all to death whom they took; Anthony giving them further charge to maintain the authority of the tetrarchs whom he had set up. Herod and Hyrcanus being informed of this disaster, went up towards the sea-shore, and advised the ambassadors to use the utmost caution, lest they should bring ruin upon themselves, and involve their native country in a war by their rash conten-

tions. But as they grew outrageous, Anthony was under a necessity of sending out armed men, who slew and wounded great numbers of them. Hyrcanus, however, took care of the wounded, and provided for the burial of the dead. This had no effect upon those that escaped, for they continued their tumults, till they provoked Anthony to such a degree, that he ordered all his prisoners to be put to death.

CHAP. XI.

Lysanias, the successor of Ptolemy, attempts to depose Hyrcanus, and set up Antigonus. The Carmelite Jews join Antigonus; rout and pursue the enemy to Jerusalem. Hyrcanus and Phasaël force them into the temple. Antigonus proposes terms of peace, and Pacorus for the Arbitrator. Plan of the treacherous contrivance of Barzapharnes. Herod evades it, withdraws to Massada, and obtains an important conquest. The Parthians at Jerusalem ravage town and country. Marissa laid waste. Antigonus declared king. Phasaël and Hyrcanus delivered up to him in chains. Phasaël dispatches himself. Herod ordered by Malichus, the king, to depart from Arabia. Is nobly treated by Cleopatra. Passes to Brundisium, and thence to Rome. Generosity of Augustus and Anthony to Herod. Herod declared in the senate king of the Jews.

ABOUT two years after this time, when Barzapharnes, a noble Parthian, held the government of Syria, with Pacorus, the king's son, Lysanias, the successor of Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, entered into an agreement, and confirmed it by articles, to deliver up to them a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon the dethroning of Hyrcanus, and setting up Antigonus in his place. They immediately proceeded to the execution of the project. Pacorus took the way of the sea-coast, and Barzapharnes marched over the midland. Ptolemais and Sidon opened their gates to Pacorus, but the Tyrians absolutely refused him entrance. He sent before him a party of horse into Judæa, under the command of Pacorus, one of the king's cupbearers, (an officer of his own name,) with instructions to attend to the enemy's motions, and to assist Antigonus, if occasion might require.

The Jews of Mount Carmel spontaneously offered their services to Antigonus, who directed them to advance, and possess themselves of that quarter of the country they call Dryma. An action ensued, in which the party of Antigonus prevailed; and when the enemy was routed and dispersed, their numbers increasing, they marched at once to Jerusalem, where Hyrcanus and Phasaël made a very brave resistance, and, after a smart contest in the market-place, forced them to retire into the temple. Herod, upon this, placed a guard of sixty men over the adjoining houses; but the people set fire to them from the aversion they had to the two brothers. These practices transported Herod to such a degree of indignation, that he fell upon the enemy, and cut off great numbers of them; nor did a day pass without slaughter.

The feast of Pentecost being now at hand, the city, upon that occasion, being crowded up to the very temple, and many of the multitude coming under arms, Phasaël took charge of the walls, and Herod, with a small party, of the palace. The latter made so unexpected a sally into the suburbs, that he killed several, and dispersed the whole multitude. Some fled into the city, others into the temple, while others sheltered themselves behind the ramparts.

When things were brought to this pass, Antigonus proposed a treaty of peace, and nominated Pacorus as the arbitrator. Phasaël acquiesced, and admitted the Parthians with 500 horse into the city. His pretence was to compose the mutiny; but his real intention was to assist Antigonus. This perfidious wretch prevailed afterwards with Phasaël to send an embassy to Barzapharnes upon the same subject. This was very contrary to the opinion of Herod,

An attempt to settle Antigonus in the possession of the kingdom.

Marissa laid waste.

Herod's army repulsed.

Antigonus proposed a peace, and Pacorus is admitted into the city.

rod, who advised Phasaël to use the utmost caution in trusting him, as perfidy was the characteristic of a barbarian. Pacorus, however, went out, and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be less suspected. He also left with Herod some of the horsemen which they called freemen, and conducted Phasaël with the rest.

When they came to Galilee, they found the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms; but the governors, however, came out to meet them. Barzapharnes had the art to disguise his intention with the external civilities of compliments and presents; but as soon as they were departed, had an ambush in readiness to surprize them on their return. They were conducted to a place near the sea, called Ecdipon, where they were informed of the particulars of the plot; that a thousand talents, and five hundred women, were to be delivered to the Parthians, upon their betraying Hyrcanus and Phasaël. They were further informed, that the plan would not have been deferred so long, but that they waited for Herod's coming up to Jerusalem, lest it should take air, and be frustrated.

Ophelius was the man to whom Saramalla (a Syrian of great opulence) had communicated the particulars of the whole design. Ophelius importuned Phasaël to provide for his safety; but he determined, at all events, not to abandon Hyrcanus, and therefore went up to the Parthian general, and reproached him to his face, for entering into this treacherous design against him, from mercenary, the meanest of all, motives; telling him, that if money was his object, he could give him more for his life than Antigonus had promised him for the kingdom. The subtle Parthian endeavoured to remove the suspicion by prevarication and oaths, and then went immediately to Pacorus. But no sooner had he departed, than Phasaël and Hyrcanus were taken into custody by the Parthians who were left behind, according to their order, and had only the liberty of exclaiming against so horrid a perjury.

The Parthian, in the mean time, was instructed to attempt to delude Herod out of the town, and seize upon him. He made the effort; but Herod was so well acquainted with the treacherous practices of those barbarians, that he would not venture out of the city. He did not doubt but that Phasaël had sent him information of the plot, though the Parthians might have intercepted the letters. Pacorus, however, could not draw him out by the most plausible pretences he could use, and the strongest assurances of his personal security; for he still kept upon his guard, having heard that his brother Phasaël was apprehended: besides, Mariamne, a woman of great sagacity, enjoined him by no means to go forth, nor expose himself to the manifest designs of those barbarians.

Pacorus finding it impossible to circumvent a man of Herod's prudence and penetration by open attack, began to deliberate how they might bring their plot to bear privately. But Herod, while this was in agitation, made his escape, with some of his nearest relations, by night, towards Idumæa. The Parthians no sooner received intelligence of his departure, than they pursued him; upon which he sent his mother, brother, Mariamne, (to whom he was contracted,) and his younger brother, before him; whilst he himself, with his party, made a stand against the barbarians, and overcoming them in several encounters, retired, at last, to the castle of Massada. The Jews pressed him more in his flight than the Parthians, attacking him sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, so that at length a regular engagement ensued. Herod obtained the victory, slew great numbers; and, to perpetuate the honour of the action, erected a magnificent palace upon the spot, with a strong castle, which he called Herodium, after his own name.

As great numbers repaired to his standard in his retreat, his brother Joseph, when he came to Threffa, in Idumæa, advised him, by all means, to lessen his train, which amounting, according to computation, to upwards of three thousand men, the castle of Massada could not contain them. Herod attend-

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ed to his counsel, and dismissed the most cumbersome part of his retinue, disposing of his kindred, and the best disciplined of his followers, in the respective departments of the castle, with an extra body of 800 men for the protection of the women, and provisions sufficient to hold out a siege, if occasion should require. Having thus arranged matters, he went forward to Petra, in Arabia.

The Parthians at Jerusalem were wholly intent upon plunder, breaking into the houses of those who were absent, and rifling the royal palace itself, sparing nothing but the treasure of Hyrcanus, which did not amount to more than three hundred talents; though they possessed themselves of the riches of others, but not equal to expectation; for Herod, from a suspicion of the perfidy of the barbarians, had taken care to convey what was most precious to Idumæa; and his companions had followed his example. But the Parthians, not content with the spoil of the city, infested the adjacent country with a bloody and implacable war. They laid waste the city of Marissa; and not only constituted Antigonus king, but delivered up Phasaël and Hyrcanus bound into his hands. Such was the cruelty of Antigonus, that he tore off the ears of Hyrcanus with his teeth, to render him incapable of the pontificate, as no maimed person was eligible to that sacred function. Phasaël, however, frustrated his inhuman designs; for having neither command of his sword or his hands, he prevented all further abuses by dashing out his brains against a stone; demonstrating thereby his alliance to Herod; while Hyrcanus had given proof of degeneracy. He died like a man of honour, and his end was suitable to the glory of his life. It is reported that he survived that violence upon himself, and that a physician was sent him from Antigonus, who poisoned the wound, and so dispatched him. There prevails another report, that, being told by a woman, a little before his death, that Herod had made his escape, he exclaimed, "I shall now die in peace, as I shall leave behind me a friend to avenge my wrongs." But we do not contend for the authenticity of either of these reports.

This was the end of Phasaël; and the Parthians, though they were disappointed in the promise of the women, put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and sent Hyrcanus bound into Parthia. Herod was not yet made acquainted with the death of Phasaël; so that concluding, from his knowledge of the avaricious disposition of the barbarians, that a sum of money would be the only means of his redemption, he determined upon a journey into Arabia, in hopes of supplying himself from the king upon that occasion, either as a bounty upon the score of an old friendship betwixt him and Antipater, or a loan upon the security of the pledge of his nephew, the son of Phasaël, a youth of seven years of age, whom he proposed to take with him for that purpose. The sum he intended to give was three hundred talents, and the Tyrians were to intercede to procure his request.

But fate unhappily prevented the execution of his generous design in the death of Phasaël. Nor could he trust himself among the Arabians; for Malichus, their king, ordered him to depart immediately out of his territories, pretending that the Parthians had demanded, by their ambassadors, that Herod might be driven out of Arabia; though the real motive was to withhold what was due to Antipater, and to avoid the obligation of making a requital to the son for the bounty of the father. He was, indeed, persuaded to act thus illiberally by those about him, who were destitute both of faith and honour.

When Herod found that the Arabians were his enemies, and for the very cause which he imagined would have conciliated their friendship, he dispatched the messengers with each an answer, as was suggested by the impetuosity of his passion, and then proceeded to Egypt. He came in the evening to a certain temple, where he had left several of his companions in his passage. The next day he arrived at Rinucolora, where he received the first news of the death

The Parthians plunder Jerusalem and the adjacent country.

Declare Antigonus king.

His cruelty.

Phasaël puts an end to his own life.

Hyrcanus sent in chains to Parthia.

Herod is ordered by the king of Arabia to leave his territories.

death of his brother. The surprize, no doubt, affected him; but when he had given vent to the feelings of natural affection, and discharged his last duty to his brother, he proceeded on his journey.

The king of Arabia soon repented of what he had done, and dispatched messengers to prevail on him to return. But it was now too late, as he had advanced as far as Pelusium, where the officers stopped his progress, till, upon application to the magistrates, he was permitted to pass on, from the respect they had for his character. He embarked for Alexandria, whither, upon his arrival, he was received by Cleopatra with all pomp and splendor, hoping that he might be prevailed upon to accept the command of an army which she was then raising for some important design. But Herod was so intent upon his voyage to Rome, that neither the entreaty of the queen, the rigour of the season, nor the hazard of it, could divert him from the prosecution of it. Putting therefore to sea, and taking his course by the way of Pamphylia, there arose so violent a tempest, that the mariners were under a necessity of casting the goods overboard to save the vessel. At length, with great difficulty, they got safe to Rhodes, where he found things in great disorder, on account of the war with Cassius. He was there received by two friends, Ptolemy and Saphinius, and, notwithstanding his then want of money, found means to provide himself a stout vessel, which conveyed him and his friends to Brundisium, and thence to Rome. Upon his arrival, he paid his court to Anthony, between whom and his father Antipater an ancient friendship had subsisted, and revealed to him the adventures and misfortunes of his family, particularly that of his relations, being then shut up in the castle of Massada, which induced him to hazard a voyage, in the most rigorous part of the season, to wait upon him, and implore his protection.

Anthony was so affected by compassion for his distress, and tender regard for the memory of his father, together with the due sense he entertained of his own personal merit, that he determined to have him declared king of the Jews, as he had made him tetrarch before. To this he was moved, not only from respect to Herod, but aversion to Antigonus, whom he looked upon as of a turbulent, seditious spirit, and inimical to the Romans. Augustus was, if possible, more attached to Herod than Anthony; nor was any thing more pleasing to him than to enter into a detail of Antipater's services in Egypt, the hardships they had there encountered together, and the mutual friendship they had long enjoyed.

Upon this an assembly of the senate was called, where Messala, and after him Atratinus, (Herod being present,) enlarged upon the merits of Antipater, and his fidelity to the people of Rome, holding forth Antigonus, at the same time, as a public enemy, not only from his defection, but receiving a crown from the hands of the Parthians, in contempt of the sovereignty of the empire. The senate were so wrought upon by these representations, that they gave their voices unanimously for Herod to be king of the Jews, which was enforced by Anthony, who pointed out the advantages that would accrue from it in the conduct of the Parthian war. When the senate rose, Cæsar and Anthony went out, preceded by the consuls and other magistrates, to give orders for sacrifice, and the depositing the decree of the senate in the capitol. Anthony also made a splendid entertainment for Herod on the first day of his reign.

C H A P. XII.

Massada besieged by Antigonus. Defended by Joseph, the brother of Herod. Ventidius and Silo join with Herod against Antigonus. Herod takes Joppa. Relieves Massada; and advances to Jerusalem, which he invests, offering an universal amnesty. The assailants are repulsed. The craft and treachery of Silo. A desperate mutiny suppressed by Herod, who possesses himself of Sepphoris; takes Jericho, and rifies it. His

encounter with the robbers. Herod returns to Samaria, and Ptolemy assumes the command in his place. Perfidy and barbarity of Machæras. Anthony invests Samosata, and Antigonus delivers it up.

DURING this time Antigonus besieged the castle of Massada, where the family and friends of Herod suffered much thro' an extreme drought, insomuch that Joseph, his brother, understanding that Malichus, king of Arabia, had repented of the injuries he had done to Herod, took a resolution to leave the castle by night, with two hundred chosen friends, and apply to the Arabians for succour. But at the very precise time that they were about to make the fall, there fell so copious a shower of rain, that their pits, cisterns, and other vessels were all replenished, which obviated the necessity of carrying their design into execution. After this seasonable relief, the garrison made several resolute sallies, and, between surprize and open force, did considerable execution upon the enemy, though they frequently met with severe repulses.

In the mean time Ventidius, one of the Roman generals, being sent to restrain the incursions of the Parthians into Syria, entered Judæa, under colour of a design to relieve Massada, but in reality to seize upon the treasure of Antigonus. When he had accomplished his purpose at Jerusalem, he withdrew, with the greatest part of the army, but left Silo, with a small body, behind him, in order to countenance his pretence; for if he had taken with him all the forces, his motive to enrich himself would have been too evident. Antigonus, however, maintained a good understanding with Silo, hoping that the Parthians would come again to his assistance.

Herod, having now sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, raised a considerable army, both of his own nation and strangers, and then marched through Galilee towards Antigonus, with the assistance of Ventidius and Silo, who were prevailed upon, by the solicitation of Dellius, at the instance of Anthony, to aid Herod in obtaining the possession of his kingdom. Ventidius was then intent on quieting the tumults which the Parthians had raised in divers cities, while Silo was corrupted by the bribes of Antigonus in Judæa. Herod, however, was not destitute of forces, as numbers repaired to his standard every day during his march, and the greatest part of Galilee came over to his interest. The principal object of his attention was the raising the siege of Massada, to set his kindred and friends at liberty; and Joppa was the first obstacle to be removed, as they could make no attempt upon Jerusalem with that enemy so near at hand. Silo took this opportunity to withdraw; and the Jews of the party of Antigonus pursuing him, Herod, with an handful of men, engaged, defeated them, and brought off Silo, after a very faint resistance.

After this Herod took Joppa; and then hastened, with all expedition, to set free his kindred and friends, that had been shut up a considerable time in the castle of Massada. The inhabitants of the country seemed in general disposed to join him; some for the sake of his father, others for his own sake, and others for their obligations to both; but the greater part were actuated by the hopes of honour and reward. Herod was by this time at the head of a considerable army; but Antigonus used his utmost endeavours to obstruct his passage, by planting ambushes in his way, though with little or no damage to the adverse party. He found, upon the whole, a great difficulty in raising the siege, and removing his friends and effects out of the castle. From thence he advanced to Jerusalem, where many of Silo's men, and of the inhabitants, came over to him, awed by his increasing power.

He pitched his camp upon the west side of the town, where the enemy galled him with showers of darts and arrows, and the defendants made divers vigorous sallies. As a prelude to his design, he caused a proclamation to be issued in form by an herald, round the walls of the city, setting forth that he

Herod is nobly received by Cleopatra.

Touches at Rhodes.

Herod is caressed and honoured by Anthony and Augustus Cæsar.

Declared king of the Jews by the Roman senate.

Massada besieged by Antigonus.

Ventidius and Silo join with Herod against Antigonus.

Ventidius and Silo join with Herod against Antigonus.

Herod takes Joppa.

had only in view, by his expedition, to promote the common good of the people, and the safety of the place; with an offer of burying in oblivion the efforts of all his enemies, of every rank and degree, without exception. Antigonus, on the other hand, did all he could, with noise and harangue, to keep his people from hearing the conditions of the declaration, or being moved by the force of it, and at length commanded them to fall on; upon which the assailants were repulsed from the tower, and forced to a retreat. The corruption of Silo was now evident beyond a doubt, from the clamours of the soldiers that he had suborned to put all in a flame. They exclaimed that they were lost for want of necessities, as well as convenient winter quarters, through means of the army of Antigonus, that had carried every thing off. By these means the people were stirred up to a revolt, and Silo would have accompanied them in their retreat. This attempt threatened so much danger, that Herod was under the necessity of applying not only to Silo's officers, but to the common soldiers, representing to them the mischiefs that must inevitably ensue if they deserted him, and requesting that, as he had the commission of Cæsar, Anthony, and the senate, for what he did, they would stand by him one day longer, and all their wants should be supplied. Upon this assurance Herod went himself to give orders for the provisions, and forthwith sent them so abundant a supply, that all Silo's pretences were obviated; and to secure them a future competence, he wrote to Samaria, which was then under his protection, to send him all sorts of provisions to Jericho, such as corn, wine, oil, cattle, and every other necessary article. When Antigonus had intelligence of this, he dispersed his troops abroad, and laid ambushes to intercept the convoys. They obeyed their orders, so that a considerable army was posted near Jericho, and parties placed up and down the mountains to obstruct any kind of relief.

Herod, in the mean time, with his usual activity, advanced with ten companies, half Romans, half Jews, and a small body of horse, to Jericho, where he found the city totally abandoned; but five hundred men, with their wives and children, had taken possession of the summits of the mountains. These he took, and then dismissed them. The town contained abundance of valuable plunder, which the Romans carried away; and Herod leaving a garrison in the place, returned, and assigned the Roman troops their winter-quarters in the cities that came over to him, as Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also, by bribing Silo, had part of his army quartered in Lydda, to stand fair in the opinion of Anthony.

The Romans now lived in the full enjoyment of peace and plenty: but Herod, whose active spirit could not rest, sent his brother Joseph, with 400 horse, and 2000 foot, to fortify Idumæa, lest Antigonus should enter upon any new device, while he went with his kindred, whom he had rescued at Massada, to Samaria. When he had settled them securely, he advanced into Galilee, to reduce certain garrisons possessed in that province by Antigonus. He came up to Sepphoris in a deep snow, and took the place without any difficulty; for the garrison quitted it without making any resistance. When he had given his men time to refresh themselves after the fatigue of the winter, there being in that city abundance of necessities, he turned his arms against the free-booters that sheltered themselves in caves, and, by sallies and incursions, annoyed the inhabitants more than an open and professed enemy in the course of war. He sent three companies of foot, and a troop of horse, before him to Arbela, and followed them himself forty days after with the rest of his army. The free-booters were not in the least alarmed at this incursion, but, on the contrary, advanced against them in a body, confident of the conduct and courage of their leader. When it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing; but Herod wheeling upon them immediately with his right, not only stopt the flight of his own men, but brought them on again with such fury, that the robbers, not being able to stand before them, were pursued as far as the Jordan, many of them cut off, and

the rest got over the river. Thus was Galilee delivered from these ravagers, except some stragglers, that kept still in their fastnesses, which occasioned Herod to prolong his stay in the country.

After this exploit, as the first fruits of his soldiers' services, he gave to every man an hundred and fifty drachmæ, and to the officers so much more in proportion, and then dismissed them to their winter quarters. He gave it in charge to his younger brother, Pheroras, to superintend the supply of provisions, and the raising of a wall about the castle of Alexandrion, which was accordingly performed with the utmost punctuality.

In the mean time Anthony took up his residence at Athens; while Ventidius sent to Silo and Herod to join him in the war against the Parthians; but instructed them first to settle the affairs of Judæa. Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius; but went himself in quest of the robbers that lurked in the caves. These dens or caverns were in the crags of the rocks, hardly accessible on any side, but by narrow turnings and windings, and a direct precipice from top to bottom. As it appeared, from the situation of the place, that the attempt would be attended with the utmost difficulty, the king hesitated for some time; but at length hit upon a bold and desperate experiment. There were strong chests, with soldiers in them, let down with ropes from the top of the mountain to the mouth of the entrance into the caves. These soldiers destroyed the robbers in their holes, some with their arms, and others, that resisted, with fire. As Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamations made that they should surrender themselves; but not one of them came spontaneously; and many, that were compelled, preferred death to captivity.

There was a very remarkable instance of the resolution of an old man, the father of seven sons. His wife and children entreating him to suffer them to go out, and surrender themselves, according to the tenour of the proclamation, he commanded them to come forth one after another, and as they respectively appeared, put them to death. This spectacle struck Herod with compassion, so that he entreated him, by signs, to spare his children. But neither words or actions could prevail with him; for he maintained his resolution, killed the children first, and then the mother, casting their dead bodies down a precipice, and himself at last, and reproached Herod with the meanness of his spirit.

When Herod had exterminated these robbers, he left only such a force behind him as he judged necessary to preserve the public tranquillity. He left the command to Ptolemy, and returned to Samaria, in order to march against Antigonus, with three thousand foot, and six hundred horse. The malecontents of Galilee took advantage of Herod's absence, fell upon Ptolemy by surprise, and slew him. They also laid the country waste, and then retired to bogs and places almost inaccessible. Herod no sooner received intelligence of this disorder, than he returned, cut off great numbers of the seditious, raised the siege of the fortresses they had invested, and fined the cities an hundred talents for the riots.

The Parthians being now defeated, and Pacorus slain, Ventidius, by order of Anthony, dispatched Machæras to Herod, with a thousand horse, and two legions, as auxiliaries to him against Antigonus. Antigonus had sent Machæras a letter, complaining of the indignities he had received from Herod, with a very considerable offer to enter into his interest. Though Machæras did not comply, as he had greater expectations of advantage from espousing the cause of Herod, he kept fair with the other party, and seemed disposed to treat with him on the business; but this was to sound him as to the present state of his affairs, though directly repugnant to the opinion and advice of Herod.

Antigonus, by this time, discovering his intention, not only refused him entrance, upon his approach to the city, but kept him off with darts and arrows as a professed enemy. Machæras was so mortified at this

Herod's
liberality
to his sol-
diers.

Goes in
quest of the
robbers.

The won-
derful reso-
lution of
an old
robber.

The robbers
are exter-
minated.

Ptolemy
surprized
and slain.

Herod sup-
presses the
mutineers.

this disappointment, that he went to Herod at Emmaus, and, in the fury of his rage, put all the Jews to death he could meet with, whether friends or foes, or attached to the interest of Antigonus or Herod.

Herod meditates revenge.

Herod was so enraged at this merciless outrage, that, at first, he determined to avenge himself on Machæras as an open enemy; but he cooled upon reflection, and chose rather to accuse him before Anthony. Machæras, conscious of the atrocious nature of his conduct, instantly followed Herod, and by submissions, protestations, and importunities, sued for pardon. But this did not divert him from going to Anthony; and hearing that he was at that time besieging Samosata, a strong place upon the Euphrates, he made the greater expedition to come up to him, in order to ingratiate himself by some signal proofs of his fidelity and courage. His arrival put a speedy end to the siege; he slew great numbers of the barbarians, and obtained immense booty. Anthony, who always maintained a favourable opinion of Herod, held him, upon this occasion, in higher esteem than ever, which redounded much to his honour, and encouraged his hopes of obtaining the kingdom. Antigonus, in fine, was compelled to deliver up Samosata.

C H A P. XIII.

Joseph, the brother of Herod, is slain in a skirmish with Antigonus, who treats his remains with indignity. Sosius made general of Syria. Prediction of Joseph's death. Herod invests Jerusalem, and takes it by assault. Commands the head of Pappus to be cut off, in revenge for the death of Joseph. Pusillanimity of Antigonus. He is sent in chains to Anthony, and beheaded. Avarice and illiberality of Cleopatra.

DURING these transactions the affairs of Herod were in a precarious situation in Judæa, which he left, in his absence, under the command of his brother Joseph, upon this express condition, that he should make no attempt against Antigonus during his absence. This advice proceeded from a suspicion he entertained of the perfidy of Machæras, founded upon former circumstances. But Joseph, when his brother was at a distance, became unmindful of his injunction, and marched towards Jericho, with four companies that Machæras had provided him, to carry off the corn that was now fit for sickle. The enemy fell upon him from the mountains, and, from the advantages of the place, and the occasion, gave him a total defeat, cutting all the Romans to pieces, and the general himself, who left behind him the character of a great and valiant man. These were only new raised troops, levied in Syria, and had no veterans amongst them to supply the want of skill and experience in their fellow-soldiers.

Joseph rashly engages with Antigonus.

Is slain in a skirmish.

His head struck off by order of Antigonus.

But such was the brutality of Antigonus, that, not content with the victory, he committed the most unmanly insolences upon the remains of the dead, insulting over the body of Joseph himself, and then striking off his head, though Pheroras offered a composition of fifty talents to avoid that indignity. Affairs were so changed in Galilee, upon the success of Antigonus, that they took the partizans of Herod, of the first quality, and plunged them into the lake. The affairs of Idumæa underwent several alterations where Machæras repaired the walls of the castle of Gath. Herod was ignorant of these transactions; for, upon the taking of Samosata, Anthony made Sosius governor of Syria, with a charge to assist him against Antigonus; and so he departed into Egypt. Sosius, upon this, sent away two companies into Judæa, to join Herod; and he himself followed soon after with the rest of the army.

Joseph's death is foretold to Herod.

When Herod was at Daphne, near Antioch, he had a preface of the death of his brother in a dream. As he leaped out of his bed in a confused manner, messengers arrived at that very instant to acquaint him with the calamity. The surprize struck him at first; but when his grief had a little subsided, he

hastened, with all expedition, in quest of the enemy. Upon his arrival he took eight hundred of the inhabitants, and one Roman cohort, to his assistance. With this body he entered Galilee before day, charged the enemy, and beat them back to the castle which they had left. He sat down before it, and assaulted it day after day; but, before he could make himself master of it, the weather became so tempestuous, that he was under a necessity of drawing off his army into the next village. Anthony, some few days after, sent him a reinforcement of another company, which put the garrison into such apprehensions, that they escaped from the castle through favour of the night.

He makes an incursion into Galilee.

After this Herod proceeded to Jericho to avenge himself of the death of his brother, where he seems to have been preserved by a miraculous interposition of Providence. That evening he gave a grand entertainment to several persons of the first distinction; and when the company had retired, and the hall was cleared, the roof fell to the ground. He took this remarkable escape as so auspicious a presage with respect to the war in which he was engaged, that he decamped early the next morning. The enemy, in a body of about 6000 men, came down the mountains, and had a skirmish with his van-guard; but they did not press on to close action with the Romans, assaulting them only with darts and stones at a distance, by which means Herod, as he passed, received a wound in his side.

His wound cured, and he escapes from danger.

Antigonus, who piqued himself in being supposed superior to Herod, not only in the number but courage of his men, sent Pappus, his familiar friend, with an army, into Samaria, to try an encounter with Machæras. Herod in the mean time took five towns, ravaged the enemy's country, destroyed 2000 of the inhabitants, laid their houses in ashes, and so returned to the main army, not far from a village called Cana.

Now a great multitude of Jews resorted to him daily, both from Jericho and other parts of the country. Some were moved from their hatred to Antigonus, others from their respect to Herod, and others from their love of innovation. Herod was most sanguinely desirous of bringing on an engagement; nor were Pappus and his army less anxious for the encounter; so that, without dismay, they boldly advanced to the charge. When they came to close action, they made a stout resistance for some time; but wherever Herod came, he was so transported with the spirit of revenge for the death of his brother, that his enemies fled before him. In a word, a most terrible slaughter ensued; some were forced back into the place whence they came, Herod still pressing and pursuing them, till he fell in with the thickest of them in the town. The houses were soon crowded with fugitives, and the very roofs covered with them. But these were easily destroyed; and, upon beating down the buildings, several perished under the ruins, and others by the sword; and those who escaped the one perished by the other. The streets were so blocked up with carcasses, that they found some difficulty to march over them; and the spectacle was so hideous, that it could not be seen without the most thrilling horror. Upon confidence from this victory, Herod would certainly have marched immediately to Jerusalem, if the extreme rigour of the season had not rendered the ways impassable. This was the only point wanting to crown his victory, and effect the irreparable ruin of Antigonus, who was now making the previous dispositions for abandoning the city.

Meets and defeats his army.

Herod, in the evening, having dismissed his friends, to refresh themselves after the fatigue of the day, went to bathe, as is usual in such cases, with only one servant to attend him, and was met on his way by one of the soldiers of Antigonus with a drawn sword, then by a second, then by a third, and afterwards by several more. These were men who had fled thither with their arms out of the battle for refuge. Upon sight of the king they were seized with such dread and tremour, that they passed by most precipitately; and no one being at hand to apprehend

Herod escapes another deliverance.

The head of Pappus is cut off in revenge for that of Joseph, &c.

hend them, got off, while Herod fortunately escaped untouched. The day following he ordered the head of Pappus, the general of Antigonus, to be struck off, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, in revenge for the blood of Joseph, who was slain by that very Pappus.

Herod's first march to Jerusalem.

When the spring season came on, Herod advanced to Jerusalem, drew his men to the walls, and, for the advantage of the attack, encamped before the temple, being the quarter from which Ptolemy had taken it before. This was the third year since Herod had been declared king at Rome. He assigned all his troops their proper stations, and every man his post in the suburbs. He ordered the casting up of three ramparts, and the building of turrets over them; and when he had given these commissions in charge to such of his officers as he could best confide in, he went himself to Samaria, to consummate a marriage with Mariamne, (the daughter of Aristobulus, son of Alexander,) to whom he had been contracted some time before; so that the siege and the match went on together in spite of his foes.

Mariamne.

Upon this marriage he returned to Jerusalem with a number of additional troops, besides a strong body of horse and foot, under Sosius, the Roman general, who was sent to join him. The greater part of them took their march through the midland, and he himself through Phœnicia. The whole army, upon the muster, amounted to eleven regiments of foot, and six thousand horse, besides a strong reinforcement of Syrian auxiliaries. The assault was made on the north side; Herod founding his right upon the decree of the Roman senate, that had constituted him king; and Sosius preferring the commission of Anthony for the assistance of Herod with the troops under his command.

The Jews' first action in the city.

The Jews within the city were now in the utmost confusion and distress, the common people crowding about the temple, and passing their judgment upon the times, in a kind of enthusiastical foreboding of future calamities. The more bold and hardy part of the rabble went up and down, pillaging whatever they could reach, especially within the purlieus of the city, where they left no necessities for man or horse. The soldiers omitted nothing for the defence of the place; kept the assailants from their walls, and opposed one instrument and stratagem to another. But their chief manœuvre was in mining, and breaking in upon the enemy before they were aware.

The king, on the other hand, took care to provide against the depredations of the plunderers, and for a supply of provisions by convoys from abroad. The Jews must be allowed to have displayed the greatest resolution and courage, but were constantly excelled by the Romans in military skill and experience. They maintained the contest, however, with the utmost bravery; and, in case of any surprize of the enemy from their trenches, by sally or attack, found some means or other to frustrate their attempts. In fine, they spared neither art or labour in the resolution they had taken to defend the city to the last. But, after five months resistance against so vast an army, a chosen band of Herod's men were so hardy as to mount the wall, with some of the Roman centurions to second them, and thereupon fell into the city.

Herod's army at Jerusalem.

Immediately upon their entrance, they posted themselves round the temple, and as nearly as possible, while the army dispersed, and carried death and desolation, in the most hideous forms, wherever they went. The Romans were exasperated to revenge, by the hardships they had endured in the course of the siege; and the Jews of Herod's party were implacably cruel, in preventing the escape of any of their adversaries. The avenues of the city were covered with piles of mangled carcases; for the conquerors spared neither age or sex; nor was the temple itself any longer a sanctuary; nay, though the king himself commanded them, upon their allegiance, to hold their hands, and desist from the massacre, they went on with the carnage to a degree of inhuman phrenzy.

No. 29.

Antigonus, with the most dastardly pusillanimity, without regard to his rank, or past or present fortune, came down from the citadel, and prostrated himself before Sosius, who, without discovering the least pity for his calamitous condition, taunted him with a declaration that his name should be no longer Antigonus, but *Antigona*. But though he named him, he did not treat him like a woman; for he was loaded with chains, and kept a prisoner. Herod's present concern, after subduing his enemies, was to restrain the impetuosity of his foreign auxiliaries; as the multitude pressed so violently into the temple, prompted by curiosity to see the building, and its valuable contents, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could keep them in order, either by menaces, entreaties, and sometimes blows; accounting that his victory would be worse than a defeat, if it tended to expose those sacred things, which, by the Jewish law, were to be veiled from the sight of the prophane.

Meanness of Antigonus

He then proceeded to the regulation of the soldiery in the matter of pillage, pertinently observing to Sosius, "that, by leaving neither men or money, the Romans would render him king of a desert, rather than of a city and people; and that he judged the dominion of the whole habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens." Sosius replied, "that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder, as a reward for what they had suffered during the siege." Herod rejoined, "that he would see justice done every individual out of his own private fortune." By this generous manner of proceeding, he preserved the remainder of his country; and afterwards fulfilled his promise to the army, by making liberal presents to each private soldier, and in proportion to the officers, with a royal bounty to Sosius himself; so that, upon the whole, he gave universal satisfaction. Sosius after this dedicated a golden crown to sacred services, and then left Jerusalem, carrying Antigonus bound to Anthony, flattering himself with the hope of mercy, till the axe put a period to an existence not worthy of being protracted.

Herod prevents the plundering of the city.

Antigonus loses his head.

The multitude in the city were divided; and Herod distinguished party from party, conferring honours on his friends, to attach them to his interest, and putting the adherents of Antigonus to death. When his finances ran low, he divided the most valuable of his effects betwixt Anthony and those immediately about his person: but this did not prove an effectual security; for Anthony was so infatuated with a predilection for Cleopatra, that he could deny her nothing. This execrable woman having sated her cruelty with the blood of all her own kindred, turned her implacable fury against strangers, by calumniating men of rank and fortune to Anthony, and prevailing with him to cause them to be put to death, to obtain possession of their estates. Her avarice transported her so far against the Jews and Arabians, that she entered into a secret practice on the lives of their kings, Herod and Malichus. Anthony amused her with fair words, and seeming compliances; but, though he could not indulge her so far as to take away the lives of two kings who had treated him with such singular respect, he violated the terms of friendship that subsisted between them, and put her in possession of great part of their territories; for instance, the lands in Jericho, so famous for palm-trees and the balsam plant, and all the cities upon the river Eleutherus, except Tyre and Sidon. When he had gratified her with these presents, she accompanied him as far as the Euphrates in his expedition against the Parthians, and so took her way into Judæa, by Apamia and Damascus.

Herod rewards his friends, and avenges himself upon his enemies.

Avarice and cruelty of Cleopatra.

Herod had already attempted, by large presents, to conciliate the favour of Cleopatra; but her cruelty was so implacable, and her avarice so insatiable, that former largesses had no effect; so that he found himself under a necessity of allowing her two hundred talents out of the revenues of Judæa, and then with the utmost obsequiousness conducted her to Pelusium. Anthony soon returned from the Parthian war, with Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, his prisoner.

prisoner, whom he presented to Cleopatra, with the whole booty.

C H A P. XIV.

The craft and treachery of Cleopatra. Herod wages war with various success. A tremendous earthquake in Judæa. The Jews alarmed at the fate of several of their ambassadors. Animating address of Herod to his soldiers. Its powerful effect. Herod brings the Arabians to action, and totally defeats them. They petition Herod to take them under his protection.

Craft and treachery of Cleopatra.

ON the breaking out of the war in Actium, Herod being at liberty, proposed to accompany Anthony in that expedition; for he had gained possession of Hyrcania from the sister of Antigonus, and all things were now composed and easy at home. But Cleopatra, lest Herod should be a companion in the danger with Anthony, craftily diverted him from his design. This princess, having a mortal aversion to the kings both of Judæa and Arabia, persuaded Anthony to commit the conduct of the Parthians to Herod; foreseeing as the consequence, that, if he succeeded in the enterprize, he should be queen of Arabia; if otherwise, queen of Judæa.

This crafty design tended to the advantage of Herod, who, having levied a great body of horse, sent them against the Syrians about Diopolis, where he attacked them, and, after some resistance, drove them out of the field. Upon this defeat the Arabians drew together a formidable army, and posted them at Camatha, in Coelo-Syria, there to await the arrival of the Jews. Herod was now advancing towards them; but, upon sight of their number and disposition, he found it expedient to be more than ordinarily watchful, and therefore ordered the raising of a wall about the camp. But the people were so elated with one victory, that, regardless of Herod's precaution, they fell on without ceremony, and routed the Arabians at the very first onset. But Herod himself escaped very narrowly upon the pursuit, by a body of the troops of Camatha, which were sent in by Athenion to the relief of the Arabians. This Athenion was one of Cleopatra's generals, and a deadly enemy to Herod. Animated by this reinforcement, the Arabians rallied, scattered Herod's army, and pursuing them through crags and woods, slew many of them in the chase. Those who escaped fled to an adjacent village, called Ormiza, where they were pent up and surrounded; and the Arabians made themselves masters of the camp, and the men that were in it. Soon after this severe check, Herod brought up succours; but could not repair the losses sustained by the late disaster, which was owing to the contumacy and disobedience of his officers; for if they had not been too sanguine and precipitate, Athenion could never have had an opportunity of putting his plot into execution. But he avenged himself afterwards upon the Arabians by surprizes and incursions, and, by several victories, compensated for one defeat.

Herod is routed by the Arabians.

Afterwards takes his revenge.

An earthquake in Judæa.

Several Jewish ambassadors put to death.

There befel Herod in the course of his successes one providential calamity. This was in the seventh year of his reign, in the beginning of the spring, and the midst of the war at Actium. It was a tremendous earthquake, that destroyed an immense number of cattle, and near thirty thousand people; but the army that lay in the field sustained no injury. It was in reality a sad disaster; but gaining, as usual, upon report, the Arabians took it for granted that Judæa was totally overwhelmed, and flattered themselves into an opinion, that they should get a land destitute of inhabitants into their power. In this confidence they put certain Jewish ambassadors, who were then with them, to death, and advanced into the country to take possession of it. This formidable inroad of the Arabians struck the Jews with such a terror, especially as they had undergone so many calamities upon one another, that

Herod was under a necessity of attempting to reduce them to reason and resolution by the following speech:

"You are here, in my opinion, (said he,) under a most unreasonable apprehension. I will allow you to indulge your sorrows under the hand of an offended God; but to subject yourselves to the same despondencies and passions, for fear of the power of men, is a meanness of soul below your courage. Nay, so far am I from any dread of an enemy, after this earthquake, that it looks to me rather as if Providence had ordered the ensnaring of your adversaries, by this temptation, into a vengeance for the injuries they have done you: nor do they lay so much stress upon the force of their own arms or valour, as upon the opinion they have of our abject and miserable state. But those are false hopes, when men support themselves upon the infirmities of others, rather than upon their own virtue. Nor is there any certainty either in prosperous or adverse fortune, as they are both unsteady, and take their turns. For a confirmation of this doctrine, you need go no farther than to the late battle, where we were masters one hour, and at mercy the next. This is the very case of our enemies at present, or I am much deceived. They think they take, and they are taken. People that are over-confident are unwary; but a considerate fear makes men provident; so that the very ground of your apprehension is the foundation of my assurance. You would needs be charging the enemy contrary to order, and forwarder than you should have been; and Athenion, you see, made advantage of your error. But you yourselves are now upon the reserve: your deliberations are sober, and not fantastical; which is a disposition that I look upon as an omen of a certain victory. This is the right temper of a brave man before he comes into action; but let him reserve his spirit till he has occasion for it in the field. So let it be your business now to convince your enemies, by force of arms, that the Jews will sooner part with their lives than their reputation; and stand firm at last under all misfortunes; nor ever own the Arabians for their masters, who have so often been their slaves.

A generous speech of Herod's to encourage his soldiers.

"But why this fear at last for things inanimate? How comes an earthquake to be a portent, or a presage of things to come? Is there any thing more natural than the agitations and disorders of the elements? They do not foretel calamities, but they actually bring and create them. It is possible that there may be some forerunning signs of plagues, famine, and earthquakes, to come; but when they are once come, the greater they are the sooner will they be over. Or put the case we should be conquered now, which is worse, the war or the earthquake? But there's a destination of these people to ruin, even by their own hands, without the help of enemies, that could be so impious and inhuman, as, contrary to the laws of nature and nations, to dip their hands in the blood of our ambassadors, and dedicate the sacrifice to God for the success of the war. Can they ever think to escape the all-seeing eye and almighty power of a vindictive God, whenever we shall but rouse in us the courage and zeal of our forefathers, and call these perfidious violators of leagues and public faith to a severe and just account? Wherefore stand up, my fellow-soldiers; not for your wives, children, or country, but to revenge the murder of your ambassadors, whose very blood will consecrate the cause; and those heroes, dead as they are, will do you more good in the head of your army, than the living commanders of it. Do you but follow where I will lead you, and I will ask no more. Only one word of caution; be not rash; and when it comes to the trial, they will not dare to look you in the face."

This animated address infused such ardour into the soldiers, that Herod, availing himself of the opportunity, sacrificed, and, without delay, passed his army over the river Jordan. He pitched his camp at

at Philadelphia, not far from the enemy, with a castle betwixt them, which looked as if the castle was to be the subject of dispute. Herod, at that distance, provoked them to a battle, desiring nothing more than to bring it to a speedy issue; for the enemy had sent people before to take possession of this castle; but Herod's party, without much difficulty, repelled them, and gained the ascent. Herod drew out every day in order of battle to dare the Arabians to a combat: but when he perceived they would not answer the challenge, (for they were all in a consternation, and Altemus, their general, above the rest,) he attacked them in their trenches, and so forced them to a battle; upon which they entered in such disorder, that their horse and foot were mixed together. They were, indeed, superior to the Jews in number, but inferior in valour; although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger from their desperate situation.

While they resisted, the slaughter was not great; but when once they turned their backs, between those that fell in the pursuit, and those that were trampled to death by their own people, there were 5000 missing; and the rest were driven into the camp, where Herod soon encompassed and besieged them. They were also much distressed for want of water. In this embarrassed situation they sent ambassadors to Herod, with an offer of fifty thousand talents for a composition; but he would not so much as deign them an hearing. They came out after this in troops in the torment of a raging thirst, and delivered themselves up to the Jews at discretion; so that, in the course of five days, Herod had four thousand of them in bonds. Upon the sixth day the remainder of them, in a transport of despair, provoked the Jews to battle; where about 7000 men were slain on the spot. This stroke finished Herod's revenge upon the Arabians; for it humbled them to that degree, that they chote him afterwards as their protector.

C H A P. XV.

Herod's free address to Cæsar at Rhodes, upon the defeat of Anthony at Actium. His gracious reception from the emperor. He is confirmed in his government with large additions.

THE affairs of Herod now took a prosperous turn; but the news of the defeat of Anthony at Actium affected him most sensibly, as he entertained the highest regard for him. His apprehension, however, was not justly founded; for Cæsar could never think Anthony absolutely suppressed, as long as Herod continued to assist him. Herod, in consequence of this unfortunate event, repaired to Rhodes, where Augustus was at that time, and presenting himself without any ensigns of royalty, in the habit of a private man, but with the majesty of a king, thus candidly and frankly addressed him:

"I must confess, mighty Cæsar, that as Anthony made me a king, I have exerted my regal authority in the service of the benefactor from whom I received it. And you yourself, if I may be permitted to speak freely, would have found the effects of my services, had I not been diverted by the Arabian war. It did not, however, prevent me from sending supplies both of troops and provisions; nor has this last fatal blow at Actium in the least abated my zeal for the interest of my patron. I could not, indeed, furnish him with men and arms, nor attend him in person upon the occasion; but I gave him this salutary counsel, to detach himself from Cleopatra, which done, I promised him money, fortresses, troops, nay, my very self, as an assistant in the war against you. But, through his infatuation to a woman on the one hand, and your success in arms on the other, all our efforts are frustrated; so that the fate of Anthony and Herod are involved: we fell upon the same day, and with his fortune I now laid

down my crown. All my pretence to gain cle-
"mency is founded upon a consciousness of having
"acted consistently with the character of an honest
"man and a sincere friend."

Cæsar, struck with this address, thus rejoined:

"Herod, be secure, be happy, be still a king, and
"that more firmly than ever; as I am confident to
"generous a friend must make a good governor.
"Be as faithful in your attachment to the conqueror
"as you have been to the vanquished, and I shall
"cherish the hope of deriving mighty benefits from
"so exalted a mind. Anthony has been swayed by
"the counsels of Cleopatra to our mutual advan-
"tage. Rest, therefore, content with the confirma-
"tion of the kingdom to you; and I shall take
"care that, in future, you shall find no detriment
"from the loss of Anthony."

Augustus Cæsar, after this speech, with great humanity adjured Herod not to doubt of his friendship; and then putting the crown upon his head, confirmed his title to it by an act of state, with honourable commendations of his character. When Herod had made due acknowledgments, by fair words and sumptuous presents, he interceded with the emperor in behalf of Alexander, one of Anthony's friends, to obtain his pardon; but Cæsar would not hearken to his solicitation, declaring that his offences were unpardonable.

As Augustus was afterwards passing through Syria into Egypt, Herod entertained him with royal magnificence; and Cæsar, in return, did him the honour of causing him to ride by his side, while he was reviewing his troops about Ptolemais. Herod also made a plentiful provision of water for them, during their march to Pelusium through a dry country; nor were there any necessaries wanting; in-
"much that Cæsar, impressed by these extraordinary
"instances of his munificence, declared to his train,
"that the kingdom of Judæa was too little for the
"mind of so great a prince."

Cleopatra and Anthony being both deceased upon Cæsar's arrival in Egypt, he not only conferred new honours upon Herod, but annexed to his kingdom those parts which Cleopatra had taken from him, with Gadara, Hippion, Samaria, and the maritime cities, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the Tower of Straton. He also presented him with four hundred Gauls, who had been Cleopatra's body guards. He also gave him the province of Trachon, with Batanea and Auranitis, upon the following occasion.

It had been a common practice with Zenodorus, who resided in a mansion he hired of Lylanias, to send robbers out of Trachon to Damascus. The inhabitants applied themselves to Varus, at that time governor of Syria, for relief, entreating him to represent their calamitous situation to Cæsar. Varus accordingly complied with their request; and the emperor sent him orders immediately to suppress these robbers; in consequence of which parties being dispatched to all suspected places, they freed the country from those pests of society. The governor also having been enjoined to deprive Zenodorus of a part of his estate, Cæsar bestowed it upon Herod, to secure it from being any longer a receptacle for those caterpillars, appointing him, at the same time, governor of all Syria. He also cautioned the subordinate rulers to consult Herod in all matters of importance; and, upon the demise of Zenodorus, gave him all the land between Trachon and Galilee. But Herod was more abundantly gratified by the consideration that he was beloved by Cæsar above all men living, next to Agrippa; and by Agrippa next to Cæsar. From these concurring circumstances he was advanced to a great degree of human felicity, and evinced a magnanimity equal to his exaltation, by adapting his acquisition to laudable purposes.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVI.

Herod erects several magnificent buildings both at home and abroad. Repairs the temple. Calls the castle on the north side Antonia, in allusion to Anthony; and two other sumptuous edifices Cæsarion and Agrippion, in honour of Cæsar and Agrippa. Immortalizes their names by special dedications, particularly that of Sebaste in Samaria. Cæsar's royal bounties to Herod. Herod builds Antipatris, to the memory of Antipater; Cypros to that of Cypris; and Herodion to that of Herod. Repairs Straton's Tower, and adds to it a stately palace. A spacious port between Dora and Joppa. Detail of the various instances of Herod's extensive munificence, and extraordinary achievements of mind and body, which acquired him an universal fame.

Herod's magnificent edifices.

The citadels Cæsarion and Agrippion.

Sebaste, in Samaria, dedicated to Augustus.

Other proofs of his gratitude to his patron.

He repairs Straton's Tower, and builds a palace.

HEROD, in the fifteenth year of his reign, applied himself to the repairing and rebuilding of the temple, which he accomplished with splendid magnificence, and at immense charge, as appeared from the stately galleries round about it, that were raised from the very foundation, and the castle on the north side adjoining to it, which, for grandeur and elegance, was not inferior to the royal palace itself, giving it the name of Antonia, alluding to his favorite Anthony. He greatly enlarged the enclosure round about the temple; and raised upon an eminence, that overlooked the city, two superb spacious structures, comparable to any temple, which he called Cæsarion and Agrippion, in honour of his two illustrious friends Cæsar and Agrippa.

Nor did he restrain his zeal for perpetuating the memories of three celebrated characters to palaces and particular fabrics, but dedicated whole cities to the immortalizing of their fame to posterity; for instance, Sebaste, in Samaria, a city twenty furlongs in compass, with a stately wall about it, a colony of 6000 inhabitants planted in it, and an endowment of fruitful lands belonging to it, with peculiar immunities to the people. Amongst other eminent works he erected a majestic temple, with an area of three furlongs and an half about it; and this temple he dedicated to Augustus Cæsar.

After this Cæsar gratified Herod, with an additional donation of lands; and Herod, in acknowledgment, erected another temple, of white polished marble, near the head of the river Jordan, at a place called Panium, which he also dedicated to his illustrious patron. Not far from hence stands a mountain of stupendous height, that overhangs the crags and rocks, and looks down into a deep valley. At the bottom is a dark and hideous cavern, worn and hollowed to such a depth by the constant fall of waters upon it, that it cannot be founded. From the foot of this cavern there bubbles forth an issue of several springs, which, according to tradition, passes for the source of the river Jordan.

The king gave equal proofs of his magnificence at Jericho, where he caused to be erected, betwixt the castle of Cypros and the old palace, other stately and commodious buildings, and called them by the names of the same august personages. In fine, he did not leave one considerable place in the whole kingdom without some monumental memorial to the fame of Cæsar. When he had ornamented the borders of the temples throughout Judæa, he did the like in the provinces, distinguishing several of them by the name of Cæsarea.

As Herod was on his progress along the coast, he observed one maritime city amongst the rest, with all the decays of antiquity about it. It was known by the name of Straton's Tower, and appeared, from its situation, worthy of the king's royal care and bounty. He not only repaired the castle with beautiful white stone, but erected a palace there equal in grandeur to his other works. It lies betwixt Dora and Joppa, where there is no good haven; and the passage is so dangerous, that mariners, who

shape their course that way towards Egypt from Phœnicia, run great risque from a south-west wind, which sets in with such violence upon the rocks, that it rebounds in eddies, and raises a turbulent sea.

But the king's liberality and resolutions surmounted all the difficulties and obstructions that could arise either from situation or expence; for he built an haven there larger than the Pyreneum at Athens, with stations for the largest ships to ride in with the utmost security from wind and weather. It was so fortified against the violent surges of the sea, and ornamented so agreeably to the view, as to admit of no addition, either of strength or beauty of contrivance.

Upon taking measure for the dimensions of the port, he ordered huge stones to be cast into the sea at twenty fathoms water. The greatest part were fifty feet in length, nine in depth, and ten broad, and some still larger. When they had filled up the space to the surface of the water, they carried on a wall two hundred feet wide; the one half to break the force of the waves in the nature of a mole, from whence it was called Procymæa, and the other for the support of the turrets that were fixed upon it; to one of which he gave the name of Drusion, in compliment to Drusus, Cæsar's kinsman.

There were also a great number of vaults for stores; and before and above these vaults a pavement of flat stones, that served both as a landing-place and walk for recreation. It fronted the north, which, upon that quarter, is the most gentle of all winds. On each side of the entrance stood three colossi, mounted on pillars. Those on the left hand were supported by a strong tower of oncentire stone; and those on the right by two large stones, in the form of columns joined together. The buildings next the port were all of white stone; and the streets that led from the city to the quay exactly uniform. Upon an hill, opposite the mouth of the haven, stood Cæsar's Temple, a building, in magnitude and curiosity, not inferior to that of Jupiter Olympus, from the model of which it was taken; as also of another at Rome, that did not fall short of the temple of Juno at Argos. Herod's design, in erecting this stately tower and port, was the advantage of the province, and the security of voyagers; and, to the honour of Cæsar, he called it Cæsarea.

There was other famous works of Herod worthy of record; as a spacious market-place, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and the institution of the *Ludi Quinquennales*, so called from their being games appointed to be celebrated every fifth year, which he dedicated to the honour of Augustus. He was the first who, in the 192d olympiad, propounded honorary rewards, not only to the victors themselves, but to the second and third competitor, in course one after another. He repaired Anthedon, which had been nearly demolished in the war, and called it Agrippion; and, as a testimony of respect for his friend, inscribed the name of Agrippa on the gate of the temple he had built there.

Herod was a dutiful son, as well as a generous friend and patriot; for he founded a city to the honour of his father, in the most pleasant and fruitful part of his dominions, abounding with plants and rivulets, which he called Antipatris. There was a castle also near Jericho, which was strong and delightfully situated. This place he walled in, and gave it the name of Cypros, after his mother. Nor was he unmindful of his brother Phasael on several occasions; as in a tower he built at Jerusalem, which he called Phasaelis; and likewise a city to the north of Jericho, which he also called by the same name.

As he transmitted to posterity the memories of his family and friends, he did not omit a memorial for himself; for he built and fortified a castle on a mountain of Arabia, which he called Herodion, after his own name. He gave the same appellation also to an hill, which he caused to be thrown up in the form of a woman's breast, about sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. This mount was encompassed

Add to the famous port.

Name of Cæsarea.

Other buildings and institutions.

A city called Antipatris.

See the name.

See the name.

passed at the summit with round turrets: the circuit of it filled with royal apartments, as splendid and brilliant, within and without, as art and cost could render them. The stairs were of pure white marble, comprising two hundred steps from the bottom to the top. It was of stupendous height. At the feet of it he built other magnificent apartments for the accommodation of his friends, inasmuch, that, considering it was adapted to every use and convenience, it seemed to be a city rather than a castle; though it was nothing more than a structure erected for the temporary residence of the king.

Having given so many proofs of munificence to display his liberality to his own subjects, Herod seemed disposed to render foreigners partakers of his generosity. To this end he caused public baths to be set up at Tripolis, Damascus, and Ptolemais; built strong walls at Byblis; galleries, council chambers, public magazines, market-places, and temples, at Berytus and Tyre; theatres at Sidon and Damascus; an aqueduct at Laodicea; water-works at Askalon, with piazzas of exquisite workmanship. To some he gave groves and harbours, to others lands. He appropriated annual revenues for the support of baths, distributed corn to the necessitous, and frequently furnished the inhabitants of Rhodes with money for equipping a navy, when occasion required it. He repaired the temple of Apollo, (called Pythium,) and rendered it more magnificent and commodious than it was in its pristine state. I might add, to these instances, his liberality to the Lydians and Samians; his largesses throughout Ionia, Athens, Lacedæmon, Nicopolis; and particularly his bounty to Antioch, one of the principal cities of Syria, that stood in a bog for the space of twenty furlongs, till he caused the passage to it to be paved with white marble, and shelters to be put up against foul weather.

Men of narrow minds may suggest that these favours were confined to a few particular places. To such we need only oppose the obligations he laid upon the Elians, wherein not only the people of Greece, but the whole world were concerned; at least all those who have heard the fame of the Olympic games: for when he found, upon his arrival at Rome, that these games were all that remained of ancient Greece, and that they were upon the decline for want of money to support them, he not only took upon him the charge of that year, but settled an annual allowance for the perpetual continuance of them. It would be endless to recount the debts and tributes which he remitted, and particularly those of the inhabitants of Phœnelis, Batanea, and the small towns in Cilicia, where he discharged them from the payment of their pensions. He would have extended his liberality still farther, but was prevented by an apprehension of incurring envy from other monarchs.

Herod possessed great strength and agility of body, was an excellent horseman, and discovered perfect skill in the lance; for he darted forty beasts upon the chace in one day. He was a consummate soldier, and finished swordsman. In a word, he was as fortunate as accomplished; and if he failed in any warlike exploit, it was attributed to treachery, or the rashness of his soldiers, and not to their gallant commander.

C H A P. XVII.

Herod exhibits a reverse of character. Great disorders prevail in his family. He puts away his wife Doris, and marries Mariamne. Expells his son Antipater. Puts Hyrcanus to death. Causes Aristobulus to be drowned. Becomes jealous of the designs of his wife and sister. Joseph and Mariamne put to death. Marries his two sons. Calls Antipater from exile. The craft of Antipater. Herod accuses Alexander before Caesar. Alexander's defence. Reconciliation between Herod and his son. Herod entertained by Archelaus. Character of Antipater. Machinations of
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Antipater's mother, and Salome, the sister of Herod. Herod's advice to his sons. Pheroras and Salome their mortal enemies. A plot projected upon Herod's life. His cruelty and injustice. Alexander apprehended, and his friends put to the torture. Archelaus debates the point with Herod. Pheroras confesses, and obtains his pardon. Herod an advocate for Alexander. Archelaus brings Alexander to his father. Eurycles the confidant of Herod. An accusation brought against Alexander and Aristobulus. Several put to the torture. Herod listens to calumnies. Salome irritates the father against the sons, and causes him to lay the brothers in chains. The king opens the cause before council at Berytus. Sentence of death passed upon the brothers. The bravery of Tyro, and baseness of Tryphon. The brothers strangled at Sebaste.

HEROD, in the midst of his external successes, was greatly perplexed by domestic broils, which took their rise from his putting away one wife, and taking to himself another; for he no sooner became possessed of the kingdom, than he dismissed Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus. He banished out of the city Antipater, whom he had by Doris, for the sake of the sons he had by Mariamne, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than the festivals. He then put to death Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, upon his return from Parthia, under pretence of having plotted against his life: for Barzapharnes having carried him away prisoner to the king of Parthia, after the taking of Syria, the Jews, on the other side of the Euphrates, from pure compassion, set him at liberty, and paid his ransom. If he had followed their counsel, and not passed over the river to Herod, he might have lived safe and happy; but through a passionate desire to revisit his own country, he was inveigled to his ruin; as Herod was conscious of his right and title to the government, though he had no reason to entertain a thought of his design to lay claim to it.

Mariamne had five children by Herod, two daughters and three sons. The youngest of the latter died in the course of his studies at Rome. The two elder were educated according to their royal descent, both with respect to the dignity of the mother's extraction, and their being born when their father was in possession of the crown. But nothing moved Herod so powerfully in their favour, as the wonderful ascendancy Mariamne had over him, which grew to such an height, as to render him insensible of all indignities and affronts. Mariamne requited this warmth of affection with an equal degree of aversion. She did not want matter of pretence for disgust, and presuming upon the extravagant passion he had for her, she peremptorily charged him with the murder of Hyrcanus, and her brother Aristobulus, and highly aggravated her reproaches. The latter, an innocent youth, she observed, but seventeen years of age when he was created high-priest, was cut off as soon as he obtained that sacred function, amidst the approbation of the people, who wept with joy at his appearance in the pontifical vestments to officiate at the altar; but the very same night he was sent away to Jericho, and there drowned in a lake, by the Gauls, at the instance of Herod.

Mariamne did not content herself with these outrages against Herod, but uttered the foulest invectives upon his sister and mother, which he heard with patience, through the excess of his affection. This incensed them to that degree, that they concerted means to raise the indignation of Herod, and to that end dropped some oblique hints to him touching the honour and virtue of his wife. Amongst other plausible matters they related the circumstance of Mariamne's sending her picture to Anthony, and the pains she took to ingratiate herself with him from a principle of concupiscence; adding, that Anthony was so great a libertine as to gratify his inordinate desires at the expence of his very life.

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Origin of the disorders in Herod's family.

Cause of the death of Hyrcanus.

Mariamne's children by Herod.

She severely reproaches him.

Inveighs against his sister and mother.

The women tamper with Herod against Mariamne.

Through the rage of jealousy, the consideration of Cleopatra's insatiable avarice and cruelty, and the power she had over Anthony, in the instance of Lysanias, and Malichus, the king of Arabia, who were both put to death at her instigation, Herod was thunderstruck at this intimation of his sister and mother, apprehending danger of losing not only his wife, but his life also.

Herod goes to Anthony, and leaves the care of his wife to his brother-in-law Joseph, with secret instructions.

In this perplexity of mind he determined to go to Anthony, and recommend the care of his wife, during his absence, to Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome, whom he had ever found faithful to him; but with this secret instruction, that if Anthony took away his life, he should cause the death of Mariamne. Joseph immediately hinted this to the queen, as a proof of the king's extraordinary affection for her, since he could not endure the thought of separation even in death itself. Herod, upon his return, in an hour of dalliance, was professing the rhapsody of his affection for Mariamne, and that he never had a passion for any other of the sex; upon which the queen sarcastically replied, "that he had given an infallible proof of it in the order he had left with Joseph to dispatch her." The disclosing of this very important secret filled the mind of Herod with indignation, as he was persuaded Joseph would never have divulged it but in the confidence of an amour. In this state of distraction he suddenly arose from his couch, went into the court-yard, and there met Salome, who, availing herself of so fair an opportunity for calumniating the queen, so effectually confirmed Herod in his suspicion, that, in the rage of jealousy, he ordered both Joseph and Mariamne to be put to death. The command was no sooner issued than he repented of it; but the execution was done before it could be recalled. He affected extreme compunction; and, from the extraordinary pomp of her funeral solemnities, and the grief he expressed upon the occasion, seemed desirous of manifesting that he bore the same esteem for the memory of his deceased wife, as he had affection for her person whilst living.

Deaths of Joseph and Mariamne.

Inveteracy of the sons of Mariamne against their father.

The sons of Mariamne were so inflamed by the horrid barbarity of this proceeding towards their mother, that they looked upon their father as an open enemy. They had entertained a very unfavourable opinion of him, even when they were at Rome together, and were confirmed in it upon their return to Judæa, as their knowledge improved by experience and observation. Being arrived at years of maturity, one of them married the daughter of his aunt Salome, who was mortally averse to their mother. The other took to wife the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. In process of time they indulged themselves in a greater liberty of speech than formerly, and that confidence betrayed them to the malice of informers, inasmuch that their enemies peremptorily assured the king, that they had entered into a conspiracy against his life, and that the son-in-law of Archelaus designed to go privately to Rome, with a complaint against Herod himself to Cæsar. When Herod had information of these transactions he recalled Antipater to court, whom he had by his former wife, Doris, proposing to use him as a countermine against the brothers, and to this end treated him with singular tokens of respect.

Antipater recalled home.

The brothers resenting this preference, given to the son of an obscure woman, as the highest indignity offered to princes of their illustrious descent on the mother's side, took every occasion of signifying their disgust, and even indignation. But these means, instead of furthering their design, tended to the advantage of Antipater; for he managed matters so artfully with his father, that, through the prevailing effect of flattery on the one hand, and calumny on the other, he brought it to this issue at last, that the brothers were totally excluded from the succession, which was to devolve to him by virtue of his father's will and testament. He was sent after this to Cæsar in a kind of royal state, having the robes and train of a king, and only wanting the crown. So elated was he with this pomp, that, through the means of insinuation and slander, he

Appointed by his father to the succession.

introduced his mother into Mariamne's bedchamber; and at length wrought his father, by degrees, into a design upon the lives of his brothers.

With this view Herod took Alexander to Rome with him, and there charged him, before Cæsar, with an attempt of taking away his life by poison. When Alexander was admitted to his defence, and before a judge that was not to be imposed on either by Herod or Antipater, he cautiously avoided laying any imputation to his father, but, with great force of argument, refuted the calumnies brought against himself; demonstrated the innocence of his brother, who was involved in the same accusation; and from thence proceeded to lay open the impurities, frauds, and contrivances of Antipater, and this with such power of elocution, and grace of action, as carried the strongest conviction to the minds of the auditors, and impressed them with a due sense of his integrity, as well as his accomplishments as an orator. This speech had so powerful an effect upon Cæsar, that, rejecting the accusations, he made them all friends, provided that the sons, in future, should be obedient to their father; and the father at liberty to appoint whom he pleased to succeed him in the kingdom.

Herod, at his return from Rome, could not but acquit his sons of the accusations brought against them; yet he could not cast away his suspicions; for Antipater tampered with him so effectually, that he kept jealousies alive; though he durst not openly avow his sentiments, lest he should seem to dispute the authority of the arbitrator. He took his passage by Cilicia, and so to Eleusa, where he was received by Archelaus with great pomp and respect, who congratulated him on the reconciliation effected between him and his sons. Archelaus had not in the mean time been wanting, by letters, and other instances, to his friends at Rome, to make interest for Alexander. He conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, where he presented him with thirty talents, and took his leave.

The king, upon his arrival at Jerusalem, called an assembly of the people, and, in the hearing of his three sons, thus addressed them on the subject of the late reconciliation.

"This is a blessing which I shall ever value incomparably above the glories of a crown, a which I shall endeavour to preserve and improve accordingly. It is to Cæsar that I stand indebted for my dignity and estate; and to Cæsar again that I owe the liberty and privilege of appointing my own successor. It is to him also that I am to pay my acknowledgments, with this declaration, that I design them all three both for the sovereignty and the succession, if it may be agreeable to the will of God and your good pleasure. The eldest of them has the title of seniority; the other two may pretend to the dignity by their extraction; and the command, at last, is extensive enough for all three.

"As for those that Cæsar hath united, and the father set up, you must be sure to pay them all due respect; that is to say, it must be impartial, equal, and just, with regard to a precedence of birth-right; for the advancing of one man before his time, will not be near so great an obligation upon him that is preferred, as a disgust to the other that is postponed. But now, for fear of evil counsel or example, it shall be my care to place wife and sober people about them, such as I can depend upon, and such as shall be answerable for their good order and decorum.

"I do further expect from these ministers, as well as from the officers of my army, that, for the present, they shall own no other master than myself; for it is not the government, but the honourary part of it, that I have transmitted to my sons; so that they may have the pleasure of a kind of regency, but the burden of administration is to rest upon my shoulders; and the last result of matters, in the judgment and determination of things, must be my province. If you con-

"sider my age, the course of my life, or manners, I am not so far advanced upon the first point, but, by the course of nature, I may be allowed many days. Neither have I done any thing to shorten my life by intemperate pleasures. As to my duty to God, I have been so true to his holy worship, that I will not despair of the blessing of a longer time yet in this world, even in consideration of that zeal and devotion. But if any of you shall take upon him to advance the sons while I am yet living, in contempt of the father, let him expect to be severely punished for it. It would give me pleasure to have my children honourably treated in the world; but young men are hot and pragmatical, and 'tis but throwing a temptation in their way to inflame their desires. People would do well to consider, before they make these applications; for it is my part, as men do well or ill, to see them rewarded or punished; nor will I be wanting in that article of my duty. The best way will be for the sons and father to be all of a mind; for it is their interest to have me govern, and it is mine for them to agree among themselves.

"And now, my dear children, (says he,) consult, in the first place, that natural affection which Providence hath made common even to beasts with men, and acquit yourselves like dutiful children to your father. Bleis Cæsar, in the next place, for the good office of his mediation; and take it kindly from me, in the third place, that I only desire what I have a right to command; that is to say, let me entreat you to live amicably as brethren. I shall now take care to provide you such a train and equipage as may be suitable to your quality. Be sure you live peaceably one with another; and I beseech God to keep me steady in the same mind."

When the king had thus spoken, he embraced his sons, and dismissed the multitude. Some malecontents went away muttering that he was not audible in his address, others decanting on particular parts of it, and others doubting the sincerity of his declarations.

The brothers were still divided among themselves, and their dissensions produced a voluntary separation. Aristobulus and Alexander were much disgusted that Antipater should have the preference. Antipater, on the other hand, that his brethren should be allowed any share in the government. Antipater being of a malicious and reserved disposition, disguised the mortal aversion he had to his brothers; whereas the other two, being frank and open, despised the mean arts of dissimulation. Their enemies had their instruments planted up and down to watch their words and actions, provoke them to indulge their natural frankness of disposition, and gain upon them by insinuation, under the mask of confidence and friendship, inasmuch that not a word passed from Alexander, but it was brought to Herod with considerable additions. The most simple remark had a criminal interpretation, and every thing was misrepresented that could tend to calumniate.

The agents of Antipater, on the other hand, were like himself, ever on the reserve, either from disposition or the force of bribery, so that their whole proceedings were enveloped in mystery and ambiguity. Antipater, in fine, conducted matters with such art and address, that the friends and servants of Alexander were all corrupted, either by flattery or rewards, into the betraying of him in whatsoever he said or did. Instead of appearing himself as an open enemy to his brothers, he had his confidants at hand ready to accuse them, while he stood forth speciously himself in their vindication; but introduced such oblique hints, and subtle insinuations, as greatly alarmed Herod, and fully persuaded him that the report of Alexander's plot upon his life was well founded: indeed, Antipater's artful manner of misrepresentation gave the semblance of truth to every calumny.

Herod was greatly incensed against the two brothers by these practices of Antipater, inasmuch that he gained the good opinion of the king in proportion to their loss of it, and by that means obtained the interest of the courtiers, particularly that of Ptolemy, his dearest friend, as also his brethren and domestics. The influence of Antipater was all prevailing, as was that of his mother: nor could any circumstance be so mortifying to Alexander, as the part she bore in the whole scheme, well knowing her mortal hatred to the children of the queen. Great respect was paid to Antipater, from a consideration of his influence with the king, who absolutely prohibited his courtiers, in general, from holding any intercourse with Alexander or his brother, on pain of his severest displeasure. This interdiction struck a dread not only into the king's household, but their friends abroad: for Herod had privileges conferred upon him by Augustus which he never granted to any other, as the liberty of bringing deserters out of the jurisdiction of other princes, where himself had no absolute authority.

Antipater's mother conducts the plot.

The brothers were not as yet conscious of having given any offence, as Herod had not exhibited any public charge against them, which made the danger to much the greater, through want of precaution for a necessary defence. They inferred, however, the state of their case from the king's coolness towards them, which consequently increased their anxiety.

Antipater had also prejudiced their uncle Pheroras, and their aunt Salome, against the brothers, and intigated them to use their influence with Herod to their disadvantage. The feud already ran very high; but it was greatly inflamed by Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, who, upon all occasions, would be boasting of the dignity of her birth, and claiming a superiority above others. She came from Themenus, the said, on the father's side, and from Darius, the son of Hyllaspes, on the mother's; reflecting, at the same time, on the wife and sister of Herod as upstarts, and treating them with all imaginary contempt; observing that Herod did not marry for rank, but for beauty. We have already observed that he had several wives, and much approved of polygamy, it being allowed by the Jewish law, and they were all exasperated against Alexander for the haughty and insolent behaviour of Glaphyra. Aristobulus made Salome, his mother-in-law, also his enemy. She was sufficiently piqued at the pride of Glaphyra, who was continually upbraiding her with the meannets of her origin. He would also reproach his wife in like manner, and complain that he had married a woman of low descent, whereas his brother had taken to wife one of royal descent. The daughter of Salome carried these taunts to her mother; adding, that Alexander threatened the mother of his other brethren with the vilest indignities if he should come to the crown, and declared he would put their children, male and female, to the most servile and menial offices, as best becoming their mode of education. These intimations raised the resentment of Salome to that degree that she related the whole to Herod; nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her son-in-law.

Enmity between Aristobulus and Salome.

There was another calumny propagated, that inflamed Herod more than all the rest. It was given out that Alexander and Aristobulus were continually bemoaning the fate of their mother, and execrating their father for his cruelty; and farther suggested, that, upon Herod's dividing Marianne's wardrobe among the rest of his wives, the brothers forboded that their gaudy apparel would soon be turned into mourning.

Herod, on these insinuations, conscious of the high spirit of the princes, was not without apprehension of violence from them, yet did not despair of reducing them to filial duty and obedience. Being on the point of setting out for Rome, he ordered his sons to be called, and, with the authority of a king, and tenderness of a father, admonished them to agree among themselves, and love one another, with promise of an absolute pardon for what they had

Herod's address to his sons.

had done amiss, upon condition of their repentance and amendment. By way of reply, they refuted the calumnies that had been raised against them; and alleged, that their actions were sufficient for their vindication; adding, that the king should not credulously admit of such tales, as there never would be wanting those who would poison the royal ear with them.

Pheroras and Salome are enemies to the brothers.

Though they had thus pacified him, and freed themselves from any further apprehension of danger, they soon fell into new anxieties. They knew that Salome, and their uncle Pheroras, were their deadly enemies, who were both of them rigidly severe. The latter also had great power and influence, as he shared with Herod in all the dignities of royalty, the crown only excepted. His own proper revenue was fixed at an hundred talents, besides the amount of all the lands beyond Jordan, which he enjoyed through the bounty of Herod, at whose request Cæsar was prevailed upon to make him a tetrarch. Herod honoured him also with a royal match, bestowing upon him his wife's sister in marriage; and, upon her demise, offered him his eldest daughter, with a portion of three hundred talents. But Pheroras was so captivated with a passion for a private person, that he declined the proposal of the royal marriage, which Herod resenting, gave her to the son of his brother, who was afterwards slain by the Parthians. But though Herod was incensed for the present, upon reflection, he imputed the refusal to the violence of his passion, and so pardoned his folly.

Pheroras and Salome are suspected by Herod.

It seemed that a rumour had long prevailed of Pheroras having entertained a design, even in the life-time of Mariamne, of poisoning his brother. This was a season so favourable to spies and informers, that Herod, though possessed of great fraternal affection, was alarmed at the report, though he did not absolutely credit it. Many were apprehended upon suspicion, and several put to the question, passing from one to another, till they came at last to the friends of Pheroras. They confessed nothing of the poisonous intention; but acknowledged that Pheroras had made preparation to steal away with his mistress to Parthia; and that Costobarus, Salome's second husband, was privy to the design. Herod had delivered her up to this Costobarus, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery. Nor was Salome free from accusations; for her brother Pheroras exhibited a charge against her, of having entered into a marriage treaty with Silæus, governor of Arabia, under king Obodas, one of Herod's most implacable enemies. Salome was found guilty of the charge alleged against her by Pheroras. Herod, however, pardoned them both.

Herod is reconciled to them.

New dissensions in the family.

Confession of the eunuchs.

The storm of faction now rested upon the head of Alexander, and from the following cause. There were three eunuchs who were in high esteem with the king, and employed in offices immediately about his person. Alexander, by flatteries and rewards, had rendered them his creatures, subservient to his purposes. Herod, suspecting some collusion, put them to the torture, and extorted from them a confession, that Alexander had expressed to them "the vanity and folly of the king in colouring his hair, from an affectation of youthful gaiety; whereas he was entitled to their attention, as being successor to the crown, and having, on the attainment of it, power of avenging himself on his enemies, and rewarding his friends, amongst whom he ranked them in particular." The informers added, that the great officers of state were in their hearts all attached to the interest of Alexander, and concerted their schemes in private meetings and cabals.

Herod is greatly embarrassed.

His cruelty and injustice.

These confessions alarmed Herod, though he would not venture to publish them immediately; but he had his spies at work, night and day, to make discoveries in all places, and amongst all families; and death was the certain consequence of suspicion. This part of Herod's history was one scene of cruelty and injustice. Every disgust made way for a calumny, and that calumny was construed a mortal crime; for Herod executed the malicious designs

that were suggested to him by others: no witness so infamous, nor imposture so gross and ridiculous, but it gained credit; and the punishment immediately followed even the supposed offences; so that the accused and the accuser frequently went off together, as Herod contemned the formalities of law where the life of a prince was in danger. Nay, he was transported, by suspicion and apprehension, to that degree, that he could not behold an innocent person with complacency; and his nominal and quondam friends became, as it were, the objects of his aversion.

Antipater was the source of Herod's disquiet and turbulent proceedings. He first suggested, and then exaggerated charges. Nay, he so terrified the king with groundless insinuations, that he fancied Alexander stood before him with a drawn sword ready to assassinate him. Under these frantic apprehensions, he caused him to be taken and bound, and then proceeded to put his adherents to the torture. Many of them died mute, and sacrificed their lives to a good conscience; others, who wanted resolution to bear the torment, framed a falsehood, charged the brothers with plotting against the life of the king as he was upon the chace, and a design afterwards of flying to Rome. Improbable as this story was, it had such an effect upon the credulity and suspicion of the king, that he urged it in his own justification for committing his sons to prison.

Antipater the cause of much mischief.

Alexander taken, and his friends tortured.

The jealousy of Herod raging to an incurable degree, Alexander dismissed all thoughts of vindicating himself by way of argument, and had recourse to another expedient, which was to concur with his enemies in their declarations, and, by confessing his own guilt, involve them in the same condemnation. To this end he drew up four narratives, acknowledging himself a confederate against the life of his father, with the names of divers of the conspirators, but particularly those of Pheroras and Salome, charging her with forcing him to a criminal intercourse with her.

Extract of the story of Alexander.

Those narratives, which contained the severest allegations against several persons of the first rank, being put into the hands of Herod, it so happened that Archelaus came into Judæa at that very juncture of time, anxious for the deliverance of his daughter and son-in-law from their present very alarming situation. Archelaus managed matters with such art and address, that he restored Herod to the use of his reason, and accomplished a much desired purpose. When he came into his presence, he began to exclaim most bitterly against his son-in-law as a traiterous parricide; to wish for an opportunity of ridding his daughter from such an husband with his own hands, and to lament the taint she had received from intercourse with so flagitious and abandoned a character. He professed the patience of Herod to be miraculous in sparing the life of a conspirator at the hazard of his own, and his wonder at finding Alexander alive. He then soothed him, by observing, that his feelings would be too tender to inflict condign punishment upon so rebellious a son, and therefore requested that he would leave to him to do him right, as he would recommend to his generosity the disposal of his daughter. These specious means, as they caused Herod to abate of his rigour towards Alexander, inflamed him the more against Pheroras, as he was the principal subject of the four narratives, which Herod gave Archelaus to peruse. Every thing appearing opportune for his purpose, Archelaus insinuated himself, by little and little, into the merits of the cause, laying the blame upon the ring-leaders, and chiefly upon Pheroras, and finding the effect of one artifice, had recourse to another.

Archelaus comes to the aid of Alexander.

He represented to the king, "that, in his opinion, his son was in more danger of being undone by a faction, than he was of being destroyed by his son: that Alexander must be frantic to entertain such a design, as he had already a fair pretence to the succession; that young men were rash, inconsiderate, and easily imposed upon by evil company and corrupt counsels, thro' want of knowledge and experience; and that such was the prevalence of the arts, machinations,

machinations, and calumnies of incendiaries, that they were, in general, as irresistible as destructive."

Archelaus gains his point.

Archelaus counsels Pheroras.

Herod began now to coincide with Archelaus in opinion, and think more favourably of Alexander, and worse of Pheroras than he had done; from the substance of the four narratives. Pheroras perceiving the king in a more tractable temper, through the influence of Archelaus, he left Alexander, and had recourse to him; by whom he was told plainly, that he could not possibly exculpate himself from a charge so manifestly proved against him, as the sun was not clearer than the evidence of his being in a conspiracy against the life of his brother; and also of his contrivance of the detraction of Alexander. To enforce his former remarks, he subjoined, that it would tend more to his advantage to give up his evasive manner of behaviour, and frankly confess that part of his charge of which he was conscious of being guilty; that his brother had a natural tenderness for him, by which he might be prevailed upon to pardon him; and that, if he would make the experiment, he would do his utmost to render it effectual.

Pheroras humbles himself before Herod.

Pheroras took the hint; and having assumed the appearance of contrition, both in drels and countenance, cast himself at Herod's feet, made confession, implored forgiveness, and urged, as a plea for his behaviour, the foolish passion he had for a woman, which transported him beyond the bounds of reason and duty. Pheroras having thus made his confession, and pleaded for his pardon, Archelaus availed himself of that circumstance to work Herod into a more complacent humour.

Herod becomes an advocate for Alexander.

Archelaus having now softened Herod towards Pheroras, to carry on his design, treated Alexander with reproaches and menaces, and, in the conclusion, threatened to take away his daughter. This seeming fierceness of Archelaus wrought so sensibly upon Herod, that he became an advocate for his son, and made his suite to Archelaus not to annul the marriage. His answer was, that, out of the reverence he had for the rights of alliance, he was content to leave his daughter at Herod's disposal, provided only that he should not give her to Alexander. But all this was counterfeit and disguise. Herod was averse to a disunion; and observed, that, as they had children, and their affection was so evidently mutual, it would be death to part them: besides, it would be a perpetual barrier to the domestic felicity of the family.

Archelaus reconciles him to his father.

This conversation was no sooner at an end, than Archelaus retired, and, in a very short time, returned, bringing with him Alexander, whom he reconciled to his father. He approved of Herod's resolution to go to Rome, with an account to Cæsar of the late transactions, as he had written at large to him upon that subject. Thus did Archelaus accomplish his purpose, and deliver his son-in-law from impending danger. The reconciliation was celebrated with festivity, and most agreeable entertainments. Herod presented Archelaus, on his departure, with seventy talents, a throne set with precious stones, a train of eunuchs, and a concubine, called Panychis. All his great officers and friends were treated, by Herod's express order, with rich presents, according to their rank; the king himself, and his nobility, conducting him on his way as far as Antioch.

Archelaus is humbly complimented.

There came a person into Judæa not long after this, a man of superior policy to Archelaus, one who not only overthrew the project of Alexander's reconciliation to his father, but so ordered matters, that he brought Alexander himself to his end. His name was Eurycles, a Lacedæmonian by birth, a man so exorbitantly luxurious and profuse, that the revenue of a prince would not answer his demands. He made Herod several valuable presents, which being deemed allurements to conciliate his friendship, were returned by gifts of much greater value. He used divers means to conciliate the favour of Herod, and, through captivating speeches, and the grossest flattery, wrought so effectually upon his temper and disposition, that whatever he said or did met with his approbation. By this parasitical beha-

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viour he acquired great interest at court: besides, being a Spartan, they had a respect for his country as well as his person.

When Eurycles discovered the factions and divisions that prevailed in Herod's family, and marked how the king stood affected towards the different parties, he took up his residence with Antipater, and pretending a mighty regard for Alexander, related to him the good offices that had passed between him and Archelaus. This served as a passport to Alexander, who not only gave credit to the tale himself, but possessed his brother Aristobulus with the belief of it also. When Eurycles had founded the different parties, he assumed divers forms and modes of proceeding, as the case required; his grand business being to obtain money from Antipater, and to betray Alexander. To this end he intimated to the former, "that it was surprizing to him, that, as the eldest son, and next heir to the crown, he could suffer himself to be imposed on by pretenders to his just right." To Alexander he expressed his astonishment, "that the son and husband of a great prince could endure to see the son of a private woman interpolate betwixt him and the crown, especially having a patron of such weight and importance as king Archelaus." This duplicity gained ground with each party, upon the credit of professing a friendship for Archelaus. Alexander was so far from distrust, that he took Eurycles into close confidence, and disclosed every particular to him relative to the affair with Antipater, observing that it was no matter of surprize that Herod, who deprived the mother of life, should deprive the son of the kingdom. Eurycles expressed, both in countenance and gesture, his horror at the inhumanity of such a practice; and by engaging Aristobulus in the discourse, entangled him in the same snare. When this arch impostor had derived the necessary information from them both, he went to Antipater, and related to him the story, with some additional circumstances of his own, insinuating, that the conspiracy was upon the point of execution, and the king's life every moment more and more in danger. Antipater presented him with a considerable sum of money for this important service, and a commendatory word to his father over and above; in consequence of which, he offered himself as an evidence against the brothers. He then went to Herod, and thus addressed him:

His main end and design.

Eurycles inveighs against Alexander to Herod.

"I am here come in gratitude to acknowledge all your favours, and to give you your very life in requital. It is now a long time that your death has been resolved upon; inasmuch that Alexander had a drawn sword in his hand once, with a full determination to have done the deed. And let me tell you, Sir, this horrid wickedness had been completed, if I had not put a respite to the dispatch, by seeming to approve of the thing, and offering myself to join in the exploit. What! says Alexander, cannot Herod content himself with the usurpation of a kingdom, the death of my mother, and the renting the government to pieces, without declaring that pitiful wretch Antipater his successor, to the scandal of all crowned heads? But it belongs to me to do justice to the manes of Hyrcanus and Mariamne: neither would it be consistent that the government should descend from such a father to such a son without blood. Not a day passes over my head without fresh arguments and provocations. If I drop but a syllable upon the subject of honourable families and extraction, Herod upbraids me with it as an affront that strikes at him. When I am a hunting with him, if I say nothing, Why do not you talk? he cries: or if I talk, Why do you not hold your tongue? Nay, I cannot so much as commend him, but he suspects my truth. I can do nothing, in fine, to his liking; and it is only Antipater that has the good fortune to please him. So that (says Alexander) if this plot should miscarry, I had rather be in my grave than outlive the disaster. If it succeeds, I can easily get off to my father-in-law, and thence to Cæsar, who knows but little, alas! of this history, or of the temper of Herod. I shall not now stand trembling

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"ling when I come to Rome, as formerly, under the awe of a severe father, who was then present: nor shall I much insist upon private injuries done to myself, but rather turn my discourse to public grievances; as horrible corruptions and oppressions, and the squandering away of exorbitant impositions in luxury and pleasure. I shall shew which way they went, and into what hands; the miserable slavery of the cities, and the true reasons of it: And, to conclude, I shall deliver such an history of the death of my grandfather Hyrcanus, and my mother Mariamne, and make such a discovery of the wickedness of the prince, that no man living, after these necessary truths, shall ever deem me the murderer of my father."

When Eurycles had finished this invective against Alexander, he turned the remainder of his discourse into a panegyric upon Antipater, declaring him to be the only son that truly loved his father, and put a seasonable stop to the progress of the design. The king, still labouring under his former jealousies, took fire at this hint; so that it was now the business of Antipater to inflame his passion, by producing new witnesses against the brothers. The evidence was this: "That Alexander and Aristobulus held a private correspondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two officers of horse, who, for some misdemeanor, had been dismissed from their command."

A charge against the brothers.

Two officers put to the torture.

The brothers acquitted of the charge.

This information so enraged Herod, that he commanded them immediately to be put to the torture. They denied any further knowledge of the matter, than that a certain letter was sent from Alexander, as to the governor of Alexandria, desiring him to receive himself and his brother Aristobulus into the castle, in case of their father's death; and to furnish them both with arms, and other necessaries, if that event should happen. Alexander charged this letter as a forgery of Diophantes, an enterprising man, and very expert at counterfeiting hands; besides which, he was the king's secretary; and it is to be observed, that he suffered death for forgery. The governor of the castle was also tortured, but made no confession. The brothers were honourably acquitted; yet Eurycles, that pest of society, and projector of this vile accusation, was applauded by Herod as his friend and preserver, and rewarded with fifty talents for his services.

Eurycles is exiled.

Two characters contrasted.

This abandoned wretch, before Archelaus could have any certain information of the imprisonment of the brothers, went to him by stealth, and had the effrontery to assure him, that he himself had effected a reconciliation betwixt Herod and his son Alexander. From thence he went into Achaia with his treasure, and spent it in riot and luxury; till, in the end, he was arraigned by Cæsar, for sedition and oppressive practices, and condemned to banishment. This was the punishment he suffered for his abominable practices.

It will be very pertinent in this place, to adduce the character of Evaratus, of Coos, in opposition to that of Eurycles, of Sparta. He was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and was at Herod's court at the same time with Eurycles. The king demanded of him, upon his honour, what credit he gave to the report of the conspiracy, and to the accusation given out upon it. Evaratus declared upon oath, that he never heard the most distant hint of any such design from either of the brothers. This testimony, however, was of no avail to them; for Herod was so open to calumny, as to be entirely prepossessed by it; nor was there any other method of obtaining his favour, than by saying, doing, and believing as he did.

Salome incites Herod against his sons.

In the mean time Salome exasperated Herod against his sons, in order to secure herself. Aristobulus cautioned her, as a relation, to take care of her words and actions; intimating, that she was still in danger from Herod, as she lay under a second charge for the same crime of which she had been accused before; which was, that she had entered into a contract of marriage with Syllæus, the Arabian, though she knew him to be the king's enemy; and that she gave him, from time to time, secret information of

the king's council. This caution proved eventually the very means of the ruin of the brothers; for Salome acquainting the king with it, he was transported to such an impetuous passion, that he commanded them to be separated, and laid in chains.

They are put in prison.

In his fury he dispatched Volumnius, a general of his army, and Olympius, one of his chief friends, to Cæsar, with copies of the proceedings. The emperor, upon reading them, was much affected by the situation of the princes, but, at the same time, very fearful of exerting his civil power to the prejudice of the natural feelings of a father over his children; so that he returned Herod for answer, "That he was master over himself, and those that belonged to him; but that he thought it advisable to call an assembly of respectable persons, to enquire into the conspiracy, and proceed to justice according to substantiated evidence."

Transmits an account to Cæsar.

His answer.

The emperor having pointed out Berytus as the place of meeting, Herod, in conformity to his direction, called a council there. It was composed of Saturninus and Pedanius, ambassadors; Volumnius, the governor of the province; the friends and relations of Herod; not omitting Salome and Pheroras; the principal men of Syria, Archelaus only excepted, Herod having suspicion of him as father-in-law of Alexander. The council did not approve of bringing the sons into court, and from prudential causes; for their very presence would have tended to excite compassion; and if they had been heard in their own vindication, Alexander, with the greatest ease, would have baffled all their objections; so that they were rather kept under custody at Platane, a village of Sidonia.

A council held at Berytus about the trial of Herod.

When the king stood up, he began to inveigh against his sons with great acrimony, and exhibit tokens of passion as if they had been present. Touching on the subject of the conspiracy his voice faltered, and he seemed rather disposed to pass it over, because he was destitute of evidence; but when he came to specify expressions, indignities, injuries, and instances of disobedience respecting himself, he was abundantly vociferous, giving the assembly to understand, that those reproaches were worse to him than death; and finding every allegation pass without contradiction, he only lamented his own unhappiness in gaining a cause so ruinous to himself; and then called upon the court to proceed to pass sentence.

Herod accuses his sons.

Saturninus gave it as his opinion, that the brothers deserved to be punished, but not with death, as it was by no means just in him, who had three sons present in the assembly, to pass sentence upon those who were absent. The two ambassadors were of the same mind, as were others who spoke after them. The first who voted for sentence of death was Volumnius, and others followed him, as they were influenced by their passions or interest; but none from a principle of ill-will to the prisoners.

Debate on the sentence.

Sentence of death passed.

Judæa and Syria were in dread and suspense for the issue of this affair; though it could hardly be supposed that Herod could be so inexorably cruel as to be the murderer of his own offspring: but so destitute was he of the feelings of nature, that he sent his sons in chains to Tyre, and thence by sea to Cæsarea, deliberating, at the same time, on the means of their execution.

There was a certain old officer of the king's much attached to the princes, and whose son was upon terms of friendship with Alexander. His name was Tyro; and being greatly incensed at the proceedings of Herod, he went up and down exclaiming, in a fit of phrenzy, "that justice was trampled on, and truth lost; that nothing but iniquity prevailed in the world; and that there was neither humanity or natural affection to be found among mankind." He had even the resolution to go to the king himself, and remonstrate with him to this effect: "Of all men living, Sir, you are certainly the most inexorable, in believing the allegations of the most abandoned characters to the prejudice of your best friends. Permit me to point out

The relation of Tyro.

“out Pheroras and Salome as persons you have pronounced deserving of death; yet upon their testimony you are about to take away the lives of your sons. You do not consider that, when the right heirs are removed, they will have, in the succession of Antipater, a king framed to their purpose. But let him beware of the soldiery; they will not tamely suffer the massacre to pass unavenged, as they compassionate the case of the unfortunate princes; and there is not a man of honour but murmurs at such foul proceedings.” Tyro, upon this, named several of the malcontents, who were instantly removed, by order of the king; and the old officer and his son were put into custody.

Evidence of Tryphon against Tyro.
There was one Tryphon, at that time the king's tutor, suborned to exhibit himself suddenly as a witness, and depose, “that Tyro offered him a considerable reward, in the name of Alexander, to dispatch the king during the operation of shaving.” Upon this allegation Tyro, his son, and the tutor, were ordered to be put to the question. Tyro and his son denied the charge, and Tryphon was wholly silent; whereupon Herod commanded Tyro's torments to be increased, when his son, from filial piety to his father, promised the king a discovery of the whole transaction, on condition of his granting him a pardon. The old man being taken from the torture, the son declared, that his father had been intigated by Alexander to take away the life of the king. This was, in general, supposed to be an evasion of the son; yet there were those that gave credit to it. Herod, in an harangue to the public, soon after this, took occasion to inveigh against some officers of rank, together with Tyro, by which the rabble were so exasperated, that they fell upon those officers, Tyro, and Tryphon, and stoned them to death. Herod caused his sons to be strangled at Sebaste, and their dead bodies carried to Alexandria, and there deposited by the remains of Alexander, their mother's uncle. This was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

The brother of Tyro, who was put to death at the command of Herod.

C H A P. XVIII.

Antipater conspires against the life of his father. Dissimulation and duplicity of Herod. The wives and children of Aristobulus. The case of Salome and Syllæus. The insolence of Antipater. Cabal of women. Foul practices charged upon Salome. Herod sends Antipater to Rome with his last will, declaring him his successor. A design upon the life of Herod proved against Syllæus.

Antipater is naturally malicious.
ANTIPATER had so far wrought upon the credulity and suspicion of his father, that he entertained not a doubt of succeeding to the throne of Judæa; but, through one continued scene of falsehood and perfidy, he had rendered himself obnoxious to the people. Nor was he free from apprehension that the children of the murdered brothers would revenge the deaths of their parents. Alexander had by Glaphyra two sons, Tigranes and Alexander: Aristobulus had by Berenice, the daughter of Salome, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne. Glaphyra was sent away with her portion into Cappadocia, after the death of Alexander; and Berenice, the widow of Aristobulus, was married to the uncle of Antipater, who promoted this marriage to effect a reconciliation with Salome, and put an end to all dissention. Antipater plied Pheroras with compliments and presents, and conciliated the esteem of Cæsar's friends, by sending vast sums of money to Rome to engage them in his interest. Nor was he less bountiful to Saturninus, and the rest of his friends in Syria. But this munificence, instead of conciliating their esteem, incurred their contempt, as they considered it as arising from a notion of fear. Indeed, he was generally obnoxious to the people, notwithstanding his liberalities, as they were convinced of the malevolence of his disposition, and the fallacy of his conduct.

Antipater is naturally malicious.

Herod, having summoned his friends and kindred, sent for the young princes, and, with tears of compassion, addressed them in words to the following effect:

“You have here before you the children of an unfortunate family. Their fathers have been taken from me by a sad fate, and I find myself bound in humanity to do the best I can for the orphans, in discharging the part of a grandfather more to my satisfaction than I did that of a father. In pursuance of this purpose, I shall make it my care, in the first place, to put these children in good hands, and under the charge of the best friends I shall leave behind me when I am gone. To begin with you, Pheroras, I would have you marry your daughter to Alexander's eldest son, and supply the place of a father and guardian. As for your part, Antipater, I would have your son to take one of the daughters of Aristobulus, under which relation you will be as good as a parent to the orphan. As for my son Herod, the grandchild of Simon, the high-priest, by the mother's side, let him marry the other sister. This is my will and desire, and no relative that has any regard or kindness for me will dispute it. Thus I would have it; and I beseech God to prosper these alliances to the comfort of my kingdom and family, and grant in mercy that the children may be looked upon with a more favourable eye than their fathers.”

Herod compassionate the children of Alexander and Aristobulus.

With this benediction Herod concluded; and joining the hands of the princes, and weeping over them, affectionately embraced, and then dismissed them. This instance of Herod's behaviour greatly alarmed Antipater; nor could he conceal his surprise, as he considered the respect paid to the fathers, thro' the children, as a degradation to himself. This he likewise imagined would be a means of supplanting him; especially if Pheroras, the tetrarch, should join interest with Archelaus in favour of the sons of Alexander. He also considered the universal hatred he had incurred, the compassion of the people for the fatherless children, and, in fine, the concern the whole nation had for the living children, and reverence for the memory of the dead, of whom he was deemed little better than the murderer. These circumstances duly weighed, Antipater had no other remedy but to dissolve the contracts; a point of the greatest difficulty, as Herod, being rather rigid and suspicious, was not to be wrought upon by craft and circumvention. He therefore adopted a more frank and open manner of proceeding, and desired him, with all modesty and deference, that he would deign him the honour of which he thought him worthy, as without it all other grants were but the mere shadows of a kingdom without the substance, as would certainly be the case, if Alexander's son should not only have Archelaus for his grandfather, but Pheroras also for his father-in-law. Antipater pressed Herod, with vehement importunity, to change the disposition of the marriages, which might easily be done, as he had so numerous a family.

Herod had nine wives, and children by seven of them. Antipater by Doris; Herod by Mariamne, the daughter of the high-priest; Antipas and Archelaus by Malthace, a Samaritan, and a daughter, Olympias, whom his brother Joseph married; Herod and Philip by Cleopatra, of Jerusalem; and Phæsaël by Pallas. He had also two other daughters, Roxana and Salome; the one by Phædra, the other by Elpis; and two wives that had no children; the one was the daughter of his brother, the other his cousin-german. Besides these, he had, by Mariamne, the two sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus. Since therefore the royal family was so numerous, Antipater requested him to change the intended marriages.

Herod's wives and children.

The king perceived by this time the disposition of Antipater towards his children, and was very much disturbed at it, lest he should follow his own example, and dispatch the survivors as he had done their predecessors. In this humour he commanded him

The power
of flattery
over the
mind of
Herod.

him to quit his presence; but was soon after prevailed upon, by soothing flattery, to vary his project; so that he gave to Antipater himself the daughter of Aristobulus, and married the son to the daughter of Pheroras. This circumstance evidently proves the ascendancy of Antipater over the mind of Herod, in effecting that in which his own sister, aided by the interest of the empress Julia, had failed before. For when Salome was disposed to marry Syllæus, the Arabian, and engaged Julia to intercede in her behalf, Herod not only opposed the match, and rejected the intercession, but bound himself by oath to treat her as the greatest enemy if she did not give up the project. He caused her, against her consent, to be married to Alexas, a friend of his; and to give one of her daughters to his son, and the other to the uncle of Antipater by the mother's side. He also gave one of the daughters of Mariamne to Antipater, his sister's son; and the other to his brother's son, Phafael.

Insolence
of Anti-
pater.

When matters were thus changed, and every thing settled to the mind of Antipater, and consequently to the manifest exclusion of the orphans, his audacity became intolerable. As he was convinced he had incurred the hatred of the people, he founded his security on rendering himself a terror to them. Besides, Pheroras treated him as a prince established in his sovereignty.

A female
faction.

New disturbances were now excited at court by a cabal of women; for the wife, mother, and sister of Pheroras, together with the mother of Antipater, behaved with insolence even towards the king's daughters, with which Antipater was well pleased, as he held them in utter detestation. The rest of the women stood all in awe of the cabal, except Salome, who informed the king of their private consultations, and pointed out to him that they did not tend to the promotion of his interest. When the women came to understand that the king had notice of these meetings, and took great offence at them, they desisted from their caballing, and pretended, in his hearing, to be at enmity with one another. Antipater availed himself of this dissimulation, and, in public, opposed the measures of Pheroras; but they had still private entertainments and consultations in the night; though nothing escaped the knowledge of Salome, who acquainted Herod with every particular.

Foul
charges
against the
wife of Phe-
roras.

This put him in a rage, especially against the wife of Pheroras, upon whom Salome laid the greatest stress. Herod, upon this, called a council of his friends, and, among other foul practices, complained against her for insulting his daughters, engaging the Pharisees in opposition to him, and giving his brother a potion to render him his enemy. At length he turned to Pheroras, and asked him which of the two he would part with, his brother or his wife? Pheroras replied, that he would part with life itself rather than with his beloved wife. Herod, struck with this resolute answer, directed his speech to Antipater, and charged him to hold no intercourse either with Pheroras or his wife, or any person belonging to her. Antipater pretended compliance with the king's injunctions in public, though he continued to attend the nocturnal meetings. However, for fear of discovery, he so ordered matters with some friends he had in Italy, that letters were written to Herod by all means to send Antipater to Rome, to pay his court to Cæsar. Upon this invitation Herod immediately provided him a splendid equipage, furnished him with money, and dispatched him for Rome, with his last will and testament, wherein he declared Antipater his successor; and after Antipater, Herod, whom he had by Mariamne, the daughter of the high-priest.

Herod sends
Antipater
to Rome.

Syllæus re-
pairs this
injury.

Syllæus, the Arabian, went also at this time to Rome, without any regard to Cæsar's injunctions, to dispute the same cause again with Antipater, that he had formerly defended against Nicolaus. It was a controversy of great moment that he had with Aretas, his own king, having put several of his friends to death, and, amongst the rest, Sohenus, the most eminent person for wealth and power in the whole

His in-
famous
practices.

city of Petra. He likewise corrupted Tabatus, one of Cæsar's governors, with a sum of money, to assist him against Herod; but Herod, by out-bidding, induced him to leave Syllæus, and made him receiver of his duties. Syllæus, finding that he came to no account, gave Augustus to understand, by way of complaint, that Tabatus was not Cæsar's governor, but Herod's. This provocation transported Tabatus to such a degree, that, being as yet in great credit with Herod, he went and betrayed Syllæus to him, telling the king that he had engaged Corinthus, one of his guards, for a sum of money, to join with him in a conspiracy; advising withal, that he might be forthwith taken into custody. The king complied; for this Corinthus, though he had his education in the court, was by birth an Arabian; so that Herod ordered not only him to be apprehended, but two Arabians who were found with him. One of them was a friend of Syllæus, the other the head of a tribe. This last being put to the question, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money, to undertake the killing of the king. Saturninus, the governor of Syria, took the examinations, and sent them away to Rome.

Syllæus is
charged
with a de-
sign upon
the life of
Herod.

C. H. A. P. XIX.

Pheroras is banished the court, and retires to his own tetrarchy. Herod falls sick, and sends for Pheroras, who refuses to visit him. Herod recovers, and Pheroras becomes indisposed. Herod visits him. Death of Pheroras. Evidence of his being poisoned at the instance of Syllæus. Insolence of Antipater towards his father. Herod is inexorable. Testimony of the widow of Pheroras. His own confession at his death. Proof adduced of Mariamne's being in the plot.

HEROD continued his importunities with Pheroras to put away his wife. He found abundant cause to hate her, but could not devise any means of bringing her to punishment, till, in a frantic outrage, he banished both herself and her husband the court. Pheroras submitted to the disgrace very patiently, and retired to his tetrarchy, binding himself, by an oath, never to return during the life of Herod; so that nothing but his death should put an end to his banishment. Herod soon after fell into a dangerous fit of sickness, and sent several times for Pheroras, having something of moment to communicate to him before he died. But Pheroras could not be prevailed upon to go; and Herod, on the other hand, beyond all expectation, recovered. Pheroras, a little after this, became indisposed himself, and the king, his brother, upon that occasion, displayed some degree of humanity, for he not only made him a visit, but gave him singular proofs of fraternal affection. The disease, however, carried him off in a short time. Though Herod had evinced this kindness for his brother in his expiring moments, a rumour went forth that he had caused him to be destroyed by poison. The body, however, was conveyed to Jerusalem, where public mourning, and a most pompous funeral, were appointed. This was the end of one of the murderers of Alexander and Aristobulus.

Pheroras
banished
the court
of Herod.

His death.

But the punishment was soon transferred to the author Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras; for certain of his freemen, in the agony of their passion for so irreparable a loss, went boldly to the king, and told him, "that his brother had been destroyed by poison; that his wife had brought him something prepared after an unusual manner; that, upon eating it, he fell into his distemper; that the mother and sister of Antipater, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia, that was skilled in drugs, in order to prepare a love potion for Pheroras; that, instead thereof, she had given him deadly poison; and that this was done at the instigation of Syllæus, who was well acquainted with this woman."

Enquiry
concerning
the death
of Pheroras.

So many suspicions started, and the presumptions were so strong, that the king ordered the putting of several

Antipater's defence.

several persons, bond and free, to the question. A female servant exclaimed, in the agony of her torture, "May the Almighty, ruler of heaven and earth, avenge himself and us upon the mother of Antipater, for all the miseries we suffer for her sake!" The king availed himself of this confession, and proceeded to further enquiry into the truth of the matter. Another woman laid open the whole circumstance of the familiarity betwixt the mother of Antipater and Pheroras and his women; the clandestine meetings; that Pheroras and Antipater, when they came from court, regaled together all night, nor would admit a servant into the chamber. It was one of the free-women that gave this evidence.

The witness's story.

When the witnesses came to be examined apart, there was such an agreement in their informations, that the truth of the charge was no longer to be doubted. It was occurred to Herod, that Antipater's withdrawing to Rome, and Pheroras's procuring his own banishment, were only contrivances to get out of the way: for they had often been heard to say, "that, after the taking off Alexander and Aristobulus, they must prepare for their turns; since, from the execrable murder of his own wife and children, they had no ground to expect to fare better; and the only fence against such a monster of barbarity was to be out of his reach."

The women deposed further, that Antipater would often complain to his mother, "that he had already grey hairs on his head; that his father grew younger every day; that perhaps he might die before he came to govern; that, in case of the death of Herod, the enjoyment of the succession would be but transitory, as those heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were shooting up; that he was deprived, by his father, of the hope of being succeeded by his children, as Herod, the son of Mariamne, was appointed to succeed him; that, in this point, Herod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should take place therein, as he would take care that none of his posterity should remain, being, of all parents, most averse to his children, and more so, if possible, to his brother, as appeared from his giving him an hundred talents to hold no intercourse with Pheroras; that, however, though they could expect nothing but inhumanity and barbarity from such a monster, if they had but the hearts and hands of men, they might assert their rights and liberties another way."

Antipater's defence.

To this confession it was added, that Pheroras had some thoughts of flying with them to Petra. The discovery was clear upon the whole; but the most corroborating circumstance to Herod was that of the hundred talents, for he had only mentioned that particular to Antipater. He first vented his rage against Doris, his mother; took from her all her jewels and trinkets, which he had purchased for her at an immense charge, and then ejected her from the palace. After this he caused the women of Pheroras to be tortured to death; though he trembled all the while, and was distracted between fears and jealousies: nay, he was so rigid in inflicting punishments, that he put the innocent to the torture without distinction, lest any of the guilty should escape.

The next that passed examination was Antipater, the Samaritan, and steward to Antipater, the king's son. It appeared, upon putting him to the torture, that Antipater sent for poison into Egypt, by Antiphilus, his friend, with a design upon the king's life, which he received from Theudim, the uncle of Antipater, and, upon his order, delivered it to Pheroras, who had taken upon him to execute the design while he was at Rome, and, from distance of situation, freed from suspicion; and that he committed the care of the poison to his wife.

Herod sent for the widow of Pheroras, and commanded her, without delay, to shew him the secret she had received. She went out, on a pretence to fetch it, but cast herself headlong from the top of the

house, to prevent both the torture and the discovery. But Divine Providence would not suffer Antipater to escape thus, for her fall was not mortal. She was taken up, and carried to the king, who, as soon as she recovered herself, demanded of her to tell him the cause of so desperate an act, assuring her, upon his oath, that if she spoke the truth, she should have no farther punishment; but if she deviated from that, she should die upon the rack, without being allowed the rites of a funeral.

By this time she recovered her senses, and thus rapturously expressed herself:

"Am I to keep secrets now Pheroras is dead and gone, in favour of Antipater, that has been the destruction of us all? Great prince! Give me the hearing, and I call that God, who cannot be deceived, to bear witness to the truth of what I say. When you were upon a visit to Pheroras in his sickness, and weeping over him, my husband called me to him. See, my dear wife, says he, how much I have been mistaken in my opinion of my brother's kindness to me; for, in plain terms, I hated him, and meditated the death of this man, that shewed so generous a pity for me in my distress, (though yet among the living;) but I have the just reward of my iniquity. Fetch me immediately the remainder of the poison that Antipater gave you to keep, and burn it before my face; else I shall carry the vengeance of a troubled conscience into the other world. I brought it as I was bid, and threw the greater part of the poison into the fire before his eyes: the rest I reserved for a time of need."

Pheroras's declaration and confession at his death.

With these words she produced a box, containing a little of the poison. The brother and mother of Antipater were then put to the question, and their information was, that Antipater brought that box out of Egypt, and that he received the poison from a brother of his at Alexandrion, that practised physic. It was now evident that Mariamne, the daughter of the high-priest, was concerned in the plot, as appeared from her brothers upon the question. But Herod punished the mother in the son, for he struck her son Herod out of his will, in which he had formerly declared him his successor.

C H A P. XX.

Antipater convicted by Bathyllus. Perfidy and villainy of Antipater. He is ordered to prepare for his trial. The court meets, and witnesses are produced. A plausible discourse of Herod to Varus. Nicolaus enters upon the proofs. Antipater's defence. Nicolaus very severe upon him. The evidences of the poison produced in order. Antipater in a plot with Acme against Salome. A resolution taken to put Antipater to death; but the indisposition of Herod prevents the execution. Herod erases Antipater from his will, appoints Antipas to the succession, and settles his legacies.

THE last and convictive evidence was Bathyllus, one of Antipater's freemen, who was just returned from Rome, and brought with him the poison of an asp, and other serpents, for Pheroras and his wife to compleat the work, if other attempts should fail. He brought also, as an addition to Antipater's devices against his father, several letters, which he had written to the prejudice of his brothers Archelaus and Philip, though they were princes of most generous dispositions.

The evidence of Bathyllus.

Archelaus and Philip were at that time at Rome, pursuing their studies. They were youths of promising genius, and consequently such objects of envy to Antipater, that he entertained no hopes of gaining his point, unless he could get them removed. To this end he forged letters against them, in the names of several of his friends at Rome. Some of them

Antipater's foul practices against his brothers.

them insinuated the irreverent manner in which they had treated their father, openly bewailing the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus, and discovering much reluctance at their being recalled, a circumstance that gave Antipater more disquiet than all the rest. Antipater, indeed, was in a practice of forgery and secret intelligence even before he left Judæa, and procured letters from Rome to Herod upon the same subject, while he himself, to evade suspicion, applied himself to his father as a kind of advocate for his brothers, alledging that some of the charges contained in the letters were false, and others only the effects of youthful folly. The intelligence he obtained to circumvent his brothers was attended with great expence; to compensate which, he purchased a variety of rich apparel, furniture, gold and silver plate, and several other curiosities of great value, to the amount of two hundred talents, which he placed to the account of the suit they had with Syllæus, to disguise the subornations.

Antipater is held in universal detestation.

But, notwithstanding these artful practices, the whole country rang with the parricide, and all witnesses and letters concurred to prove repeated designs upon the lives of the brothers; yet not one that came to Rome took any notice of the present state of Herod's family, though seven months had intervened between his conviction and his return. Indeed, he was an object of universal detestation; so that their silence might arise from a desire of seeing justice executed upon so many horrid murders. He then wrote from Rome, informing Herod that he was upon the return, after having been most honourably dismissed by Cæsar.

The king, being desirous of securing this plotter, in order to divert him from any precaution, dissimulated his anger in his epistle to him, and, in a familiar style, desired him to be with him as soon as possible; upon which condition he would lay aside the complaints he had against his mother; for Antipater knew she had been ejected from the palace. The first news he had of the death of Pheroras was by a letter he received at Tarentum, which very much affected him. Some looked upon his lamentation as the result of the feelings of nature; but others, with much greater reason, imputed it not to his tenderness for Pheroras, but his concern for the loss of so necessary an instrument for the execution of his plot. He was also under some apprehension of being detected. However, upon his receiving the king's letter when he came into Cilicia, he pursued his journey with all expedition. At his coming to Celendris, he had a kind of foreboding of his mother's state and condition. The most cautious of his friends advised him not to go rashly to his father, till he had learned the cause of his mother's ejection, lest he should be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon her. But those who were less considerate, and preferred the sight of their native country to his interest, persuaded him to hasten his return, lest delay should raise suspicion, and suggest matter for his enemies to work upon. For if any thing should be moved against him, he could not clear himself in his absence; but if present, they would be more circumspect in their proceedings. They added, it would be absurd to deprive himself of a kingdom from uncertain suspicion: so that, from these specious representations, Antipater seems to have been actuated by the fatality of an impulse to prosecute his voyage to Sebaste, a port of Cæsarea.

Prosecutes his journey from Rome.

His friends are divided concerning it.

He proceeds to Sebaste, and is treated with cold contempt.

Has recourse to disguise and duplicity.

Upon his arrival, to his great surprize, he found himself universally thunned. He was, indeed, as much detested there as upon his former visit, but the people were not so much at liberty to shew their aversion. Some were fearful of incurring the displeasure of the king; for the country was filled with rumours concerning Antipater, and himself was the only person that was ignorant of them. Never was man dismissed more magnificently when he set out upon his voyage to Rome, or treated with more ignominy and contempt upon his return, than was Antipater. He suspected the broils that prevailed in Herod's family, but concealed his apprehensions as much as

possible, and assumed a chearful countenance to veil a perplexed mind. There was no possibility of escaping, nor had he any view of extricating himself from the difficulties with which he was encompassed. Nor could he obtain any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family from the menaces the king had issued; so that he had some intervals of hope, either that things were not discovered, or that, in case of extremity, he might bring himself off by confidence and imposture, the only means upon which he relied.

Encouraged by these hopes, he advanced to the palace without his train; for they had been contemptuously repulsed at the first gate. It so happened that Varus, the governor of Syria, was then present. Antipater, at his entrance, with his usual effrontery, approached his father with a dutiful salutation; but Herod rejected his embraces, exclaiming against his presumption as a parricide, and denouncing a curse upon him, till he had cleared himself of the crimes alledged to his charge. He also assured him he should be judged by Varus, who would pass sentence according to his demerit; and then ordered him to depart, and prepare for his defence the next day, that being all the time allowed him. Antipater was so confounded, that, without reply, he took his departure. He was afterwards visited by his wife and mother, who informed him of the evidence they had procured to substantiate the charge, which induced him to reflect on the most effectual means of defence.

Herod rejects his treacherous embraces.

Antipater prepares for his trial.

Upon the following day Herod summoned a court composed of his kindred and friends; ordered the friends of Antipater to attend also; and, together with Varus, ascended the bench. He caused all the witnesses to be brought in, among whom were certain domestic servants of Doris, who had brought letters from the mother to the son, purporting, "that, since every thing had been discovered by Herod, he should be cautious of coming near him, unless he could prevail upon Cæsar to afford him his protection." When the witnesses were introduced, Antipater entered the court, and throwing himself at his father's feet, supplicated the grant of an impartial hearing, without prejudging his cause; as, in that case, he entertained not a doubt of demonstrating his innocence.

Appears before the court.

Herod vehemently enjoined him to hold his peace, and then thus addressed himself to Varus.

"I do certainly know that you, Varus, or any other unbiassed judge, will be fully satisfied that Antipater deserves to die: but I am afraid, in the mean time, of the opinion you may conceive of my invidious fortune, as if this calamity had justly befallen me for being the father of such children. I have some right, however, to your humanity and compassion, for having been so indulgent a father to such profligate wretches. As for the young princes that are gone, I designed them for the government, and trained them up at Rome, in the court and favour of Cæsar, the better to prepare them for the exercise of royal dignity: and none, at last, were so great enemies to my peace and safety, as those that I had raised even to be the envy of princes. Antipater made his profit of their ruin; for he found his account in it, as a security to himself in the succession. What is now the requital this monster designs me for all these tokens of favour, but the entering into a practice against my life? I was likely to live too long, he thought: nay, I had lived too long already; that was his grievance. The crown alone would not content him, it seems, unless he made his way to it through the blood of his father. And in this truly he seemed to have some colour of reason, for my bringing him back to court out of a private condition, to the exclusion of the sons I had by the queen, in declaring him my successor.

Herod's speech to Varus.

"To confess myself to you, Varus, I am convinced of my error. I did not do well to provoke my sons, by cutting off the succession, to their injury."

"jury, in favour of Antipater: for what did I ever do for them comparable to what I did for him? He had a very great part of the administration settled upon him during the continuance of my life, and the succession after my death; and, beside other gratifications, a separate revenue of fifty talents, and his expences every where upon my charge: three hundred talents upon his voyage to Rome: and himself the only person of my whole family that I recommended to Cæsar as my preserver. Take them altogether, they had not half the wickedness in them of Antipater: the proofs against them were infinitely short of what I have against him; and yet this daring wretch has the face to plead innocent, and does not despair, I perceive, of baffling the truth by imposture. Varus, look to yourself; for he will tell his tale well: but I know the monster through all his disguises.

"This is the man that was so earnest with me, in time past, to have a care of Alexander, and how I exposed my person. How often would he come into my bed-chamber, and search about, for fear of treachery! This man was my guardian, and my security, while I slept; my comforter in my mourning for the dead brothers; and one that would undertake for the duty of those that were living: my champion, in fine, and my guard. When I call to mind, and consider the address and hypocrisy of this man, how artfully he laid his snares, and covered his designs, I can hardly think myself alive at this day, or how it was possible for me to escape the danger. But since my fate willed it so, and that my greatest enemies are to be those of my own family, and those I have been the kindest to, I shall only deplore the hardship of my inevitable destiny, and keep my sorrows to myself; but with this resolution, that not one man comes off that shall be found guilty of thirsting after my blood, though the whole house should fall in the condemnation."

Herod, being then interrupted by the confusion of his mind, directed Nicolaus, one of his counsellors, to produce the evidence against Antipater, who being prostrate before the king, raised his head, and, in an exclamatory tone, thus proceeded:

"You have had the goodness, Sire, to plead my cause: for how can I be a parricide, and yet recorded by yourself for your preserver? If my piety be only imposture and pretence, as you are pleased to say it is, how came I to be so crafty in one case, and so ignorant in another, as not to understand, that, though men may be imposed upon, yet the all-searching and all-seeing eye of God, that knows our hearts, will not suffer so great a wickedness to pass unpunished? God's vengeance overtook my brothers because of their unprofitableness to you. But what temptation had I now to practise upon your life? The hope of a kingdom? Why, I did reign in fact already. Was it that I thought you hated me? That was impossible, after so many demonstrations to the contrary. Was I afraid of you? When, quite on the other hand, others stood in awe of me, in consideration of the zeal I had for your safety. Or was it that I wanted anything? So far from it, that all my profusions were supplied out of your treasure. So that certainly I must be the worst even of men and of brutes, to be wanting in good offices towards so kind a father; being a person that you yourself, as you say, received into your favour, preferred before so many of your other sons, and whom you declared king while you yourself were yet living; beside other benefits in proportion, to make me the envy of other men.

"Wretch that I am! that this fatal journey should afford so much time and matter for envy and treachery to work upon. But it was, Sire, for the service of yourself, and of your affairs, that I undertook this voyage; and to keep Syria from putting affronts upon your old age. Rome is witness to my loyalty; and so is the prince of Rome, and of the world, Cæsar him-

self, that has so often celebrated me for my reverence to my father. Be pleased, I beseech you, to receive these letters, that have more truth in them than all the forgeries that have been trumped up against me: these letters are my justification, and the infallible arguments of a sincere affection for you. You may remember, Sire, how unwillingly I took that journey, to lay myself at the mercy of all the enemies I left behind me. It was your command, Sire, that ruined me, how unwillingly soever, in forcing me to give my adversaries time for concerting their malice against me.

"If I had been a parricide, divine justice, either by sea or land, would have found me out. But I shall not lay the stress of my innocence upon that argument, for I know very well that you have condemned me in your heart already. All that I beg, even in this state, is only that I may not suffer upon the credit of proofs extorted by torment; but let me rather be put to the test, either of fire, screws, or what other instruments of cruelty you shall think fit, without any mercy to a miserable carcase. For if I am a parricide, no pain can be too much for me."

These words were attended with such energy and pathos as to excite the commiseration of the whole court, and of Varus in particular. Herod alone remained unaffected, from a consciousness of the clearness of the evidence, and the consummate hypocrisy and fallacy of Antipater.

Nicolaus then, at the king's command, having premised many instances of the craft of the culprit, and thereby obviated the effects of the commiseration he had excited in the minds of the auditors, exhibited a long catalogue of charges against him; ascribing to him all the mischiefs of the kingdom, and especially the murders of his brethren, whom he demonstrated to have perished by the calumnies he raised against them. He observed, that he had laid plots against the survivors as standing in the way of his preferment; and commented on the folly of supposing that he, who prepared poison for his father, would spare the lives of his brethren. He then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison Herod, recapitulated the several discoveries that had been made, produced the evidences, and represented Antipater as principally accessory to the crime of Pheroras, the corruption of the court, and, indeed, all the calamities that had lately befallen the kingdom: nor did he conclude without expatiating largely on the several accusations.

Nicolaus represents his crimes in the most exaggerated light.

Varus then called upon Antipater to produce what he had to offer to clear himself from the accusations laid against him. After some pause he briefly said, "God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." Varus then called for the poison, and caused it to be administered to a condemned malefactor, who, having drank it, instantly expired. He then, after some private discourse with Herod, transmitted the proceedings of the court to Cæsar, and the next day took his departure. The king commanded Antipater to be bound, and sent the emperor an account of his proceedings.

Antipater is convicted and put in chains.

He was charged after this with a treacherous design upon Salome; for a servant of Antipater brought letters from Rome, from a female attendant of the empress Julia, whose name was Acme. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter, written by Salome, amongst Julia's papers, and sent it him privately from a motive of good-will. This letter contained the bitterest invectives against the king. They were forged by Antipater, who had bribed Acme, and employed her as an instrument to convey them to Herod. This was rendered evident from Acme's letter to Antipater, which ran thus: "I have written to your father according to your direction, and dispatched the letter. I am persuaded the king will not spare his sister after reading it. I have executed the business; do you look to the performance of your promise."

Detected in a plot against Salome

Upon

Herod's sickness prevents the execution of justice upon him.

Excludes him from the succession.

Herod's last will and testament.

Upon the detection of this plot against the life of Salome, Herod was greatly alarmed, to reflect how narrowly his sister had escaped the traitor's snare; nor could he avoid suspecting that Alexander was taken off by a similar imposture. He therefore formed a peremptory resolution of bringing him to justice for all his crimes, domestic and national, but was diverted from the execution of it by a levere distemper. He transmitted, however, a detail to Cæsar of Achme's part in the intrigue, and the treacherous practices against Salome. He sent also for his testament, altered it, appointed Antipas to the succession in lieu of Antipater, but omitted Archelaus and Philip, through former suggestions of that execrable milcreant. He bequeathed to Cæsar, besides other presents, a thousand talents; and to the empress, her children, friends, and freemen, about five hundred more, with lands and considerable bounties to others. He also testified his regard for his sister Salome by many valuable bequests. This was the purport of his last will and testament.

C H A P. XXI.

Herod lapses into bodily and mental calamities. A tumult raised concerning the golden eagle, which is destroyed by the multitude. The guards overcome the rabble. The ringleaders are put to death. Herod labours under a complication of disorders. Attempts violence on himself. Instance of his cruelty in the immediate view of death. Antipater dispatched by the king's guards. Archelaus declared successor instead of Antipas. Death of Herod. Salome and Alexas prevent the execution of his cruel order. Archelaus accedes to the throne amidst the acclamations of the people. The funeral solemnity.

Herod's distemper increases.

HEROD's distemper became more and more severe, through the bodily decay of advanced years, and the effects of a disordered mind. His calamities were not a little aggravated by the consideration of Antipater's being still alive, whom he determined to bring to condign punishment in the most public manner, as soon as the state of his health would permit.

Judas and Matthias move sedition on occasion of the golden eagle.

These calamities were followed by a popular sedition, which was headed by Judas, the son of Saphoreus, and Matthias, the son of Margalus, two sophists, famous for their skill in the laws, and consequently highly revered by the people. They had many disciples, and were attended at their expositions by numerous audiences. When these rabbies were informed of the king's languishing condition, they intimated to their friends, that the present would be a convenient opportunity for vindicating the honour of God, in the demolition of all works erected in opposition to his sacred laws; and observed further, that the setting up of images in the temple, or the likeness of any living creature, was absolutely forbidden. It was evident that they alluded to the golden eagle, which Herod had caused to be fixed over the great gate of the temple. The multitude therefore came to a resolution to pull it down, as the most glorious hazard they could run in support of the laws of their country, even if they should die in the attempt. It was represented to them, that, should they do this, it would be followed with everlasting happiness and immortal honour; while the mean spirited, and those who were regardless of a future state, would prefer death in their beds by a disease, than to fall a sacrifice to religion and virtue.

The golden eagle is destroyed.

While this popular enthusiasm was spreading, a report prevailed that the king was at the point of death, which emboldening the multitude, they mounted the temple at noon-day, and letting themselves down with ropes and axes, demolished the golden eagle in the presence of a numerous congregation of spectators. The commanding officer of the guards no sooner had notice of this outrage, than he fell in among them with a party, seized about

forty of the most active, and brought them before the king, who demanded of them if they had been so insolent as to demolish the golden eagle? When they replied in the affirmative, and he interrogated at whose command they had done it? they rejoined, at the command of the laws of their country: and when he further asked them how they could be so cheerful, as they must shortly die? they returned for answer, because they were assured of a better life after death.

This incensed the king to such a degree, that, seemingly unmindful of his disease, he reproached them in most opprobrious terms, for having attempted innovations in government under colour of law, and declared, as they had behaved themselves like abandoned wretches, as such they should undergo an exemplary punishment. The people, upon this, apprehending that the severity might be too far extended, preferred their request to the king, that he would content himself with justice upon the ringleaders and the prisoners, and shew mercy to the rest. Herod was at length prevailed upon, and ordered those that came down by the ropes, and the two heads of the faction, to be burnt alive; and those that were taken together, to be delivered up to the proper officers, in order to be put to death.

By this time the king's distemper seized upon his whole frame, and produced various symptoms, such as an intermitting fever, an intolerable itching, dropsical tumours about his feet, an inflammation in the abdomen, a putrefaction that caused worms, contraction of the nerves, and convulsions in general. It was the opinion of those who pretended to divination, that these calamities were inflicted upon him as a judgment for his rigorous proceeding towards the rabbies. But, notwithstanding the complication of his diseases, and the torments under which he laboured, he was still so desirous of life, that, in this very extremity, he sought for new remedies, and cherished some hopes of his recovery. He crossed the Jordan, and tried the warm baths of Callirrhoe, which run into the lake Asphaltites, a water not only medicinal, but grateful to the taste. Here the physicians advised him to bathe his whole body in warm oil; but upon his being let down into the vessel, his eyes and senses failed him together. This last fit was so alarming, that his attendants exclaimed with horror, and he revived a little at the outcry. But at length, when he found there was no hope, he ordered the soldiers fifty drachmæ a man; and left money to a great amount, to be divided amongst his governors and friends.

When he came back to Jericho, and found his case desperate, he seemed to let death at defiance, by a resolution the most dreadful that ever entered the heart of man. He sent an order throughout Judæa for seizing all the nobility, and shutting them up in the circus, called also the hippodrome, or horse-course. He then called for Salome, his sister, and Alexas, her husband, and gave them this charge: "I know that the Jews will celebrate my death by a festival; but I shall take care not to want mourners, or the splendid pomp of funeral solemnities, provided you will but follow my directions. Be it your care then, the moment I expire, to send soldiers to encompass the circus, and slay all those who are there in custody. This will be an infallible means of making the whole province of Judæa, and every particular family in it, true mourners for my death."

Herod had no sooner given these orders, than his deputies brought him letters of information from Rome, that Achme was put to death at Cæsar's command, and that Antipater was under sentence of condemnation; but it was added, that, if Herod chose to mitigate the punishment, and banish him, he had the emperor's permission. This complacent message procured him some little relief; but soon relapsing, as he was at that time afflicted with a convulsive cough, he had some thought of laying violent hands on himself, and, to that end, called for an apple and a knife, as if he had been about to cut and pare it. Having looked around him with an eye of caution,

he raised his hand with the point towards his breast, which being perceived by his nephew Achiab, he wrestled the knife out of his hand, and prevented the seemingly intended mischief.

Upon this a rumour was spread that the king was dead; of which Antipater availing himself, tampered with his keepers, for a sum of money, to release him: but the principal officer not only rejected his request, but gave instant notice of it to the king, who, upon hearing it, burst out into a vehement exclamation, and ordered his guards immediately to dispatch him, and see his body deposited in the castle of Hyrcanion. He then altered his testament once more, declared Archelaus, his eldest son, successor, and constituted Antipas a tetrarch.

Herod died five days after his son, having reigned thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, and thirty-seven since he was declared king by the Romans. He was fortunate in every other respect but that of his family; being advanced to the throne from a private station, which he maintained a series of years, and was at length succeeded by one of his sons.

Before the soldiers knew of the king's death, Salome and her husband went to the circus, and dismissed those who were confined there, in order to be slain by the king's command. They did this upon a pretence that Herod had changed his mind; but as soon as they were released, proclamation was made of the king's death. The soldiery and populace being assembled at the amphitheatre of Jericho, Pto-

lemy, the keeper of the royal signet, made a speech in honour of the deceased, whom he mentioned as a fortunate prince, condoling with them, at the same time, for so sensible a loss. He then read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, and contained an earnest recommendation of his successor to their loyalty and allegiance. After this he read the will; by which Philip was to inherit Trachon and the adjacent country, Antipas was made tetrarch, and Archelaus appointed to succeed to the throne. He left orders for the delivery of his ring to Cæsar, who was to be informed of every transaction; as the whole was to be confirmed by the emperor's sole authority and direction.

This was followed with joyful congratulations to Archelaus upon his accession to the throne, both from the soldiers and populace. Preparations were then made for the funeral of Herod, for which neither care or cost was wanting to render it as pompous as possible. The bier was covered with an embroidery of gold and jewels, and an intermixture of purple. The corpse was placed upon a purple bed of various contexture, a diadem was put on the head, with a golden crown about it, and a sceptre fixed in the right hand. Next the bier were the deceased king's son and kindred. The guards, Thracian troops, Germans and Gauls, marched at the head of the solemnity, as in form and order of battle. To close the procession, five hundred officers, domestics and freemen, brought up the train. The body was carried two hundred furlongs to Herodion, where it was interred according to mandate.

Herod's will is read publicly.

Archelaus congratulated as king.

Herod's pompous funeral.

End of the FIRST BOOK of the WARS.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Archelaus appoints the ceremony of mourning and feasting. His gracious declaration in favour of the people. They are clamorous on the subject of grievances. Raise a tumult on account of those who had been put to death for the demolition of the golden eagle. The multitude overcome the guards, but are afterwards routed by the whole army. Three thousand Jews are slain. Archelaus goes to Rome, leaving the administration to Philip in his absence. Sabinus advances to Cesarea in his way to Judæa. Varus puts a stop to his journey. Sabinus goes to Jerusalem, and demands possession of some castles and treasure. Meets with a formal refusal from the officers. Antipas goes to Rome, and prefers his claim to the succession. Sabinus and Salome exhibit a charge against Archelaus. His defence. Caesar attends to the respective allegations of the parties, and proceeds to trial. Antipater, the son of Salome, opens the cause against Archelaus. Nicolaus pleads for the defendant. Archelaus graciously received by Caesar. The court adjourned.

Fresh tumults arise.

Archelaus well received by the multitude.

His address.

THE necessity Archelaus was under of going to Rome proved the occasion of new disturbances. After a public mourning for his father seven days, and he had given a very expensive feast to the multitude, (a custom ruinous to many of the Jews, who cannot dispense with it,) he arrayed himself in white, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with the loudest congratulatory acclamations. He returned the compliment, from a throne of state, in a manner becoming the dignity of his character. Having returned them thanks for the zeal they had shewn in the funeral of his father, and the royal honours they had paid to himself as to an anointed king, he observed withal, "that he would not at present take upon him either the authority or name of a king, until Cæsar, the declared lord and master of all by

"the testament of his father, should confirm the succession: that, for this cause, when the army would have set the crown upon his head at Jerusalem, he would not accept it; but that he would make abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but the people, for their good will towards him, when the superior power should have given him a compleat title to the kingdom, as it should be his study, upon all occasions, to be more complacent than his father."

The people were highly gratified by this declaration, and presently put him to the test by preferring several petitions. The purport of some was to have their taxes abated, of others to have them wholly remitted, and of others for a general release of prisoners. Archelaus readily complied with the whole, in order to secure their attachment, which being done, he sacrificed and feasted with his friends.

Soon after this, however, a great multitude, desirous of innovations, assembled together, and declining the subject of the common mourning for the death of the king, began to murmur at the public grievances, and particularly to lament the case of those who were put to death by Herod for demolishing the golden eagle which he had placed over the gate of the temple. This lamentation was expressed by beating their breasts, tearing their hair, and outrageous exclamations for the loss of so many pious and virtuous men, who had died martyrs to the religion and laws of their country. They demanded justice upon Herod's mercenaries, those accursed instruments of his cruelty, the expulsion of Herod's high-priest, and the appointment of a man of more piety and integrity to that sacred and dignified office.

Archelaus was highly incensed at these mutinous proceedings; but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the ringleaders, as his journey to Rome required expedition, and immediate severity might be productive of disastrous consequences. Thinking it more advisable to have recourse to soothing admonitions, he sent a principal officer of his army to quiet the seditious by persuasion, rather than by force. But the ringleaders of the tumult drove him away

away by stones from the temple, without suffering him to speak a word. Archelaus sent other officers on the same errand, but they were treated in the same manner, inasmuch, that it plainly appeared, they wanted only numbers to commence an open rebellion.

A tumult at the passover. The feast of unleavened bread, or the passover, being near at hand, and annually celebrated by abundance of sacrifices, crowds of people resorted from all parts to the metropolis, on account of being present at that solemnity. Amongst the rest were divers of the faction of the two rabbies, Judas and Matthias, who came thither to lament the death of those two venerable martyrs, and wait an opportunity of inflaming the multitude to sedition.

A party of soldiers sent to suppress it, but are repelled. Archelaus had the prudent caution to send a tribune, with a band of soldiers, with orders to seize the ringleaders if they should continue refractory, as the most effectual means of obviating the danger of a general riot. The multitude made head against this party: some they slew with stones, and dangerously wounded the tribune, and afterwards betook themselves to their sacrifices as if nothing had happened. Archelaus, finding that the riot could not be suppressed without bloodshed, turned the whole army loose upon them; the foot by way of the city, and the horse before the walls. The former fell suddenly upon them as they were sacrificing, and killed near three thousand at the very altar. The remainder dispersed and fled to the mountains; and Archelaus causing proclamation to be made, commanding all people to depart to their own habitations, put an end to the festival.

Archelaus goes for Rome. This sedition being quelled, Archelaus, with his mother, and his three particular friends, Poplas, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, embarked for Rome, leaving Philip behind him, both as viceroy and trustee for his private affairs. Salome, with her sons, accompanied him, as did several of his kindred, under pretence of assisting him in the confirmation of his succession, but, in reality, to prefer an accusation against him for his breach of the laws in the violation of the holy temple.

Upon their arrival at Cesarea, they were met by Sabinus, governor of Syria, who was then going up to Judaea, to secure the effects that Herod had left behind him. But Varus, at the instance of Archelaus, and mediation of Ptolemy, restrained Sabinus from proceeding any farther. So that, to gratify Varus, he neither demanded the castles or the treasure to the prejudice of Archelaus, and passed his word that he would do nothing in the business without the approbation of Cæsar, and remained where he was.

Sabinus prevents the removal. But as soon as Varus was gone for Antioch, and Archelaus for Rome, Sabinus, upon the removal of these obstacles, went to Jerusalem, seized on the palace, and sent from thence to the governors of the castles, and the officers of the treasury; the former to deliver up to him possession of the castles, and the latter the accounts of the treasure. But the officers, faithful to the trust reposed in them by Archelaus, evaded compliance with this answer, "That what they had in charge was rather the property of Cæsar than Archelaus."

Antipas goes to Rome, and becomes competitor for the kingdom. In the mean time Antipas went to Rome also, in order to prefer his claim to the kingdom, insisting upon the validity of the former testament, in which the succession was settled upon him. Besides, he was promised the interest of Salome, and others of their kindred that sailed with Archelaus, in the support of his claim. He was accompanied by his mother and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, an approved friend of Herod, a circumstance of some weight: but his chief dependence was upon Irenæus, a shrewd and subtle logician. Antipas, relying on the ability of these advocates, totally disregarded those who advised him to pay some deference to the seniority of Archelaus, and the authority of his father in his second testament, and seemed perfectly secure of the kingdom. When they came to Rome, he was joined by all the pretended friends of Archelaus; those especially who were desirous of shaking off the yoke

of monarchy, and being immediately under the Roman government, who, in case they could not obtain their wishes, preferred Antipas for their king.

Antipas had great dependence on the interest of Sabinus, who had already exhibited an accusation against Archelaus, by letters to Cæsar, and, on the other hand, highly commended his character. Salome and her adherents stated their charge against Archelaus, and presented it to the emperor. Archelaus then drew up the grounds of his claim, and the several heads of his justification, which, with his father's signet, and an account of the bequests he made him, were transmitted to Cæsar by the hands of Ptolemy.

Sabinus accuses Archelaus to Cæsar.

When the emperor had duly weighed the respective allegations, the greatness of the kingdom, the variety of large revenues, the numerous family of Herod, together with the contents of the letters of Varus and Sabinus, he called a council of the Roman nobility, where Caius Cæsar, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julia, was, for the first time, called to take his place at the board, and then proceeded to the trial. The cause was opened by Antipater, the son of Salome, an advocate of great ability, who urged his plea against Archelaus by stating, "That Archelaus had long since exercised sovereign authority in effect, and that it was now but matter of form to contend about the name. A hearing before Cæsar was nothing to him that has already refused him for a judge. That Herod was no sooner dead, but people were immediately engaged, and suborned, to set the crown upon his head; while he himself did not only sit like a king in royal state, and upon a golden throne, but acted like one too; as in changing the order of the militia, disposing of charges, receiving and granting petitions, exercising the power of life and death in public crimes, setting his father's prisoners at liberty, &c. which are all regal privileges. That this person, that has already engrossed to himself the powers and ensigns of royalty, coming to Cæsar only for the title of it, makes Augustus but a shadow of a prince, and a king in name, not in effect. Farther, (says Antipater,) what avails all the solemnity of his mourning weeds for his dead father? He looks sorrowfully all day, and then sits up feasting and making merry all night. What was it, at last, but the detestation the people had for this hypocrisy, that raised the late sedition? But the main stress of the charge was yet to come, which was a horrible slaughter about the temple. It was a festival day; the people gathered together to worship, and pay their devotions, and they themselves were made the sacrifice. Their throats, in short, were cut; and such heaps of dead bodies piled up in the temple, as, in the most implacable and merciless of foreign wars, was hardly ever heard of. Herod was so well acquainted with the cruelty of this man's nature, that it was almost impossible for him ever to give him the least hope of a crown, so long as he was in his right mind. And that, alas! was the king's case in the latter testament: his mind was more out of order than his body; and he did not know what he did. Beside that, after all this, there was no inability or defect charged upon Antipas, the successor, by the former will; but people gave him the character of a prince very well qualified for the royal function. Or if it should be supposed that Herod was, in truth, found, and in his right senses, Archelaus has as good as abdicated the royal dignity, by acting against the laws of the constitution. What havoc would he make now, if he had Cæsar's authority to cover him in his cruelties, that does all this upon his own account, without any power at all?"

Antipater counsel for the plaintiff.

When Antipater had thus powerfully argued the point, and produced a great number of the kindred of Archelaus to prove the several parts of his accusation, he sat down; and Nicolaus rose in behalf of the defendant, alledging, "That the slaughter committed in the temple was not only of absolute necessity, but the people that were killed were Cæsar's

Nicolaus for the defendant.

“far’s enemies. He shewed likewise, that, for the other pretended crimes, the present opposers of Archelaus were themselves the advisers of them. As to the validity of the second testament, he argued, that it ought to stand, in regard that Herod had, at that time, the consideration and respect to refer the confirmation of it to Cæsar. Now he that had the judgment to know the right lord and master, had certainly sense enough to appoint the right heir.”

Archelaus graciously received by Cæsar.

Nicolaus having thus spoken concisely, but pointedly, in vindication of Archelaus, the latter suddenly cast himself at Cæsar’s feet, who raised him with such singular grace and benignity, as indicated that he thought him worthy of the succession: but no positive resolution was entered into at that time. This being done, Cæsar dismissed the council for that day, and entered into a consultation with his friends respecting the decision of the case; whether it were fitting to constitute any of those named in Herod’s testaments as his successor, or make an equal participation of the principality amongst the whole family, as they were numerous, and would require a great revenue to support them with honour.

C H A P. II.

Death of Malthace, the mother of Archelaus. Great uproar amongst the Jews. Sabinus inflames it. The feast of Pentecost. The Jews draw up in form. Sabinus presses Varus for relief, and takes sanctuary in the Tower of Phasael. A bloody conflict between the Jews and the Romans. The Romans set fire to the galleries of the temple, which makes great slaughter amongst the Jews. The soldiers plunder the sacred treasure. The Jews summon the palace to surrender, and sit down before it. They offer Sabinus conditions, which he refuses. Factions and broils throughout Judæa. Exploits of Judas, a notorious robber. Ambition and courage of Simon. Atbronges and his four brothers enterprising men.

Death of the mother of Archelaus.

BEFORE Cæsar came to any positive determination as to the succession, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, fell into a distemper, and departed this life. Letters also at the same time were received from Varus out of Syria, containing information of a revolt amongst the Jews, and of his going up to Jerusalem upon Archelaus’s journey to Rome, to restrain the incendiaries, and restore peace and good order. When he found advice and remonstrance ineffectual, and that the multitude were still refractory, he quartered one of the legions he brought out of Syria in the city, and so returned to Antioch.

Sabinus raises tumults amongst the Jews.

But when Sabinus came afterwards to Jerusalem, he furnished them with new occasion for tumults: for depending on the reinforcement of the troops of Varus, and a band of his own domestics well armed, and at hand, to subserve the purpose of his avarice and rapine, his design was to get possession of the castles and Herod’s treasures by force, and menace upon the governors and officers who had them in charge. It was now the feast of Pentecost, or fiftieth day, so called from the term of the revolutions, after seven times seven days after the passover; so that the people assembled in great numbers, not from a religious motive, but discontent with the present situation of affairs. They repaired to Jerusalem from Galilee, Idumæa, Jericho, and the country beyond Jordan, with the inhabitants of Judæa, who, for number and courage, surpassed all the rest. They divided themselves into three bodies, and pitched their tents in three quarters; one upon the north side of the temple, another upon the south towards the circus, and the third to the westward of the palace; so that the Romans, by these means, were beset on all sides.

The feast of Pentecost.

The Jews prepare to attack the Romans.

Sabinus, alarmed at the number and resolution of the enemies, pressed Varus, by divers messengers, to

come to his succour immediately, or his legion would be cut to pieces. He reached, however, the highest tower of the fortress, that commands all the rest, and, from the name of Herod’s brother, that was slain by the Parthians, is called Phasaelus, and then gave a signal to the soldiers of that legion to break in upon the enemy; for such was his pusillanimity, that he durst not lead on the very men he was appointed to command.

Sabinus takes refuge in the Tower of Phasael.

The Romans, according to order, made a vigorous attempt upon the temple, and a desperate engagement took place between them and the Jews, in which the latter, while they had no help from above, either with darts or arrows, were worsted; but when once the Jews got possession of the galleries, and galled the Romans from thence, many of them were cut off; and the rest were too far distant to take their revenge; though, if they had been hand to hand, they would have been much too hard for them.

A battle between the Romans and the Jews.

After this the Romans set fire to the galleries, which, for workmanship, proportion, and ornament, were incomparable. Many of the Jews perished in the flames: some were cut off by the enemy upon their fall; others pushed from the battlements: some again, in despair, choosing rather to die by the sword than by fire, laid violent hands on themselves. Those that made an attempt on the Romans on the walls, were destroyed without any difficulty; till, at length, they were either slain or scattered. The soldiers plundered the sacred treasure, carrying off four hundred talents, and leaving to Sabinus the remainder.

The galleries were fired, and many Jews perished in the flames.

The holy treasure plundered.

This loss of men and treasure brought a more powerful reinforcement of the Jews upon the Romans than the other, both for valour and number. They summoned the palace to surrender, and set down before it, with a menace of giving no quarter unless they immediately quitted it, and offering Sabinus liberty if he would depart with his legion. There were many of the king’s party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews. But the most warlike body, amounting to three thousand men of Sebalte, went over to the Romans, under the command of Rufus and Gratus. The Jews still pressed the siege, and attempted the walls of the fortress, calling upon Sabinus to retire, without opposing himself to the resolution they had taken of recovering their liberty. Sabinus was inclined to provide for his safety, but distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected their preferred lenity as a bait laid to ensnare him. This consideration, together with the hope of relief from Varus, induced him to stand the siege.

Rufus and Gratus go over to the Romans.

Judæa was at this time involved in tumults and factions, an opportunity now offering for pretenders to start their claim to government. A band of two thousand veterans in Idumæa, who had served under Herod, had several encounters with the king’s troops, and in particular with Achiab, Herod’s kinsman, who often sallied upon them out of strong holds, but could not cope with them in the open plain.

Several tumults in Judæa.

In Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, one Judas, the son of Hezekias, leader of the band that was taken by Herod, assembled a considerable party, forced the king’s magazines, and arming himself and companions out of those stores, set opposition at defiance, and ravaged the country.

Exploits of Judas the robber.

In Perea also, on the other side of the river, Simon, one of the late king’s domestics, relying on the symmetry, agility, and strength of his person, placed a crown upon his head, and, assisted by a band of robbers he had collected, burnt down the palace at Jericho, laid several stately buildings in ashes round about it, and procured immense booty by rapine. Nay, he would have laid waste the whole country, if Gratus, who commanded the king’s foot, had not brought the Trachonite archers, and a warlike body from Sebalte, to their relief. In fine, they came to action, when the robber was overcome, and great part of his foot cut off. As he himself was upon the flight across a steep bottom, Gratus felled him by an oblique

Ravages of Simon in Perea.

lique stroke on the neck, and thereby put an end to his life and depredations. The royal palaces, about Amathus and the borders of Jordan, were also burnt down by another seditious gang that came out of Perea.

There was also at the same time a certain shepherd, named Athronges, who had the confidence to set up for king. He had strength of body, and resolution of mind, equal to any enterprize; and was aided and abetted by four brothers of the same qualifications, who served him in his incursions both as officers and counsellors. Upon affairs of moment, he ascended a throne, with a crown upon his head, pronounced judgment without appeal, and in every instance assumed regal authority. Under this usurped sanction he continued to over-run the country for some time, destroying whatever he met with, and exercising hostilities towards the Romans, the king's troops, and even the Jews themselves, if there was a probability of gaining any booty. These freebooters once met, near Emmaus, a convoy with corn and arms, which the Romans were carrying to one of their legions, and encountering them, killed Arius, their centurion, with forty of his best men; and would have destroyed the whole, if Gratus, with his troops from Sebaste, had not come speedily to their relief. Having thus plundered both foreigners and their own countrymen for some time, three of the brothers at length were taken; the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by Gratus and Ptolemy, and the fourth surrendered himself to Archelaus upon conditions. Thus ended the enterprizes of these desperadoes, while Judæa might be said to be over-run with depredations and rapine.

C H A P. III.

Varus joins the Romans against the Jews. Sepphoris burnt to the ground. Sappho taken and plundered. Emmaus laid in ashes. Upon the approach of Varus to Jerusalem, the Jews quit the siege in consternation. The citizens disclaim all seditious practices, and welcome Varus into the town. Near 2000 of the ringleaders are punished with crucifixion. Varus discharges the Arabian auxiliaries for their non-conformity to military discipline. His generosity towards the Jews of Idumæa.

VARUS having received intelligence from Sabinus, and the chief officers at Jerusalem, that the Roman legion there was in danger of being cut off, he hastened with all expedition to their relief, and marched with the two other legions he had under his command, and four troops of horse, to Ptolemais, ordering the auxiliaries, that were sent by the kings and governors of cities, to join him there at the rendezvous. The people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, furnished him with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, well armed. Upon his coming to Ptolemais, Aretas, king of Arabia, (a bitter enemy to Herod,) joined him with a considerable body of horse and foot. When he had mustered his forces, he sent a detachment into Galilee, under command of his friend Gallus, who soon after encountered a party, totally routed them, entered the city of Sepphoris, burnt it to the ground, and made all the inhabitants slaves.

Varus himself marched with the main army into Samaria, but spared the city, because he found the inhabitants had not joined in the late commotions. He encamped at Arus, a village belonging to Ptolemy, which the Arabians plundered, merely because he was a friend to Herod. The army advanced next to Sappho, a fortified place, which they took, rifled, and pillaged. The Arabians carried all before them with fire and sword. Emmaus was abandoned by its inhabitants, and then burnt by command of Varus, in revenge for the deaths of Arius and his companions.

Thence he marched to Jerusalem, where the Jews, upon the very tidings of his approach, quitted the

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siege, dispersed, and took shelter in the fields and woods; but the citizens, on the contrary, maintained their ground, and received the conqueror with due honors. They cleared themselves from all suspicion of joining in the late revolt, alledging that they had raised no commotions, but had been forced to admit the multitude on account of its being the day of a grand festival, so that they were rather besieged themselves, together with the Romans, than accessory to the least mutiny or sedition.

Varus had been met on his entrance by Joseph, the nephew of Archelaus, with Rufus and Gratus, the king's generals, at the head of the Roman soldiers and the troops of Sebaste, all in their military habits. Sabinus, from conscious guilt, to avoid the presence of Varus, had stolen away out of the city, and lurked about the sea-side. Varus, in the meantime, dispersed his troops up and down the country, in quest of the ringleaders of this tumult. They apprehended great numbers, of whom those who appeared to have the least concern were put into custody; but such as were most criminal he ordered to be crucified, to the amount of about two thousand.

Varus was informed that there remained in Idumæa ten thousand Jews still in arms. Finding, however, the Arabians did not act like soldiers and men of honour, but gave themselves wholly up to spoil and rapine, laying the country waste wherever they came, in opposition to his will, he dismissed them, and, at the head of his own legion, marched against the revolt: but, before it proceeded to blows, at the instance of Achiab, they surrendered, and laid down their arms. The Roman governor treated the commonalty with lenity, but sent the officers to answer for their conduct to Cæsar. Finding some of Herod's kinsmen in the number of revolters, he proceeded against them as traitors, for taking up arms against their king; and having thus restored tranquillity to Jerusalem, he left the former legion as a guard, and then returned to Antioch.

C H A P. IV.

The Jews accuse Archelaus before Cæsar, and petition for the free exercise of their religion. The emperor calls a council upon the occasion. Hears the allegations of the Jews, by their deputies, on the one hand, and those of Archelaus, and his adherents, on the other. Nicolaus pleads the cause of Archelaus. Cæsar, having duly weighed the whole matter, settles the government, and makes the dispositions according to the will of Herod.

AFTER matters had been thus accommodated in Judæa, the pretensions of Archelaus were delayed by an accusation which the Jews had preferred against him at Rome, by fifty deputies, who had been sent from Jerusalem before the tumults broke forth, and that with the permission of Varus. The purport of their embassy was to address the emperor for the liberty of their country, and the exercise of their religion; and their petition was signed by 8000 Jews, principal inhabitants of Rome.

This being a point of importance, Cæsar called a council of the Roman nobility, and his own particular friends, to meet in the temple of Apollo, upon mount Palatine, a stately and superb structure of his own erecting. The council being assembled, the Jews and their ambassadors were ranged on the one hand, and Archelaus and his adherents on the other. His kindred maintained a neutrality; as, from their envy and hatred, they would not espouse his cause; nor would they be seen to take part with his accusers; so that they acted from a two-fold motive. Amongst others was Philip, the brother of Archelaus, whom Varus sent before for two reasons: the one that he might be enabled to assist his brother upon the occasion; the other, that, in case Augustus Cæsar should think fit to make a distribution of the possessions of Herod amongst his children, he might come in for his share.

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Varus comes to Jerusalem, and punishes the authors of the sedition.

Dismisses the Arabian auxiliaries.

Archelaus is accused by the Jewish deputies.

A council summoned by Cæsar.

The deputies of the Jews being called upon to set forth their complaints, and then prefer their petition, addressed the court to the following effect:

Principal heads of the accusation.

“That Herod never demeaned himself like a king; but, on the contrary, as the most intolerable tyrant upon the face of the earth. That his cruelty did not stop at the profusion of innocent blood, and the violation of justice; but that he made the very living with themselves dead. That he did not only tear the bodies of his subjects to pieces with torments, but stript his towns and cities of all that was choice and precious, and gave it away in ostentation to foreigners; sacrificing the very lives also of the Jews to strangers. Instead of the blessings of their ancient laws and liberties, he left his people nothing but beggary and iniquity in exchange; inasmuch that they suffered more plagues since his coming to the crown, than their forefathers ever felt since their deliverance from Xerxes out of the captivity of Babylon.

“The Jews (they said) had been now so used to slavery, that they were grown modest and patient under the yoke, even to the degree of entailing a voluntary servitude upon their posterity in the person of Archelaus, the son of the late tyrant, whom they saluted as king immediately upon the death of his father. They mourned for Herod together, and offered up their joint vows for the long and prosperous reign of his successor; and then, to put it out of doubt that he was the true son of this inhuman father, he made his auspicious entrance upon the government with the slaughter of three thousand citizens: and, the better to entitle himself to the succession, this massacre was his oblation to God of three thousand victims: and all this upon an holy day, and the carcases piled up in the holy temple.

“What wonder is it for men that have outlived so many miseries, and escaped so dangerous a rock, to own their aversion to this man, and to fall (if perish they must) like men of honour with their faces to the enemy? All the Jews desire at the hands of the Romans, is only that Cæsar will judge the wretched remainder of them so far worthy of pity, as not to expose them to the rigour of their merciless oppressors; but rather to annex Judæa to Syria, and range them under the laws and rules of the Roman government. It will then be seen whether the Jews are, in truth, so turbulent and seditious a sort of people as they are given out to be; when they fall once into the hands of humane and temperate governors.” With this petition the deputies closed their charge.

Nicolaus pleads for Archelaus.

Nicolaus rose in behalf of Archelaus, and, in his reply, cleared both him and Herod from the accusations brought against them, and then proceeded, in very pointed language, to characterize the nation of the Jews, as averse to any government, and more particularly to that of monarchy; concluding his speech with some sarcastic remarks upon the relations of Archelaus, who had deserted his cause, and joined his accusers.

Cæsar distributes the possessions of Herod, and executes his will.

When the emperor had heard the arguments on both sides, he dismissed the court, and, after some few days deliberation, bestowed upon Archelaus one half of Herod's kingdom, under the title of ethnarch, with a promise of making him king, if he should appear worthy of that dignity. The other half he divided into two tetrarchies, which he gave to two other sons of Herod; one to Philip, the other to Antipas, who had contested the sovereignty with Archelaus. There fell to his lot the country beyond the river, and Galilee, producing a revenue of two hundred talents. But Batanæa, Trachon, Auranites, and some part of the land of Zenon, about Jamnia, were assigned to Philip, and yielded a revenue of an hundred talents. In Archelaus's ethnarchy were comprized Idumæa, all Judæa, and Samaria; which last was remitted a fourth part of its tribute, as a reward for not joining in the rebellion with their neighbours. Straton's Tower, Se-

baste, Joppa, and Jerusalem, were all cast into the share of Archelaus; but Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon, Grecian cities, were detached from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. The revenue of Archelaus amounted, upon the whole, to four hundred talents.

Cæsar bestowed upon Salome, besides what was bequeathed by will of Herod, Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis. He gave her also a palace at Ascalon, which was valued at sixty talents, but was subjected to the jurisdiction of the ethnarchy. When Cæsar had thus discharged all Herod's bequests, he granted to his two virgin daughters 500,000 drachmæ, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. But after this family distribution, he made a liberal division of a thousand talents more, which were bequeathed to himself, reserving only some particular presents in memory of the deceased.

His liberality to Salome.

C H A P. V.

Exploits of a spurious Alexander. His impostures are detected, and he is sent to the galleys. The first projector put to death.

AT this time there was a man, by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with the freeman of a Roman citizen, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, to be that very Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome to practise his imposture; and had with him, for countenance and counsel, another Jew, who was perfectly acquainted with the attendants and intrigues of the court of Herod. His companion instructed him to give out, that the people who were employed by his father to put him and Aristobulus to death, had so great a compassion for them, that they substituted other bodies in their places, and conveyed the brothers out of the way. This passed current with many Jews in Crete, who furnished the pretender with plentiful supplies for travelling in splendour. From thence he proceeded to Melos, where he experienced more respect and bounty: nay, he so far imposed upon the public credulity, that he took several of his friends along with him to Rome. Upon his arrival at Puteoli, the Jews of that place made him sumptuous presents; and the friends of his father treated him as a sovereign prince. The striking resemblance, in fine, procured him such credit, that as many as had seen Alexander would not hesitate to swear this was the man. The report was so prevalent, that the whole body of the Jews, who were at Rome, came in crowds to see him; and innumerable multitudes stood in the avenues, through which he was carried in a sedan by the inhabitants of Melos, who kept him a negroe train at their own proper charges.

The resemblance of the countenance to Alexander.

He passed on the Jews.

But Cæsar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, suspecting the fraud, sent for one Celadus, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. When Cæsar saw him, he immediately discerned the fallacy in his countenance; and when he discovered that his whole body was of a coarser texture, and more robust form, like that of a slave, he was convinced that the whole was an imposture. But he was most astonished at the effrontery of his reply, on being asked concerning Aristobulus, which was, “That he was living, but left on purpose at Cyprus, for fear of treachery, as it would be more difficult for plotters to get them into their power while they were separate.”

Cæsar suspected the fraud, and sent for him.

Cæsar then took him by himself privately, assured him he had discovered the fallacy, and that he would spare his life, if he would own to him who had persuaded him to adopt that mode of imposture. Having promised compliance, he went with Cæsar, and pointed to the Jew that had advised him to it in order to get money: for, in fact, the sum he raised upon this piece of chicanery, was more than Alexander himself could have procured had he

The impostor condemned to the galleys; the projector to death.

he been alive. Cæsar smiled at the contrivance; and condemned the spurious Alexander to the galleys on account of his strength, and the projector of the imposture to death: but the people of Melos had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expences they had been at on his account.

CHAPTER VI.

Archelaus is accused of oppression to Cæsar, and banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul. A foreboding dream. The exposition. Another very extraordinary dream of the princess Glaphyra, who has a vision of her first husband. Her death.

WHEN Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, he treated not only the Jews but the Samaritans with great rigour, from a resentment of former disputes betwixt them. In consequence of this they sent embassies to complain to Cæsar, who, in the ninth year of his government, banished him to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and sequestered his effects.

Archelaus banished by Cæsar.

His dream.

The interpretation.

A report prevailed that Archelaus, before his summons to attend the emperor, dreamt he saw nine ears of corn, large and full, devoured by oxen; and that when he sent for several who were supposed to be skilled in divination, some said one thing, and some another; till at length Simon, one of the sect of Essenes, gave it this interpretation: "That the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen the vicissitude of things, as the earth is overturned by the plough; that therefore he should reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and, after many revolutions, depart this life." It so fell out that, five days after this interpretation, Archelaus was called upon his trial.

There was another memorable dream of the princess Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and wife of Archelaus, the present subject of our history. Her first husband was Alexander, the son of Herod, by whom he was put to death. This princess, after his death, married Juba, king of Lybia, and, upon his decease, returned home, and lived with her father in a state of widowhood. Archelaus, the ethnarch, became so enamoured of her at first sight, that he put away Mariamne, and married her. Soon after this she came back into Judæa, and had there a vision of her first husband Alexander, who thus seemed to reproach her: "Could not your marriage with one husband after me suffice, but you must take a third, and this under my own roof? and, to add to thy criminality, my own brother? These are injuries not to be borne. But you shall soon return to me again." Glaphyra survived this dream but two days.

Glaphyra's dream.

Her death.

CHAPTER VII.

The ethnarchy of Archelaus is reduced into a Roman province. The sedition of Judas, of Galilee. Three sorts of Jews, Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Of the Essenes. Their temperance and opinion of marriage; their effects in common; their apparel, charity, and mode of living; their scruples of conscience, peaceable disposition, and fidelity. The method of introduction into the society, and of punishing offenders. Their piety, virtue, and contempt of death. Their opinion of the soul. Veneration for the ancients. A different sort of Essenes. Brief description of the sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

Coponius, a man of equestrian rank, was vested by Cæsar with full commission to govern it. Under his administration a certain Galilean, named Judas, stirred up the people to revolt, on a suggestion that, in submitting to the Romans, and paying them tribute, they acknowledged a supremacy due to God alone.

This Judas was leader of a peculiar sect, and entertained tenets peculiar to himself.

There are among the Jews three philosophical sects, distinguished by the different denominations of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, which last maintain a more rigid discipline than the rest.

Three sects of Jews.

The Essenes are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the rest of the sects. They reject pleasure as an evil; but esteem continence, and a conquest over the passions, as a cardinal virtue. They neglect wedlock; but select the children of others, while they are young and docile, and adopt and train them up as their own. They do not absolutely deny the moral fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind continued thereby, but guard against the frailty of women, and can hardly admit an inviolable attachment to one man.

Peculiar tenets, forms, and manners, of the Essenes.

Their opinion of marriage.

They hold wealth, and what are called the good things of this world, in contempt; so that they are equally strangers to riches and poverty, as they have all things in common; or, in other words, the whole society live like brethren, being all equal sharers in one common patrimony: upon such a principle no man can be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich.

They share equally in the goods of this world.

They think oil a defilement, and value themselves upon the simplicity of their appearance, provided their garments are white and clean.

Their apparel plain and clean.

They appoint stewards for the management of their common stock, and leave it to their discretion to make distribution out of it to every man in proportion according to his need.

Their philanthropy.

They have no certain place of abode, but disperse themselves through different cities, towns, and villages, where they are ever ready and open to receive and entertain any of their own sect, and treat them, though strangers, with the same familiarity as if intimately acquainted.

Manner of living.

They carry nothing with them, when they travel, but arms for the security of their persons. They appoint, in every place, some one to take care of their strange brethren, and provide them with lodging, food, apparel, and necessaries in general. The dress they wear resembles that of children when they are under the charge of masters and governors. Nor do they change their garments or shoes, but when one is torn, and the other worn out.

Of travelling.

They neither buy or sell among themselves, but supply each other's wants; not by way of exchange, but an obligation on the one party to give, and the other to receive.

They neither buy or sell with one another.

Their piety towards God is extraordinary; as they never speak a word of the common affairs of life before sun-rise, but upon certain traditional forms of prayer, imploring the Divine protection for the day. After this act of devotion, they betake themselves to their several occupations and employments, in which they labour with great diligence till an hour before noon, when they assemble in white veils, and bathe in cold water. Upon this purification they retire to their apartments, into which it is not permitted to any one of another sect to enter. From thence they enter into a refectory, or dining-hall, as into an holy temple, and sit down without uttering a word. The attendants place their loaves in order, and bring each one a single plate of one kind of food, which is not touched before the priest pronounces a blessing; as in like manner he returns thanks to the divine donor after meat. This duty performed, they lay aside their white garments, as in some degree sacred, and resume their ordinary avocations till evening, when they return to supper in the same manner; and if there be any strangers they sit down with them. Their houses are free from clamour or disturbance. They speak by turns, and observe a gravity and silence which excite the veneration of strangers, and arise from a constant course of moderation and sobriety.

Their piety and scruples in matters of conscience.

They

Their reverence for superiors.

They are not allowed to do any thing without the advice of their superiors, except in offices of compassion and assistance, in which they are left at liberty; for every man is free to help the virtuous; though they are restrained from relieving their kindred without permission from their superiors. They curb their passions, and are eminent for their fidelity, and preserving peace and good order. Their word is as sacred as an oath, which they avoid as worse than perjury, accounting a man, who cannot be believed without bringing God for a witness, as a liar, and unworthy of confidence.

Their fidelity.

Their reverence for antiquity.

They hold the works and writings of the ancients in great veneration, and select from them what is conducive to the benefit of their minds and bodies, as in the cases of ethics, or morals, or remedies for diseases, the virtues of plants, metals, minerals, and the like.

Form and method of entering into the society.

When any person is disposed to become a member of the society, he is not immediately admitted, but prescribed the mode of living for one whole year, and presented with an axe, a girdle, and a white garment. If, in that course of time, he has given evidence of his continence, they, in some respect, change his diet, and allow him the benefit of the water of purification. But he is not permitted to enter the refectory till he has passed a two years probation of his integrity; upon which trial he is taken into the society upon the following conditions:

Conditions specified.

He is first to bind himself, by solemn oaths, to love and worship God, and observe justice towards man; to injure no one of his own accord, nor at the command or persuasion of others; to declare himself an enemy to the wicked, and a friend to the righteous; to shew fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, as they are the ministers of God by his own appointment. He is likewise to declare, that if ever he should attain to an elevated station, he will never abuse that power to the injury of those who are subordinate to him, nor distinguish himself by any peculiar ornament of dress; that he will love and embrace the truth, and reprove those who speak falsehood. He binds himself also to keep his hands clear from theft and fraudulent dealing, and his mind from the desire of unlawful gains. He swears that he will not conceal from those of his own sect any of the mysteries of his religion, nor communicate any of their doctrines to others, though it should be to save his life: and finally, that he will communicate their doctrines in no other manner than as he received them himself; and will preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of those by whom they are written.

Those who are detected in heinous offences are excluded the society, and generally come to a miserable end, as they are bound by oath not to receive even a morsel of bread from the hand of a stranger, and thus compelled to graze like beasts till they perish. In this distress the society sometimes compassionates a case, and receives the delinquent again, deeming the punishment, in some degree, an atonement for the offence.

Their strict justice.

In the administration of justice they are singularly strict; determining nothing without the concurrence of at least an hundred voices; and from their sentence once passed there is no appeal.

Their reverence for their legislator.

Next to the supreme authority of God himself they hold in reverence that of their legislator, (Moses,) whom if any one blasphemes, he is punished with death. They ascribe great honour to their elders, and to the majority of the people; deeming it highly reasonable to obey the one, and hearken to the other. When there are ten members in council, no particular one is to speak if the other nine are against it. They hold it indecent, and even immoral, to spit towards the middle of the assembly, or upon the right hand of it.

Peculiar strictness in the observance of the sabbath.

They observe the sabbath with greater strictness than any other sect of the Jews; as they not only prepare their food the preceding day, to avoid kindling a fire upon that day, but will not move an utensil from one place to another.

Those who profess these tenets and practices, are divided into four sorts, according to their respective obligations. The younger are reputed so much inferior to their elders, that if the senior is touched by the junior, he must purify as it were upon the contact of a stranger.

Precedence to seniority.

They live to a great age, many of them an hundred years and upwards, which must be ascribed to the simplicity of their diet, and their temperance in general. They are also firm and hardy, contemning the miseries of life, and accounting an honourable death more desirable than an inglorious existence. Indeed our war with the Romans abundantly proves this part of their character; as, upon divers occasions, neither burning, or the most exquisite torture, could force from them an irreverent word of their legislator, or the breach of one of their rites or ceremonies. Tortures they also endured not only without supplication and tears, but with cheerfulness of countenance, defying the tormentors, and yielding up their breath with serenity and composure, in the assurance of exchanging the present life for a better in future.

Their longevity owing to temperance.

Their firmness and resolution.

They firmly believe the mortality of the body; and that the soul, being of the same nature with the subtlest air, is incorruptible and immortal, and by a kind of attraction enclosed in the body as in a prison; but that when it shall be freed from these corporeal bonds, or from a long slavery, it shall ascend to the region of bliss. This tenet seems to correspond with a certain opinion of the Greeks, who conceit that there is a region beyond the ocean, where there are neither rain, sun, or raging heats, but only gentle refreshing breezes: this they make the residence of the blest in a future state. As for the wicked, on the other hand, they stand, in their opinion, condemned to impetuous tempests, destroying frosts, and everlasting agonies and groans.

Their notion of the soul.

This is analogous to what Grecian fabulists relate of the fortunate islands, describing them as places set apart for the beatific enjoyment of those glorious spirits they call heroes and demi-gods. They have also their hades, or hell, which their fabulists inform us is an infernal pit, where Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, Tityus, and the like, are consigned to different, but eternal, plagues and torments. This is built on the first supposition that souls are immortal, and from thence are derived exhortations to virtue, and dissuaves from vice; for good men are rendered better, even in this world, by the hopes of reward in another; and the vehement inclinations of bad men are restrained by the fear and expectation they are in, although their wickedness may be, in some measure, concealed in this life, of suffering eternal punishment after death. These are the doctrines of the Essenes concerning the subject of the soul; and we find very few, when once they have imbibed the same, that ever depart from it.

There are amongst the Essenes those who pretend to the spirit of prophecy, founding their pretences upon holy writ, and using preparatory purifications to fit them for the work; and it is observable that they seldom fail in their predictions.

Their claim to the spirit of prophecy.

There is another order of Essenes, agreeing with the former as to meats, manners, and laws, but differing from it in the point of marriage, as thinking that, by not marrying, they cut off succession, and thereby tend to extinguish the human race. The woman, however, must be subject to a three years probation; and if she should be found in a condition for child bearing, she is to be reputed, after that trial, qualified for wedlock. Thus much for the Essenes.

Another order of Essenes.

The Pharisees are professors of the law, and learned in the Jewish rites and ceremonies. The first article of their creed is, in effect, that fate and Providence do all; and yet that, whether we do well or ill, it is much in our own power, only that destiny interposes sometimes in this or that particular. They believe the soul to be immortal. They likewise believe a transmigration of the souls of good men into other bodies; but, at the same time, that the souls

Their doctrine of fate, or the interposition of destiny.

souls of the wicked are transmitted to a state of everlasting woe.

The Sadducees, on the other hand, absolutely deny fate, affirming that God can do no ill, and that he leaves men at liberty to do what they list. They have good and evil before them, and they take their choice. The former sect are sociable, and live upon good terms with one another; while the latter are harsh and ill-natured among themselves, and absolutely inhuman and intolerable to strangers. But to return to the main subject.

C H A P. VIII.

Death of Augustus Cæsar. Succession of Tiberius. Pilate made governor of Judæa. A tumult upon conveying Cæsar's ensigns into Jerusalem. Pilate summons the Jews under a colour of hearing. Is induced, by the generous behaviour of the Jews, to remove the ensigns. Another tumult occasioned by a tax upon the holy treasure. Agrippa complains of Herod to Tiberius, and, in consequence of an expression to Caius, is kept prisoner till the death of that emperor. Caius Cæsar succeeds Tiberius, and advances Agrippa. Herod, at the instance of Herodias, seeks the favour of Caius. Deaths of Herod and Herodias in exile in Spain.

THE ethnarchy of Archelaus being now reduced into a province, the two brethren, Herod and Philip, (called Antipas,) continued in the administration of their tetrarchies. Salome, upon her demise, bequeathed her toparchy to Livia, the wife of Augustus, together with Jamnia, and a plantation of palm-trees at Phasaelis.

Augustus dying after a reign of fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, Tiberius, the son of Livia, succeeded to the Roman empire. Philip, the tetrarch, built a city in Paneas, which he called Cæsarea, and another in Gaulanitis, which he called Julius. Tiberias in Galilee was built by Herod, as was Julius in Perea.

Pilate being appointed governor of Judæa by Tiberius, secretly conveyed, by night, into the city, certain ensigns, with the image of Cæsar inscribed upon them. This excited a tumult amongst the Jews, who were alarmed at so flagrant a profanation of their religion, and violation of their liberties, as the introduction of images to the city was a thing totally forbidden. This tumult in town was speedily inflamed by a vast concourse of people from all parts of the province; in consequence of which the Jews went in a great body to Cæsarea, to move Pilate for relief, and there earnestly besought him to be tender of their laws, and order the removal of the images out of the city. Upon Pilate's inattention to their request, they fell prostrate, and in that posture continued immoveable five days and as many nights.

On the sixth day Pilate mounted the tribunal, which was in the great court, and called to him the multitude, as if desirous of giving them an answer; when suddenly, upon a signal given, the Jews were surrounded with armed troops; and Pilate, in the instant of their consternation, declared that every man should die, unless they admitted the images into the city, and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their swords. The Jews, in this state of terror, cast themselves prostrate one and all before him, stretched out their necks, and offered themselves to the execution, crying out with one voice, that they would rather die than see the profanation of their laws. Pilate was so astonished at the daring zeal of these people in defence of their religion, that he gave immediate orders to have the statues removed.

This tumult was followed by another. The Jews have a sacred treasure, which they call corban, and Pilate laid a tax upon it towards the charge of aqueducts for the bringing in of water at the distance of three hundred furlongs. The common people were

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so irritated at this imposition, that they came with complaints to Pilate about it as he sat upon the tribunal. But he had caution to provide against a tumult, by intermixing soldiers in disguise with the multitude, to be in readiness to fall on whenever a signal should be given; but, in case of riot, to use staves only, and not their swords. The people growing clamorous, Pilate gave the soldiers the signal, who did execution according to their orders. Many of the Jews were destroyed, some dying by blows, some crowded and trampled to death, and others perishing in the pursuit. The multitude, alarmed at this chastisement, ceased from murmuring; so that this severity put an end to the tumult.

In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was put to death by his father Herod, went to Tiberius with a complaint against Herod the tetrarch. Tiberius did not attend to the accusation; so that Agrippa continued at Rome in the condition of a private man, and made his court to persons of the first quality, and in particular to Caius, the son of Germanicus. Regaling him upon a certain occasion with a collation, Agrippa took an opportunity, in the hour of conviviality, of exclaiming, "how joyful he should be in seeing Caius emperor of the world instead of Tiberius." This being told to the latter by one of the company, he ordered him to be put in chains, and hardly treated in prison for the course of six months; at the expiration of which he departed this life himself, after a reign of twenty-two years, six months, and three days.

Caius Cæsar, upon his succeeding to the empire, discharged Agrippa, and gave him the tetrarchy of Philip, who was now dead, with the title of king annexed. The advancement of Agrippa excited the envy and ambition of Herod the tetrarch, which were not a little inflamed by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him it was only because he would not attend Cæsar, that he was deprived of greater dignity; for since the emperor had made Agrippa king from a private person, it was much more probable that he would promote him from a tetrarch to that rank. These arguments so far prevailed with Herod, that he repaired to Caius; but was followed by Agrippa, in order to prefer accusations against him. The emperor was so far from gratifying his ambition, that he reproved him severely, and gave his tetrarchy to Agrippa, in consequence of which he retired to Spain with his wife, and there died in exile.

C H A P. IX.

Caius Cæsar arrogates divine honours. His horrid cruelties. He orders Petronius, one of his generals, to set up his statue in the temple, and put all malecontents to the sword. Petronius advances with an army from Antioch towards Judæa. Description of Ptolemæus. The Jews repair thither, and petition Petronius, who summons them to Tiberias, and there reasons the case with them. He relents, and dismisses the court without coming to any resolution. Promises his mediation with Cæsar. Writes to the emperor to that purport. He orders him to be put to death, but his own premature fate prevents the execution.

SO elated was Caius Cæsar with his fortune, that he had the vanity to assume the name of a god, and aspire to divine honours. His cruelty also kept pace with his blasphemy, for he cut off great numbers of the Roman nobility, and extended his barbarity to Judæa, whither he sent his general Petronius, charged with a commission to set up his statue in the temple, and put every individual to the sword who should dare to make the least opposition, and make slaves of all the rest of the Jews. But the Divine Providence interposed and defeated his designs.

Petronius marched with all expedition from Antioch towards Judæa with three legions, and a considerable number of auxiliaries out of Syria. The report

Another tumult excited by raising a tax on the sacred treasure.

Death of Tiberius.

He is succeeded by Caius, who liberates and advances Agrippa.

Herod and his wife die in exile in Spain.

The blasphemy and cruelty of Caius Cæsar.

He sends Petronius to Jerusalem to set up his statue.

report of this expedition gained no credit with the greater part of the Jews, nor were those who believed it in a condition to put themselves in a posture of defence: but when the army advanced as far as Ptolemais, they were struck with an universal consternation.

Description of Ptolemais

Ptolemais is a city upon the coast of Galilee, situated on an extensive plain, and encompassed with mountains. That on the east side, at the distance of sixty furlongs, belongs to Galilee: that on the south to Carmel, which is distant an hundred and twenty furlongs: that on the north is the highest of them all, called, by the people of the country, "The ladder of the Tyrians," and distant also an hundred and twenty furlongs. The small river Belus runs by it at the distance of two furlongs. Not far from it stands Memnon's sepulchre, bordering upon a prospect of near an hundred cubits over, which has something in it well worthy of observation. There is the appearance of a round valley, that yields a kind of glassy sand. It is carried off by shipping; and as fast as they fetch it away, the winds from the summit of the mountains fill the place again. It is the nature of the soil to turn every thing to glass that comes into it; and, what is more extraordinary, that glassy sand, which is superfluous, once removed out of the place, becomes common sand again.

Memnon's tomb

The Jews apply to Petronius, at Ptolemais, for relief.

In this state of consternation the Jews, with their wives and children, went to Petronius at Ptolemais, and there besought him for their country's sake, and their own, not to enforce the violation of their laws, to the utter destruction of so many wretched people. Petronius was prevailed upon by the number of the supplicants, and their deplorable condition, to leave his army, and the statues of Cæsar, at Ptolemais, advance towards Galilee, and summon the Jews, of all ranks and degrees, to attend him at Tiberias. Being there assembled, he entered upon a detail of the strength and power of the empire, and the menaces of Cæsar, adding, that this request was a tacit affront, as they could claim no right to dispute these orders, to which all the subjects of the Roman empire, besides themselves, had submitted; which was the placing of the emperor's statues in the temples amongst those of their other gods. He added, that their opposition was little short of a revolt, and would be considered by Cæsar as the most palpable indignity.

He expostulates with them.

Allegation of the Jews.

They had only to alledge, that the laws and customs of their country would not allow them to set up any images whatever, either of God or man, or in any place whatsoever, either sacred or profane. Petronius replied, that he was under as indispensable a necessity of obeying the injunctions of the emperor his master, as they were of those of their legislator; so that, in consequence of transgressing in their favour, he must be liable to punishment, being as much under command as they were. Hereupon the whole multitude exclaimed, that they were ready to lay down their lives in vindication of their laws.

Answer of Petronius.

When the outcry subsided, Petronius demanded if they were resolved to take up arms against Cæsar? They not only replied in the negative, but declared that not a day passed but they offered up sacrifices for the prosperity of Cæsar, and the whole Roman people; but that, if he was determined to place images in the temple, he would make the nation of the Jews one common sacrifice, as they were ready to expose themselves, with their wives and children, to the severest torments. Petronius was so affected by this demonstration of invincible ardour, for the preservation of their religion, in the unanimous resolution of so vast a multitude, that he dismissed them without coming to a final decision.

Petronius then assembled the higher class in private, and the multitude in public, and sometimes had recourse to persuasion and advice, but chiefly to threatenings, insisting upon the power of the Romans, the high displeasure of Cæsar, and the necessity he was under of obeying his injunctions. But when he found that no consideration would prevail with them, and that the seed time was almost

elapsed, having employed fifteen days in urging their suit, he told them that, for their sakes, he was determined to expose himself to a desperate hazard, in attempting to satisfy Cæsar, in failure of which his life would be at stake. He then dismissed the multitude, who offered up a thousand prayers for his prosperity, and drew off his army from Ptolemais to Antioch. From thence he immediately transmitted to Cæsar an account of the manner in which he entered Judæa, of the petition in which the whole nation joined, and the danger to which the whole province would be exposed in case of denial. They desired nothing more, he observed, than the maintenance of their laws against all innovations.

He relates the danger of the Jews.

Written by Cæsar at Rome.

He orders Petronius to be executed for not executing his command; but it so fell out that the bearers of this order were detained three months by contrary winds; and, in the mean time, Petronius received intelligence of the death of the emperor by a quicker passage, twenty-seven days before the arrival of the other.

CHAPTER X.

Claudius declared emperor by the army. He is opposed by the senate. Agrippa courted both by Claudius and the senate. Espouses the interest of Claudius. Harangues in justification of Claudius and the army. Answer of the senate to Agrippa. Of Claudius to the senate. A soldier stands up for the honour of Claudius. Desertion of the soldiers followed by that of the senate. Agrippa prevents the destruction of the partisans of Claudius. Claudius acquires popularity. Sacrifices in form. Bountifully rewards Agrippa and Herod. The immense wealth and power of the former. Jerusalem is walled in. Death of Agrippa at Cesarea. Descendants of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CAIUS Cæsar being taken off by treachery, after he had maintained the imperial sway three years and six months, Claudius was advanced to the government by the army, which was then at Rome. The consuls Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus appointed, according to the resolution of the senate, three regiments of soldiers for the guard of the city, whilst they met in the capitol, determined to oppose the elevation of Claudius, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius, as well as from a design of restoring the aristocratical form of government, when men of rank and integrity were taken into administration. At this time Agrippa happening to be at Rome, he was invited into the council by the senate, and into the camp by Claudius, as a considerable addition to what party soever he espoused. Agrippa finding Claudius emperor in effect, espoused his interest, and was immediately employed upon an embassy to the senate. He represented to them, upon the occasion, "That the army's setting him up as emperor was an act of absolute force, in which his will was totally unconcerned; that it being passed, he could not recede with honour or safety, as it would provoke them to revenge if he should seem insensible of the obligation; insisting, again and again, on the danger he must inevitably incur by a pusillanimous resignation of the power vested in him by the grand bulwark of the empire. He added, that since the main point was gained, and he was in possession of the government, Claudius had determined with himself to attend and execute the office, not as a tyrant to domineer at will and pleasure, but as a prince to express the tenderest regard for the welfare and prosperity of his people. That he should content himself with the honour of the name of emperor, and, in cases of importance, be ever ready to hearken to the advice of the senate, as the exemplary fate of Caius was a warning to him to exercise moderation."

The first description of Claudius.

He is appointed by the senate.

Especially by Agrippa, who is declared the friend of the senate.

When Agrippa had proceeded thus far in his address, the senate, relying upon their credit with the army, and the prudence of their own councils, gave him

The senate gave him

Reply of
Claudius by
Agrippa.

him this concise reply, "That they were not a body to be made voluntary slaves." Agrippa reported the answer to Claudius, who sent him back to assure them, "That Claudius was not a man to betray his friends that raised him to the empire: that he was much concerned at the thought of entering into a dispute with the senate; but if it must come to a decision by dint of arms, he desired they would appoint some spot of ground without the city for the place of action, as it would be dreadful, beyond conception, to have Rome laid in blood and ashes to gratify the humour of a few rash and turbulent people." With this message Agrippa was charged by Claudius to the senate, and he accordingly delivered it.

A soldier
stands up
for the ho-
nour of
Claudius.

At this very critical juncture of affairs, one of the soldiers then present, belonging to the senate, stood forth, and drawing his sword, thus exclaimed: "My brave companions, why are we thus at daggers with our best friends, and upon the brink of a civil war only for adhering to Claudius, an emperor of spotless character, and a prince whom we should rather treat with duty and respect as our protector, than threaten with arms as an enemy?" Having thus spoken, he marched through the whole senate, followed by the rest of the soldiers. This desertion so alarmed the nobility, that, to avoid more serious consequences, they gave over opposition, and following the example of the soldiery, went their way, and declared for Claudius. In the mean time divers of the male-content party lay upon the watch, with their swords drawn, under the walls, to dispatch them at their coming out; and they would have been all cut off, before Cæsar could have had any knowledge of the matter, had not Agrippa given timely notice to prevent it; telling Cæsar plainly, that if he did not restrain the licence of the army, especially toward the nobility, an universal massacre would shortly ensue, and, instead of being master of a glorious empire, it would leave him only prince of a depopulated nation. Claudius, prevailed on by the advice of Agrippa, restrained the violence of the soldiery, received the senate into the camp with due honours, and then went out with them, according to custom, to offer vows and sacrifices for the prosperity of the empire. He bestowed upon Agrippa not only his father's kingdom entire, but, over and above, those places that Augustus had conferred upon Herod, as Trachon and Auranitis, with what was called the kingdom of Lyfania, appointing the particulars of this grant to be notified by proclamation to the people; and giving it likewise in charge to the senate, to have it cut in brass, and set up in the capitol. He gave the kingdom of Chalcis to Herod, the brother of Agrippa, who was become his son-in-law, by his marriage with Berenice, his daughter.

Agrippa
receives
his kingdom.

The wealth and power of Agrippa now exceeded the bounds of imagination; nor did he squander what he had acquired in vain and trifling objects. His first undertaking was the walling in of Jerusalem, which, had it been brought to perfection, would have rendered it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege. But, after three years reign as king, he died at Cesarea, and left the work unfinished, having governed three years before in quality of tetrarch. He left three daughters by Cypris, Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and one son, whose name was Agrippa. Being very young when his father died, Claudius reduced the kingdom into a province, and made Cuspius Fadus governor; and after him Tiberius Alexander, who making no innovations in the laws and customs of the country, preserved the public peace. A little after this died Herod, governor of Chalcis, and left, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus; and by Mariamne, his former wife, Aristobulus. There was another brother named Aristobulus, who died in a private station, and left a daughter, whose name was Jotapa. These, as before observed, were the children of Aristobulus, the son of Herod; but Alexander and Aristobulus were the sons of Herod by Mariamne, who were slain at the instance of their father. The posterity of Alexander ruled afterwards in the Greater Armenia.

CHAP. XI.

Herod of Chalcis dying, is succeeded by Agrippa; as is Tiberius Alexander by Cumanus. An insult offered by a Roman soldier to the Jews occasions a tumult. Ten thousand Jews are taken off. A Roman soldier tears the books of the law. The offender put to death by order of Cumanus. A dispute betwixt the Jews of Galilee and those of Samaria. An universal tumult in Jerusalem. Eleazar and Alexander ravage and murder in the villages. Judæa infested with robbers. Complaint made to Quadratus, who goes to Jerusalem to be further informed. Cæsar gives Cumanus and the Samaritans an hearing at Rome. He passes judgment against the Samaritans, and orders the execution of it. Death of Claudius, and succession of Nero, a most flagitious and abandoned prince.

ON the death of Herod, who reigned in Chalcis, Claudius introduced Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, into the kingdom of his uncle; and Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander in the government of Judæa. During the time of his administration the Jews fell into new grievances and disturbances. The people being assembled together in vast numbers at Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, and a band of soldiers being stationed at the gate of the temple, as was customary upon those occasions, to prevent tumults, one of the soldiers turned his back, and stood in an indecent posture towards the Jews. This put the whole multitude in such a rage, that they pressed in throngs to Cumanus for justice upon the soldier for that affront; and those who were most tumultuous amongst them began to stone the soldiers. Cumanus, apprehending further mischief from a popular outrage, sent a reinforcement of men to support the former band. This so alarmed the Jews, that they pressed to get out of the temple with all haste, inasmuch that the passages were so crowded, that ten thousand of them were trodden and squeezed to death. This accident rendered it a melancholy solemnity to the whole nation. Tears and wringing of hands were seen in every house; nor was there a family but had a share in the mourning.

Agrippa the
son succeeds
to the king-
dom of his
uncle.

A soldier
occasions a
tumult at
Jerusalem.

Many of
the Jews
slain.

There soon followed another calamity, which arose from a tumult occasioned by robbers. One Stephen, a domestic of Cæsar's, carrying some furniture from Bethoron, was set upon and robbed by a band of thieves. Upon this Cumanus sent a party to apprehend the people in the neighbouring villages, and bring them bound to him, making them responsible for not pursuing and taking the robbers. While they were upon this enquiry, a soldier happening in the search, to lay his hands upon the books of Moses, rent them in pieces, and threw them into the fire. The Jews assembled in an instant as if the whole country had been in a flame, and, actuated by the most fiery zeal for their religion, hastened to Cumanus at Cesarea, and there pressed him most importunately not to suffer the wretch to escape unpunished, who had offered so daring an insult to God and his sacred laws. Cumanus, finding there was no appeasing the enraged multitude without some sort of satisfaction, commanded the soldier to be brought out, and put to death in the sight of the whole field, which putting an end to the tumult, the Jews departed.

Another tu-
mult.

The books
of the law
torn by a
soldier.

There happened, at the same time, an unfortunate difference between the Jews of Galilee and those at Samaria. There was a certain Jew of Galilee passing through a village called Geman, in the great plain of Samaria, that was there killed as he was going up to Jerusalem to worship at a solemn festival. The people of Galilee, upon this, drew out a body to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans by arms: but the better sort applied to Cumanus, and advised him by all means, before the dispute went too far, to go over to Galilee, and, upon strict enquiry into the matter, see justice done on the murderers.

A quarrel
between the
Jews of Sa-
maria and
Galilee.

derers. Cumanus having other concerns in hand, dismissed the petitioners without entering into the cause. The report of this outrage afterwards reaching Jerusalem, so enraged the whole multitude, that, leaving the business of the day, they determined, without either officer or order, to fall upon Samaria, in spite of the efforts of superiors to restrain them. The ringleaders of this robbery and murder were Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, and Alexander, who breaking into the borders of Acrabatena, laid waste all before them, and put men, women, and children to the sword.

Tumult in Jerusalem.

Cumanus puts Eleazar to the rout.

Cumanus, upon receiving intelligence of this ravage, came with a party of horse to the relief of the country, took many of Eleazar's band, and cut off many more. The remainder of this rabble committed such depredations in Samaria, that the great officers and leading men of Jerusalem went out with mournful appearance, and used every art and argument to prevail with them to desist from their outrages. They entreated them not to destroy Jerusalem to be revenged of Samaria, to have pity upon their country, their temple, their city, their wives, which were all at stake, and not to sacrifice all that was dear to them in this world in revenge for the loss of one poor Galilean. The Jews at length became cool, and the tumults subsided.

Judæa overrun with robbers.

It might now be said to be the period of universal rapine, in which the main business of the people was to prey upon each other; and the most powerful plundered the lower class of their countrymen. Numidius Quadratus being then governor of Syria, several of the heads of the Samaritans applied to him at Tyre, with a heavy complaint against the robbers that infested that country. There were divers of the leading men of the Jews then present, and amongst the rest Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the high-priest, who turned the blame upon the Samaritans as the first authors of the tumult in the death of the Galilean. He charged the consequences also upon Cumanus, for not bringing the offender to justice in due time.

Quadratus, having heard the cause, deferred the further consideration of it till he came into Judæa, where he might receive more particular information. He then went to Cæsarea, and there caused all those that Cumanus had taken alive to be put to death. From thence he proceeded to Lydda, where he heard the Samaritan cause over again, and ordered eighteen leading men of the Jews to be beheaded, as they were found to have been abettors of the tumults. He sent the two high-priests, Jonathan and Ananias, with Ananus, the son of Ananias, and some other Jews of the first rank, to Cæsar, together with some noble Samaritans. He also ordered Cumanus, and Celos, the tribune, away to Rome, to give an account of what had been done to Claudius. Having thus finished these matters, he went up to Jerusalem from Lydda, and finding the multitude celebrating their feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

Several of the principal Jews sent to Cæsar.

Cæsar gives judgment against the Samaritans.

When the parties repaired to Rome, where Agrippa appeared a zealous advocate for the Jews, and Cumanus was supported by some weighty friends, Cæsar, hearing the respective cases, gave sentence against the Samaritans, condemning three of the most powerful of them to be beheaded; Cumanus to be banished; Celos, the tribune, to be sent bound to Jerusalem, delivered over to the Jews to be tormented, his body drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

Makes many pre-ferments.

He constituted Felix, the brother of Pallas, governor of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Perea; and preferred Agrippa from Chalcis to a greater dominion, giving him the tetrarchy that had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachon, and Gaulanitis, superadding the kingdom of Lyfania, and the province which Varus had governed.

Death of Claudius and accession of Nero.

When Claudius Cæsar had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, he departed this life, and left the succession to Nero, whom his wife Agrippina had artfully introduced to the empire, notwithstanding he had at that time a legitimate son, Britannicus, by his first wife Messalina, and a daugh-

ter, Octavia, whom he married to Nero. He had also another daughter, by Petina, called Antonia.

No man, perhaps, perverted power and wealth more than Nero to the injury of others, as appears from the imbruing his hands in the blood of his brother, his wife, and his mother. He merited the complicated character of tyrant and buffoon, incompatible as they may seem; for he not only exercised the most horrid barbarities towards his nearest relations, but introduced subjects of dignity and importance in a most ridiculous point of view upon the public stage. But as the history of this emperor is so generally known, I shall pass over trivial matters, and confine myself to those particulars in which the Jews were chiefly concerned.

Sketch of the character of Nero.

C H A P. XII.

Nero's liberality to Aristobulus and Agrippa. Felix chastises the robbers. A new set of free-booters, called Sicarii. Jonathan, the high-priest, the first that fell by their hands. Anarchy and confusion prevail throughout Jerusalem. Dangerous effects of enthusiasm, seduction, and imposture. A magician pretends to the spirit of prophecy, and marches with thirty thousand followers towards Jerusalem. Felix meets and totally routs him. A lawless banditti persuade the Jews to revolt. An outrageous tumult between the Jews and Syrians. The matter in dispute finally referred to Cæsar. Felix is succeeded by Festus.

NERO, soon after his accession to the imperial dignity, conferred upon Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, the government of Armenia the Lesser, and annexed four more cities to the territory of Agrippa; that is to say, Abila and Julias in Peræa; and in Galilee, Tarichee and Tiberias, with their dependencies. The remainder of Judæa he gave to Felix, who was no sooner vested with his commission, than he went in quest of the robbers, took Eleazar, their leader, with several others, and sent them all bound to Rome, after they had ravaged the country for the space of twenty years; so that the number of robbers whom he caused to be put to death, and the country people that joined them, was almost incredible.

Nero's generosity.

Felix routs the free-booters.

These ruffians were no sooner suppressed, than there sprang up another set of robbers, under the name of Sicarii, from *sica*, the weapon they used. They made no scruple of executing their destructive practices in the open day, and in the very streets of Jerusalem. Their custom was to carry short daggers under their garments, and mixing with the multitude at festivals in particular, deal death around them without being detected. They continued this horrid practice some time, not only without discovery, but without being so much as suspected. The first man slain by these assassins was Jonathan, the high-priest; after which not a day passed without several executions of the same kind. This occasioned a general alarm, inasmuch, that the apprehension was almost as dreadful as the mischief itself; and it was as dangerous to walk the streets as to be in a field of battle. Every man at a distance was suspected for an enemy; nor could even reputed friends be trusted upon their approach to each other. Nor was the utmost watchfulness, and minutest caution, a sufficient security, so dexterous were these bravos in the exercise of their profession.

Another set of robbers.

Jonathan the high-priest slain by them.

There started up at this time another sort of miscreants, who did more mischief with their tongues than the others did with their weapons. They shed no blood, indeed, but caused more destruction by their pernicious doctrines than the others did with their daggers, raising disorder and confusion throughout the city. These were impostors and seducers, who, under pretence of divine inspiration, inculcated vague opinions and absurd innovations. They drew the multitude into woods and solitudes, pretending that God would there set them at perfect liberty, and reveal himself to them by such tokens from heaven,

The mischievous effects of sedition and imposture.

as would give them infallible assurance of it. Felix foresaw the design of this proceeding, and was convinced of the necessity of nipping the attempt of a revolt in the bud; so that he sent out a body of horse and foot in pursuit of these enthusiasts, which destroyed great numbers of their disciples and followers.

The de-
vices of an
Egyptian
false pro-
phet.

These mischiefs were followed by those of an Egyptian pretender, that proved more fatal to the Jews than the former. He was a magician, but passed for a prophet, and raised a set of followers, to the number of about 30,000, whom he inveigled into his trammels. These deluded people he led, by the way of the wilderness, to mount Olivet, proposing to march thence to Jerusalem, expel the Roman garrison, and make himself master of the city and country, having his followers and guards about him to assist in the enterprize. Felix, finding it to be a growing evil, advanced up to the Egyptian with his Roman legions, and a considerable body of Jews that joined him. He then gave him battle, and totally defeated him; the Egyptian himself, and some few of his followers, saving themselves by flight. Great numbers of them were slain, others taken and put into chains, and the rest dispersed to their own habitations.

He is rout-
ed by Felix.

New dis-
turbances
arise.

The state of a nation resembles the state of the body, in which one disease is generally followed by another; for these magicians and freebooters were now concerting a scheme for asserting absolute liberty, and engaging the multitude in a resolution to shake off the Roman yoke. This they attempted both by argument and menace, threatening death, without mercy, to any man who acknowledged the Roman jurisdiction; and proposing to reduce those by terror, that would otherwise subject themselves to a voluntary slavery. They formed themselves into different bodies, and dispersed throughout the country, diffusing slaughter and devastation; so that Judaea was brought to the very extremity of desperation, and the destructive flame raged more and more every day.

At first
quarrels be-
tween the
Jews and
Syrians.

At the same time a disturbance happened at Cesarea, upon a commotion started there betwixt the Jews and Syrians living promiscuously together. The Jews claimed it as their city, arguing, that a Jew was the founder of it, referring to king Herod. The Syrians could not deny that a Jew had been the founder of it, but insisted, on the other hand, that it belonged to the Gentiles, since, if it had been a Jewish city, they would never suffer statues to be erected in it. The contest between the parties became so warm, that they had recourse to arms; and not a day passed, but there was mischief done by the most resolute of each party. The elders exerted their authority and counsel to quiet the Jews on the one hand; and the Greeks had too exalted an idea of their own importance to submit to the Jews. The latter were deemed to possess more wealth and courage than their competitors, who had, however, greater interest with the soldiery; for a considerable part of the Roman army being drawn out of Syria, they were the readier to assist them, both as their countrymen and kindred. The magistrates and officers did their utmost, by severity of discipline, to suppress the tumult, taking the incorrigible into custody, and inflicting punishment with rigour. But the exemplary sufferings of a part had no effect upon the whole; on the contrary, that which was designed to intimidate, served but to harden them in their daring pursuit.

These
quarrels
continued.

When Felix found that no means would bring them to reason, he commanded the factious out of the city, by proclamation, at their utmost peril; but divers remaining there in contempt of authority, the governor sent a party of soldiers amongst them, who slew many, and seized on their effects. But the sedition still prevailing, he dispatched some of the principal men of both parties to Nero, as commissioners to plead their cause before him. Festus succeeded Felix, and was very active in suppressing these disturbances, and bringing the authors to condign punishment.

No. 31.

C H A P. XIII.

Festus is succeeded by Albinus, who proves a corrupt and tyrannical governor. His successor, Gessius Florus, is more flagitious. Their characters compared. Florus is accused to Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria. He endeavours to excite the Jews to rebellion. The rise of the Jewish war.

ALBINUS, who succeeded Festus, did not tread in the steps of his predecessor. He was a man universally depraved, addicted to corruption, avarice, extortion, and oppression; so that the nation groaned under most intolerable burthens during the time of his government. He adopted the most destructive system of policy, was influenced in every measure by venality, would pass or revoke sentence as bribed; in fine, as money was his god, so it swayed his conduct in general, to the utter perversion of justice, and abolition of every principle of virtue.

Albinus a
most disor-
dinate gover-
nor.

There prevailed, at this time, a faction in Jerusalem, which had determined to introduce an innovation, and compounded with Albinus to connive at their practices. The ringleaders of this sedition had each of them a band of resolute at command; while the governor himself, as an arch-robber, with his guards about him, perverted his authority in the plunder of those who were not in a condition for resistance or defence. These iniquitous proceedings came at length to that pass, that those who sustained the loss of their property durst not complain; and those who escaped, were under a necessity of giving up a part of what they had to secure the rest: in fine, all good faith was banished, tyranny and oppression universally prevailed, and proved eventually the foundation of slavery.

Rapine uni-
versally pre-
vails.

Such was the character of Albinus; but Gessius Florus, his successor, exceeded him in iniquity; for the former had recourse to privacy and dissimulation in his nefarious practices, while the latter gloried in his shame, valued himself upon the enormity of his crimes, and vaunted in professing himself an enemy to the whole nation. In the province he acted the part of an executioner rather than that of a governor, treating the whole body of the people as common criminals, without setting any bounds either to his rapine or his tyranny. He was as void of pity as of sense of honour, merciless to the miserable, lost to shame, and incapable of a blush at the foulest actions. He possessed the art of disguising truth with paradox and chicanery, and working mischief under the sanction of plausibility. Injuries to individuals would not satisfy his rapacious desires, but whole cities must be laid desolate to gratify his more than savage barbarity. He gave as much liberty and encouragement to rapine as if it had been publicly tolerated; nor was any one prohibited from plundering, if he might be admitted to share in the booty. Such, in effect, was his avarice, that the whole province was drained, and consequently deserted by its inhabitants as a dreary waste.

Characters
of Albinus
and Florus
compared.

Cestius Gallus was at this time governor of Syria, and so much attached to Florus, that not a Jew, even of the first rank, durst prefer a complaint against him; but, upon his coming up to Jerusalem, at the feast of unleavened bread, the multitude, to the number of three hundred thousand, made their application to take pity of a miserable people, and deliver the province out of the hands of Florus, that pest of society, and tyrant of a governor. Florus was within hearing of this complaint, but so far from being moved at it, that he turned it into ridicule. Cestus used his utmost efforts to pacify the people, assuring them that Florus should treat them with more lenity in future, and then returned to Antioch. Florus attended him on his way as far as Cesarea, and amused him with many vague reports as they passed, in order to induce him to act in an hostile manner towards the Jews, as the only means of

Cestius
Gallus, go-
vernor of
Syria,
comes to
Jerusalem.

lying undiscovered, and bringing himself off. In case of a peace, the Jews, he thought, would embrace that opportunity for bringing the cause before Cæsar, which would subject him to danger; whereas, if he could but once work them up to a revolt, the greater mischief would divert their attention from the lesser; and therefore his only means were to force them, by degrees, into a rebellion in his own defence.

The rise of the Jewish war.

The Cæsarean Greeks had, at this time, carried their cause against the Jews before Cæsar, and obtained a decree in their favour, which sentence gave rise to the Jewish war. It bore date the twelfth year of Nero, and the seventeenth of Agrippa, in the month Artemisius.

C H A P. XIV.

A violent dispute between the Jews of Cæsarea and the Greeks. Bribery and perfidy of Florus. A mock sacrifice occasions a tumult. Jucundus endeavours to suppress it, but in vain. The Jews petition Florus for relief, and are punished for so doing. He incenses them to outrage. His barbarous proceedings. The sobriety and moderation of the Jews. Florus becomes worse for good council. His cruel orders. Several of the nobility whipped and crucified. Florus causes 630 Jews to be massacred in one day.

THE tyranny of Florus was a dangerous temptation to a rebellion, but the Jews stood firm against that provocation, till, at length, it was brought about by an incident that fell out in Cæsarea.

The Jews insulted in their synagogue.

A certain Greek had a house in Cæsarea, near the spot upon which stood the Jewish synagogue. The Jews were desirous of making a purchase of this house, and treated with the proprietor several times about it, offering much more for it than the intrinsic value. But the proprietor was so far from complying with their proposal, that, from a spirit of aggravation, he raised other buildings, and so blocked up the avenues, that there was scarcely room for a single person to pass to the synagogue. Upon this, some of the Jewish youths applied to the inspector of the buildings, and warned them, at their peril, to order the workmen to desist. Florus countermanded the prohibition; so that the Jews had only to tamper with the governor by the offer of a sum of money. Several of their principal men met about it, and, amongst the rest, John, a publican, or collector of revenues, who contracted with Florus, for eight talents, to forbid the prosecution of the work. They delivered him the sum according to a stipulated agreement, and he promised to fulfil the conditions; but immediately after, upon the receipt of it, he went from Cæsarea to Sebaste, and left the parties at liberty to contend the point, as if he had taken the money to furnish an opportunity for them to massacre one another.

Bribery and perfidy of Florus.

The Jews insulted at Cæsarea by a mock sacrifice.

The next day, being the Jews sabbath, when the people were assembled in the synagogue, a seditious Cæsarean placed an earthen vessel just at the entrance, with a sacrifice of birds upon it. This contemptuous mockery incensed the Jews to a degree of madness, as it was in open derision of their laws, and a profanation of their most sacred rites. The more moderate and substantial men of their party were for appealing to government for redress; but the younger, and more hot-brained, determined on revenge; and the Cæsareans being as ready for an encounter, which was the design of the insult, the contest accordingly took place.

A violent commotion.

The Jews remove the books of the law.

Jucundus, an officer of horse, who was left to keep the peace, coming up at this juncture, ordered the earthen vessel to be taken away, and endeavoured to put a stop to the tumult. But the Jews finding Jucundus overbore by the Cæsareans, took up the books of their law, and carried them off to Nabata, a place about sixty furlongs distant from Cæsarea. John, abovementioned, and twelve of their

principal men, went to Florus at Sebaste, with a complaint of what had passed, and a petition for redress, reminding him, though with the utmost delicacy, of the eight talents he had received. But Florus, notwithstanding, ordered them to be apprehended, and put in prison, for presuming to remove the books of the law from Cæsarea.

Seek for redress from the law.

He is severely reproached.

Proferens liberos, etiam in iudicio.

Rejicit, etiam in iudicio, liberos.

The multitude, however, notwithstanding the indignities offered them, assumed the appearance of an officious respect in going out to receive him upon the way, and preparing to entertain him with all the tokens of honour and esteem usual upon such occasions. But, as an anticipation of their very submissive design, Florus sent Capito, a centurion, before hand, with a band of fifty horses, to stop their progress, and deliver them a message to the following purport: "I am to command you, in the name of Florus, to return home, and to let you understand, that the man with whom you have so freely sported, is not to be cajoled into a better opinion of you by plausible appearances. If you are as you would be thought to be, men of courage and resolution, aver your reproaches to his face; and assert that liberty by dint of arms, you have so vainly endeavoured to do by tumult and clamour." This message alarmed the multitude; so that, upon the approach of the centurion with his band of horse, they dispersed, without waiting for the ceremony of saluting Florus, and manifesting their submissive disposition. They retired to their own habitations, and passed the night in disquieting apprehensions.

Florus took up his abode at the palace, and the next day ascended the tribunal, the high-priest and great officers of the city being there present. He animadverted, with great severity, upon some reproachful and sarcastic speeches that had been thrown out against him; peremptorily insisting that the authors should be produced, and threatening to take vengeance upon those that were on the spot, if they did not find out the guilty.

The heads of the Jews assured Florus, that the people in general were peaceably disposed, and implored pardon for those who had uttered sarcastic and reproachful expressions; observing, that, in so vast a multitude, there must be some rash and headstrong men; nor was it possible to distinguish the guilty; for even those who repented of what they had done, would not make confession. They submitted it to his consideration, whether any thing could tend more to the honour and interest of the Roman empire, than to consult the safety of the people and city, by preserving them firm in their allegiance to Cæsar; and whether it might not be more advisable to spare some few of the guilty for the sake of a great number of innocent people, than to destroy so many innocent for the sake of a few guilty.

Florus

Florus was so inflamed by this remonstrance, that he immediately ordered the soldiers to plunder what was called the upper market-place, and slay those who opposed them. The soldiery therefore, finding themselves supported in their claims to pillage by the concurring authority of their commander, not only executed their order upon the places and people they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, rifled at pleasure, and put the inhabitants to death without distinction, as well those they took upon their flight in bye-ways and secret passages, as those they found in their houses. In fact, no booty came amiss to them. Several men of rank, whom they seized and brought to Florus, were, by his order, whipped and crucified. The whole number of the slain upon that day, including women and children, (for they spared not infants at the breast,) amounted to six hundred and thirty. The calamity was aggravated by a new species of Roman severity; for before the time of Florus, it was never known that any of the equestrian order were whipped, or ignominiously nailed to the cross; for tho' the persons, thus disgraced, were, by extraction, Jews, they were, notwithstanding, of Roman dignity.

CHAP. XV.

Berenice, the sister of Agrippa, goes to Jerusalem to pay a vow. The form and manner of performing that duty. She intercedes with Florus in behalf of the Jews. The people are incensed against Florus. Afterwards brought to moderation. Florus re-kindles the flames of discord. The high-priests appease and bring them to reason. The project of Florus attended with most destructive effects. He attempts the castle, and is repulsed. Retires to the palace. The communication cut off betwixt Fort Antonia and the Temple. Florus quits his design, and returns to Cesarea.

AGRIPPA was at this time gone to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero. His sister Berenice was then at Jerusalem, and in extreme concern for the barbarous outrages practised there, inasmuch that she sent several officers of her guards to Florus, earnestly to entreat him to desist from the effusion of human blood. But Florus was equally insensible of the atrocious nature of the sin, and dignified rank of the mediatrix. His heart was so set upon lucre and pillage, that he looked upon all other considerations (the intercession of Berenice not excepted) with neglect and contempt. Nay, to such a degree did the violence of the soldiery proceed, that they not only perpetrated their massacres before her face, but would have wreaked their cruelty on her person, if she had not made her escape into the palace, and remained there during the night, with her guards under the strictest watch for fear of a surprize.

The occasion of her coming to Jerusalem was to offer up a vow to the Almighty, as is customary in providential deliverance from sickness or any great danger. It is usual, with persons under these circumstances, to continue in prayer for thirty days before they sacrifice, abstaining from wine and shaving the head. Berenice was now in the regular performance of this duty, and took an opportunity of standing barefoot before the tribunal, to intercede with Florus in behalf of the people of the Jews. But as on the former, so on the present, occasion, she met neither with success or respect, but incurred imminent hazard of life for her pious offices.

What happened on the sixteenth day of the month, and upon the following day the people gathered together in the market-place in the upper town, outrageously exclaiming against the murders of their friends who had been slain there the preceding day. The whole streets of their rage and indignation fell upon Florus. The leading men, and the high-priests, were so sensible of the danger of ad-

garments, and, in humblest tone, besought the multitude to desist from exclaiming, as the exasperating of Florus would be attended with inevitable ruin to them all. This mode of interposition appeased them, and they ceased their outrages, partly through respect to the intercessions, and partly through hope that the governor would relent.

Florus, who seemed to delight in broils, bethought himself of a device to rekindle the flame. He sent for the high-priests, and some of the chief men of the Jews, to come to him, and told them, that as there were two companies of soldiers coming from Cesarea, it would be a convincing evidence of the people's good affection to government, if they would go forth and meet them on the way. This being agreed upon, Florus sent beforehand, and gave it in charge to the centurions, that in case the Jews greeted them with any shew of compliment or respect upon their meeting, they should not make the least token of a return; and that, upon the smallest appearance of disgust, they should betake themselves to their arms. The high-priests assembled the people in the temple, and there adjured them, by all means, to go out and compliment the Romans upon the way, giving them a friendly salutation to prevent future mischiefs. The more rash and resolute opposed this counsel; but some of them, revolving in their minds the horrid massacre of their relations and friends, were disposed to compliance.

While this was in agitation, the priests and Levites entered, exposing the sacred vessels, and other ornaments of the temple, and filling the choir with their musical instruments, and addressed themselves to the people with earnest entreaties to preserve the honour of the temple inviolate, without provoking the Romans by contumacious affronts to rouse it. There were also divers of the high-priests, who, covered with sack-cloth and ashes, and with garments rent, applied themselves to all the men of rank, both individually and collectively, repeatedly importuning them not to betray their country for to trivial a consideration to those very people who were continually meditating its destruction. They justly observed, "That the Roman soldiers would derive no benefit from a salutation from the Jews; nor the Jews, on the other hand, any advantage from neglecting the salutation. That, on the contrary, if they treated them with honour, and according to the punctilios usual upon such occasions, Florus could have no pretence for urging hostilities; so that, in effect, it would tend to the redemption of their country from the calamities they had otherwise reason to apprehend; and further, that they should consider the disproportion betwixt the peaceable majority of the multitude and a few straggling mutineers, and the propriety of the greater part over-ruling the lesser."

These arguments had such an effect, that, betwixt authority and menace, the most resolute were brought to attend to the dictates of reason; so that when matters were brought to this moderate pass, the priests, and heads of the people, marched out to meet the soldiers, and the multitude followed them in good order.

When the Jews were advanced within distance of exchanging ceremonious salutations, they addressed them with every expression of respect; but receiving no return, the more choleric part reviled Florus as the author and contriver of mischief. The soldiers took the hint, and began to fall upon the Jews, threw them into confusion, and, upon the pursuit, trampled great numbers under the horses feet; so that betwixt those that died of blows and wounds, those that were crushed to death in the crowd, or smothered in the gate by pressing to get out, a horrid carnage ensued, and exhibited to dreadful a spectacle, that from bruises, maims, and suffocation, the bodies were so disfigured, that one relation did not know the face of another, in order to provide a decent funeral. In fine, the enemy slew all they came up with in the pursuit, showing no mercy. But their main design was to get betwixt the Jews and the gates of Bezeth, being a passage that led to the castle of Antonia and the temple.

The tumult subsided.

Project of Florus for reviving it.

The priests and Levites are peaceably disposed.

The Roman soldiers in slaying the Jews, and slaying many of them.

A terrible destruction and bloodshed.

Florus.

Florus at-
tempts the
castle, and
is repulsed.

Florus, at the same time, made a sally out of the palace, with what troops he had, upon the back of the Jews, with a view of forcing the castle; but the people immediately rallying, and making head against him, he failed in his attempt. Having got possession of the houses, they annoyed the Romans to such a degree with their darts from the roofs, that, finding no defence against that mode of attack, nor any possibility of breaking through the throng which stopped up the narrow passages, Florus was obliged to retire with the remainder of his army to the palace.

The Jews being now under some apprehension that Florus would return to the assault, and make an attempt upon the temple by the way of Fort Antonia, they cut down a certain gallery of communication betwixt the fort and the temple, which so mortified Florus, that, finding his project hopeless, and his avarice disappointed, (the sacred treasure being all his aim,) he gave up the enterprize.

Relinquish-
es his de-
sign, and
returns to
Cesarea.

Upon this he conferred with the high-priest and Sanhedrim, assuring them that he was now leaving the city, and ready to assign to them as large a gar- rison as they should desire. They promised, in consequence of this liberal proposal, that they would make no innovations, provided he would leave them one company; but not that which had maintained the contest against them, on account of the prejudices the people had imbibed from the injuries they had sustained from them. Florus changed the company according to their desire, and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cesarea.

C H A P. XVI.

Florus accuses the Jews to Cestius, governor of Syria, as enemies to Cæsar. Cestius deliberates on the matter, and charges Politianus to make strict enquiry concerning it. The people of Jerusalem represent to him the destructive measures pursued by Florus. Give proof of their obedience to other governors. Address themselves to Agrippa for his concurrence in sending deputies to Nero to prefer a complaint against Florus. Agrippa calls an assembly, and, in an elaborate speech, dissuades the Jews from prosecuting a war with the Romans. His speech produces a momentary effect; but the Jews lapsing into their former outrages, he leaves them, and retires to his own kingdom.

Florus
charges the
Jews falsely
to Cestius.

FLORUS, upon his arrival at Cesarea, pursued other means for inflaming a war, which was by sending a letter to Cestius, and charging the Jews falsely with a design of revolting from the Roman government, and imputing to them the very misdemeanors of which he had been guilty himself. But the queen Berenice, and the principal men of Jerusalem, were so equitable and candid in this matter, as to state the particulars in the clearest light, and represent to Cestius, without exaggeration or palliation, the government of Florus.

Upon receipt of this intelligence, Cestius consulted with his principal officers respecting the most expedient method of proceeding. Some were for his advancing with an army immediately into Judæa, in order to bring the offenders to justice, if the report should appear true; or otherwise to encourage them in their loyalty, if they were falsely accused. Cestius was of opinion that it would be more advisable to send some person of honour and address beforehand, to investigate matters, and transmit to him a faithful account of their present state. He accordingly made choice of one of his tribunes, named Politianus, who meeting king Agrippa near Jamnia, on his return from Alexandria, told him by whom he was sent, and what was the purport of his mission.

Cestius
sends Poli-
titanus to
learn the
true state
of Judæa.

There were then present several high-priests, as well as members of the Sanhedrim, and others of the first rank amongst the Jews, who came to congratulate the king upon his safe return. These had

no sooner paid their obedience in due form, than they proceeded to lay before him a lamentable detail of the piteous condition to which they were reduced by the barbarities of Florus. Agrippa felt for their distress; but, from secret designs, apparently turned his invective against the Jews rather than the governor, in order to restrain the impetuosity of their passion; as the less they might seem to suffer, the less provocation they could pretend to revenge. Those who had most property at stake, and consequently most reason to desire a peace, looked upon this gentle reproof as intended by the king for their good.

The people of Jerusalem met Agrippa and Politianus upon their way sixty furlongs from the city, to escort them with all respect and honour; while the women bewailed the loss of their murdered husbands, and the whole multitude joined in one general lamentation; some imploring Agrippa generously to compassionate the calamities of the nation, and others entreating Politianus but to go into the city, in order to be an eye-witness of the desolations of Florus. Upon this they took him into the marketplace, and pointed out to him its abandoned and forlorn state. They then prevailed with him, through the means of Agrippa, to make the tour of the city as far as Siloah, with only one servant, that he might thereby have demonstrative proof how obedient the Jews were to all other Romans in authority, though the horrid cruelties of Florus were utterly intolerable. When he had taken a view of the city, and informed himself sufficiently of the loyal disposition of the Jews, he called the people together, and went up to the temple, where he entered into a declamation of commendations of their approved fidelity to the Romans, earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace, and, having performed such parts of Divine worship as he was allowed to do, returned to Cestius.

Immediately upon the departure of Politianus, the multitude addressed themselves to the king and high-priests, importunately soliciting permission to send deputies to Nero with a complaint against Florus; alledging, that their silence would afford suspicion that they had been the occasion of the havoc which had been made, that they were disposed to revolt, and were the authors of the war, and thence inferred the expedience of stating these matters to the emperor. It was evident, on the one hand, that nothing would satisfy them but the grant of this liberty; and it appeared an invidious prosecution on the other, to suffer the multitude to prefer such an invective against their governor under the sanction of an embassy. So that Agrippa, in this dilemma, called the multitude together in a large gallery; and having placed his sister Berenice in a chair of state in the Asmonean palace, which overlooks that gallery from the upper part of the town, he addressed them in words to the following import:

“ If I found you under any sort of disposition to make war upon the Romans, as I am at this time clearly convinced of the contrary, and that the greater part of your profession are men of peace and order, I should have saved both you and myself this trouble. For what would any application or advice signify to a body of men that labour under an incurable prejudice? But as some people are unquiet for want of an experimental knowledge of the miseries of war, some out of a vain and inconsiderate hope of liberty, others out of avarice for the advantage of the booty, and making profit to themselves out of a general confusion, I have now thought fit to call you together, and tell you what I think convenient to be done under your circumstances, in order to the rectifying of your errors, and to prevent the ruin of a loyal majority by the intemperate heat of a few desperate libertines. All I desire is your patience and silence, and to be heard without murmuring and noise, whether you approve what I say or not. As for those that are abandoned to the spirit of disorder and confusion, and irreverently lost, they are still at liberty to go their own way.”

"own way, let my opinion be what it will. But it
"is to no purpose for me to speak at all, unless I
"may be heard by those that desire to hear me.

"I well know that the faults of governors, and
"the blessings of liberty, are two common topics
"for men of art and passion to work upon. Before
"I enter upon the disquisition of what you your-
"selves are, and the force you are pretending to en-
"counter, I must, in the first place, divide two
"points that you confound, by taking them into
"one. If revenge upon your oppressors (or let it
"be called justice) be the thing that you contend
"for, what is the meaning of your crying up li-
"berty at such an extravagant rate? Or, if sub-
"jection be in itself so intolerable, why quarrel
"with your governors? Subjection is but subjec-
"tion still.

"Consider upon what ground it is that you pre-
"tend to calumniate and cavil, and in what manner
"you are to behave yourselves, even if your go-
"vernors should be to blame. It is your interest,
"as well as duty, to moderate things with offices of
"tenderness and respect, and not to treat your su-
"periors with unbecoming language. When you
"make things greater than they are, you provoke
"those that are over you to make things worse
"than they would otherwise be; and to turn that
"mal-administration, that they were half-ashamed
"of before, into a bare-faced tyranny. Nothing
"takes off the edge of oppression like patience:
"resignation is enough to put persecution out of
"countenance, even let it be ever so violent and
"unjust.

"Suppose it the case now, that you are, in truth,
"extremely abused by the Roman government,
"will you have this to be the act of all the Romans,
"nay, and of Cæsar himself too? There's your
"quarrel. You cannot imagine that those gover-
"nors have it in their commission to oppress you,
"or that Cæsar himself can look east and west, and
"so through the four quarters of the world, all at
"a time, when it is no easy matter for him to get a
"faithful account, at Rome, even of what is done
"here. How great a madness is it, then, to run the
"risque of so dangerous a war for trifles? and, in
"fact, for we know not what? Besides, matters may
"mend in time; for governors are neither im-
"mortal, or perpetual, but take their turns; and
"it is reasonable to hope, and promise ourselves,
"that the succession will be better. When a war is
"once commenced, it is neither to be given up, or
"to be continued, without inconveniencies. As for
"those that set up for liberty, let them beware, in
"the first place, not to run themselves out of it;
"for the last slavery is always the most burthensome;
"and to avoid that yoke must be acknowledged a
"just cause of war. He that is once a subject, and
"then falls off, is rather a stubborn slave, than a
"generous advocate of freedom.

"If any thing could have been done against the
"power of the Romans, why was it not done when
"Pompey brake in upon us? But if your fore-
"fathers, and the princes of those times, (though
"much your superiors in men, money, and conduct,)
"were not able to stand before so inconsiderable a
"detachment of their power, with what face or
"sense can you pretend, at this time, to bid defiance
"to the whole body of the empire? To say nothing
"of the obligation of an hereditary allegiance of
"so long a continuance, that hath descended from
"your predecessors to their posterity.

"What do you think of those brave and gene-
"rous Athenians that contended for the liberty of
"Greece to the very extremity of laying their
"country in ashes? those people that brought
"down the proud heart of the vain and intolent
"Xerxes, put him to flight at Salamis, and, hav-
"ing broken the whole power of Asia, forced him
"to shift for himself in a boat: that haughty prince,
"that turned the sea into land, and the land into
"sea, to make room for his fleets and armies, that
"No. 31.

"looked as if they would have swallowed Europe?
"and yet the nation, that did all this, are now sub-
"jects to the Romans; and Greece receives laws
"from Italy.

"The case is the same with the Lacedæmonians,
"after all their famous exploits at Thermopylæ and
"Platea, and Agesilaus's carrying their victorious
"arms into the heart of Asia; and yet, at present,
"these heroes own the same masters still.

"To come now to the Macedonians, with their
"Philips and their Alexanders, a people that, to this
"very day, propose little less to themselves than
"the empire of the universe: has not fortune re-
"duced these people also to the same fate, and of
"conquerors made them subjects, and subjects
"also to the same governors? I might reckon up a
"great many other nations now, much more confi-
"derable than yourselves, that, in the vanity of an
"ambitious contention for liberty, have been forced
"to submit and obey: and are you the only men
"in the world that are too good to serve the love-
"reign lords of all other people? Where is your
"militia, or the arms that you depend upon? your
"fleets to secure the Roman seas? Where is your
"treasure to answer the expence of this under-
"taking? You fancy an Egyptian or an Arabian
"war, perhaps: but you proceed altogether upon
"false measures, without comparing the dispro-
"portion betwixt your ability and your under-
"taking, and the inequality betwixt a weak and a
"disorderly people, and the stability of a formi-
"dable empire. It is a common thing for you to
"be over-run and surprized by your next neigh-
"bours, when, at the same time, the Romans carried
"the whole world before them.

"Nay, and the known world would not content
"them neither; for though they were possessed of
"the course of the Euphrates to the east, the Da-
"nube to the north, the Libyan desert to the south,
"and as far as Cadiz to the west, nothing would
"serve them but another world beyond the ocean,
"and the carrying their arms into Britany, which,
"at the same time, was looked upon as inaccessible.
"What is it that you pretend to? Would you be
"thought richer than the Gauls, hardier than the
"Germans, or wiser than the Greeks? Or do you
"take yourselves to be hard enough for all man-
"kind beside? Upon what ground is it that you
"are thus bold and confident against the Romans?
"It will be said, perhaps, that it is an uneasy and
"irksome thing to serve; but if it be so to you,
"what must it be to the Greeks, who, over and
"above a large extent of territory, are looked upon
"as men of the noblest extraction of any people
"under the sun? And yet these men, great and no-
"ble as they are, live in obedience to the Romans;
"as do the Macedonians also, who have un-
"doubtedly more right to a claim of liberty than
"you can pretend to. Or what say ye to the five
"hundred cities of Asia, that peaceably submit
"themselves to a consul, without any guard or
"garrison to over-awe them? To say nothing of
"the Heniochians, the Colchians, the nations about
"the Bosphorus, and the inhabitants of the coasts
"of Pontus, and the lake of Mæotis; people so
"free in former times, that they never had so much
"as a master among themselves: and yet three
"thousand Romans were enough to keep them all
"in subjection: and forty gallees sufficient to pre-
"serve all those seas in peace and obedience, which
"no power durst venture upon before.

"Had the Bithynians, Cappadocians, Pamphy-
"lians, Lydians, and Cicilians, nothing to say for
"themselves upon the point of liberty? They are,
"at present, all tributaries, and pay their duties
"without soldiers to compel them. How is it with
"the Thracians, in a large country of seven days
"journey in length, and five over, and much more
"rude, and more defensible than yours, being al-
"most impassable for the bitter frosts and deep
"snows there; and yet a guard of only two thou-
"sand Romans keeps them all in order? And then
"for

"for the Illyrians, from beyond the Danube, as far as Dalmatia; and so likewise the Dacians; they are all under the guard only of two legions. Nay, the Dalmatians themselves, after so many contests for liberty, so many baffles in the attempt, and so many rallies and reinforcements afterwards, in prosecution of the same design, how quiet and easy are they under the command of one single legion!

"But, after all this, if any pretence whatsoever might justify a revolt, the Gauls, of all men living, have the greatest encouragement and temptation to do it, from the very situation of their country. They are naturally fortified; on the east with the Alps, the Rhine on the north, the Pyrenæan mountains on the south, and on the west with the Ocean. But, notwithstanding all these advantages, three hundred and fifteen nations in the same interest, an inexhaustible source of all good things within themselves, both for use and commerce, not only for their own, but likewise for the common benefit of mankind, we find these people under the Roman allegiance, and propounding no other happiness to themselves than in that of their masters. This resignation does not arise from the want of courage, either natural or acquired, or from the want of brave examples in their ancestors, who had stood a dispute of eighty years for the maintenance of their liberty; but finding so admirable a concurrence of fortune and virtue in the actions of the Romans, the Gauls were so awed betwixt the veneration they had for the one, and their dread of the other, that the Romans gained as much upon them by their goodness as by their arms; insomuch that, at this day, with only twelve hundred men, they secure almost as many cities in their allegiance.

"What was Spain the better for their golden mines, when they came to contend with the Romans for their freedom? Or I might instance nations more remote from Rome, both by sea and land; as the Lusitanians and Cantabrians, where neither valour, distance, or position could warrant them against the power of Rome; though bordering upon a sea so impetuous that it cannot be so much as named, or thought of, without dread and horror. What signified Hercules's pillars, or the Pyrenæan mountains, so many warlike nations in the way, distance, or any other difficulty, to the obstructing the progress of their victorious arms? But they were reduced as well as the rest, and one single legion served for a guard upon them all.

"I need not tell you that the Germans are a populous nation, and that their country is of vast extent, the people strong, their courage answerable to their size and stature, and firm to the very contempt of death itself. But part of this you are eye-witnesses of, for the Romans have slaves of that nation all over the earth. In their anger they are more outrageous than brutes, and the Rhine is at this day their frontier. They have a guard of eight Roman legions upon them, that make slaves of as many of them as they take, and the rest save themselves by flight.

"As for those that place so much confidence in the walls of Jerusalem, they would do well to consider the walls of Britain, where the inhabitants are surrounded by the sea, in a kind of a new world, not much inferior to the other. They have made themselves masters of this vast island too, and assigned only four legions for a guard upon it. What shall we say of the Parthians, a powerful and warlike people, that have heretofore given laws to so many great nations themselves? Why do they send the flower of their nobility for hostages to Rome, but as a tacit acknowledgment of subjection under the colour of peace? Are we the only men in the world to make war upon the empire, when all other nations tremble under the apprehensions of their arms?

"Call to mind the fate of Carthage, a people that valued themselves as branches of the noble race of Phoenicians, that had the honour of the famous Hannibal for their commander. What was the end of that brave people, but to fall under the conquering arms of Scipio?

"But neither the Cyrenæans of the Lacedæmonian race, or the Marmaridans, that stretched their dominions as far as the parched deserts, or the Syrtes, so frightful to our apprehensions, or the Nasamonians, or the Moors, or the numberless multitude of the Numidians, were able to check the Roman courage. They had reduced, in fine, the third part of the world to their subjection, so large that the very nations are hardly to be numbered, beginning from the Atlantic sea, and the pillars of Hercules; to the red sea, and comprizing all Æthiopia. All this they took by arms, reserving, over and above to themselves, a yearly tribute of corn, sufficient to maintain the people of Rome for eight months, besides other duties that they pay cheerfully and readily, though there be but one legion in garrison to raise the contribution.

"But there is no need of recourse to remote examples for proof of the uncontrollable power of Rome, when we may have instances so much nearer at hand; as in Egypt, a kingdom that stretches out as far as Æthiopia and Arabia Felix, contiguous to the Indies, and an infinite multitude of people in it, besides those of Alexandria; and yet this mighty populous kingdom submits to be rated by the poll towards the service of the state, and as a tributary to the Romans, and suffers imposition, though not without plausible ground to murmur at it.

"How comes it about that Alexandria does not revolt too? a strong, large, and opulent city, thirty furlongs in length, and ten in breadth; peopled, and fortified round about, either with deserts, seas without ports, deep rivers, or boggy quagmires. But the fortune of Rome surmounted all these difficulties; for two legions, in the city, were enough to secure the peace of Egypt, and to bridle the Macedonian nobility. This city paid more tribute in a month than you do in a year, and four months provision in corn for the people of Rome, beside money.

"If this be the case, what deserts do you propound to repair to for companions in your undertaking? For all the habitable part of the world is clearly against you, and, in effect, Romans; unless you flatter yourselves with hopes of assistance from your countrymen, the Adiabeniens, on the other side of the Euphrates. Supposing that they could be guilty of so gross an oversight as to engage in a war so desperate, upon so unreasonable a ground, the Parthians themselves would never endure such disrespect towards the Romans, as must inevitably end in a rupture, by countenancing a war against them. So that you have no retreat left but a recourse to God's power against his providence, which is most evidently seen in the advancement, establishment, and protection of the Roman empire.

"Consider war in a religious view, even if you yourselves were the stronger of the two. How can you pretend to dispense with the violation both of God's and of your own laws, or to expect a blessing from heaven in the very act of your disobedience? If you keep the sabbath-day as strictly and religiously as you profess, and as your laws bind you to do, you will most certainly be caught in the same snare over again, that your predecessors were hampered in by Pompey heretofore; that it is to say, by taking advantage of your scruples, and falling upon you on those days when you dare not so much as move an hand to defend yourselves. If you make no conscience of breaking the laws, in fighting one day as well as another,

"another, how do you fight for the maintaining of them, and how can you look for any favour from God in the deliberate breach of his own commandments? Whoever made war but in hope of assistance either from God or man? and when both fail, what can be the consequence but a voluntary wilful slavery? If this be your resolution, what have you more to do than to lay violent hands upon your wives and children, and to lay your glorious country in ashes? The extravagant madness of the action will be some sort of excuse for it; besides, that it will save you the dishonour of falling by the hands of an enemy."

"It is a high point of wisdom, my good friends, and a very necessary point, to foresee and to provide for a storm while the ship is yet in the harbour; and it is as dangerous, on the other hand, to put off the consideration of it till the tempest is upon you, and then to stand trembling, and at a loss which way to turn yourselves. As for those calamities that threaten us unawares, and by surprise, people that fall into them are to be pitied, for there is no preventing of evils not to be foreseen; but for men that run headlong into visible hazards, they fall not only unlamented, but with infamy also and scandal."

"Your way of proceeding, in this affair, would almost persuade one that you have already agreed upon terms with the Romans, how they are to behave themselves in case of gaining their point; that is to say, with tenderness and moderation, and not according to the practice of other nations, with fire and sword, burning your sacred cities, extirpating your whole race, and destroying every man upon the pursuit that outlives the battle: for which way can you fly, but in the very mouths of your enemies, who are either the subjects of Rome already, or such as live in fear of being quickly made so?"

"Nor are you to flatter yourselves that this calamity will stop here: all the Jews upon the face of the earth are to expect your fate, and the whole universe will join as one man to the punishing of this rebellion. You will remember what I tell you now, when you shall see the streets run with blood to gratify the impetuous violence of a few turbulent and hot-brained councils. The Romans are not to be blamed at last, for doing only that which you yourselves have forced them to; and you are to consider, on the other side, in case they should spare you, what an impiety you have to answer for, in the abuse of so much humanity and goodness."

"If you have no longer any sense of natural tenderness for your wives and children, have at least some compassion for your capital city, and the sacred wall of it: have mercy even upon the temple, your law, as the holy sanctuary, which you yourselves are now about to destroy with your own hands; for you are never to hope for mercy again from the Romans, after so ungrateful an abuse of the indulgencies you have formerly received from them."

"But, to conclude, I hereby call God and our whole country to witness, that I have done the utmost in my power towards your preservation. If you will follow my counsel, you may yet live in peace; but if you are determined to persist in tumult and outrage, I have only to consult my own safety."

This address, which was enforced by tears from his sister Berenice, in some degree abated the rage of the multitude, who acknowledged that they were not inimical to the Romans, but to Florus, for the indignities he had so repeatedly offered them. Agrippa replied, "that what they had already done was, in effect, professing enmity to the Romans, as they had broken down the galleries of the castle of Antonia, and refused paying tribute to Cæsar." He added, "that if they would obviate all suspicion of

revolt, they had only, without further delay, to discharge the one, and rebuild the other; since neither the citadel or the tribute belonged to Florus."

The people hearkened to this advice, and went with the king and Berenice into the temple, where they applied themselves to the rebuilding of the galleries; and, at the same time, sent the proper officers up and down the province, to collect the duties which were deficient, and then paid in the whole arrears, amounting to forty talents. Having brought them thus far to reason, Agrippa counselled them to submit to the government of Florus till Cæsar should appoint a successor. But this incensed them to such a degree, that they not only reviled him in the most opprobrious language, but stoned and drove him out of the city. The king, sensible of this contemptuous behaviour in the highest degree, and finding the rabble irreclaimable and desperate, sent several men of rank to Florus at Cæsarea, in order that he might make choice of collectors of the revenue for the whole province, and then retired to his own kingdom.

The multitude treat Agrippa with the greatest indignity.

C H A P. XVII.

The Jews surprize Massada, and put the Roman garrison to the sword. Reject the Roman sacrifices at the instance of Eleazar, who heads a faction. This refusal the ground of the war. The leading men contend for moderate proceedings. Representation of the impiety and injustice of the refusal. Of its being an insult to Cæsar. Precedents and reports in favour of the practice. The leading men apply to Florus and Agrippa for relief. Agrippa sends troops to Jerusalem. Disturbances excited in the city betwixt the loyal and the malecontents. Great slaughter ensues. The festival called Xylophoria. The king's troops worsted. The seditious quit the upper town, and lay all in ashes. The nobility compelled to seek shelter in subterraneous places. Antonia taken by assault. The seditious Jews headed by Manabem. An artful device frustrated. The loyalists obtain permission to depart.

SOON after this, a strong party of those who excited the people to a revolt made an assault upon Massada, a Roman garrison, took it by surprize, put all the Romans to the sword, and substituted for them a guard of their own people. There happened, at the same time, another disorder in the temple at Jerusalem. One Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high-priest, an intrepid youth, and military officer then in command, pressed some of his friends amongst the priests to receive neither offering or sacrifice but from the nation of the Jews. This was the very foundation of our war with the Romans; for, at the instance of Eleazar, the sacrifices of Cæsar, which were daily offered up for the welfare of the Roman people, were rejected. The high-priests, and men of the first rank, declared their disapprobation of the novelty of such prohibition, and importunately desired the continuance of so pure a custom as the offering up of prayers for princes and governors. But the factious party were resolute and inexorable, relying upon their numbers; and all those who were desirous of innovation espoused their cause, which, as before observed, was principally supported by Eleazar, an officer bold in enterprize, and high in command.

The Jews seize upon the strong hold of Massada.

Rejection of the Roman oblations the ground of the war.

This occurrence brought together the rulers, the high-priests, and the Pharisees of the first quality, to deliberate on the most expedient measures to be taken at this juncture; for they plainly foresaw the calamities which the continuance of the tumult must entail upon the city. They debated the point, and came to this resolution, to attempt, by representation and counsel, to pacify the minds of the people. In order to this, they called a general assembly before the brazen gate, on the inside of the temple to the eastward, and there pointed out the

Many of the first rank are for pacific measures.

rashness

They re-
monstrate
with the
multitude.

rashness of the enterprize, and, indeed, madness of involving their country in so destructive a war. From thence they proceeded to shew the unreasonable ground of the dispute, and the injustice of the cause; observing, that their predecessors were so far from prohibiting any oblations from strangers, (which was the highest instance of impiety,) that, in some sort, they made it a part of their worship, as appears from their donations being preserved in the temple as ornaments, and in honour of the memories of the donors. It was represented, that, to provoke the Romans to a dangerous war, to the scandal, if not ruin, of Jerusalem itself, by setting up new modes of religion, to the exclusion of all sorts of people, but Jews, from offering up prayers and oblations to God in his holy temple, was so extravagant a measure, as could not admit of excuse, even in the instance of a private person; but further, to make it general, to the absolute excommunication of Cæsar himself, the insult would justly be deemed unpardonable. It was inferred from these premises, that the contempt would revert to themselves; and that, in consequence of their refusal to offer up prayers and oblations for others, they would not be allowed the liberty of worshipping themselves, when the city would be left without all discipline and good order. This it was concluded they must expect, unless they gave up so idle a project, and relinquished so impious a design before it came to the knowledge of Cæsar.

These re-
presenta-
tions have
no influ-
ence upon
the sedi-
tious.

After these representations, several of the sophists, versed in the Jewish rites and ceremonies, produced precedents and reports of the practices of former times upon the point in question; and their concurring opinion was, that their ancestors never refused oblations from strangers. But those who were bent on innovation, and therefore for stirring up contention, would not hearken to their opinion; nor would the Levites attend Divine service, being wholly intent upon the war.

Deputies
sent to
Florus and
Agrippa.

The men of rank finding the multitude too strong for government, and that the resentment of the Romans would first fall upon them, deliberated upon the matter, and agreed upon sending deputies, some to Florus, of whom Simon, the son of Ananias, was to be chief; others to Agrippa, the principal of whom were to be Saul, Antipas, and Costobarus; which last was the kinsman of Agrippa. Their commission was to solicit them to come with some troops to Jerusalem, and crush the sedition in time.

Agrippa
sends troops
to Jerusa-
lem.

This message was grateful to Florus, who was disposed to inflame the war at all events, as appeared by the delay of his answer to the deputies, in order to give the seditious an opportunity to collect their force. But Agrippa, who was for the common interest, was desirous of saving both parties as much as lay in his power, the guilty as well as the innocent, and by that means securing the Jews to the Romans, and Jerusalem to the Jews. Finding also his own interest at stake, he sent two thousand auxiliary horse, collected from Auranites, Batanæa, and Trachon, with Darius at the head of them; and Philip, the son of Joachim, their general.

A war be-
gun in the
city.

The rulers of the people, with the high-priests, and all that were disposed for peace, received these deputies into the upper town, the lower part of the temple being in the hands of the faction. They began a skirmish with slings and darts, bows and arrows, and maintained it without intermission. Sometimes they made sallies and excursions, and sometimes fought hand to hand. The seditious were the more resolute and daring, but the king's soldiers were superior in military skill. Their principal aim was to force the sacrilegious faction out of the temple; while Eleazar, and his accomplices, laboured as hard, on the other side, to make themselves masters of the upper town. The contest lasted seven days, without any material advantage on either side, but with great slaughter on both.

Attended
with great
slaughter.

The festival of Xylophoria now drawing on, which took its name from the custom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep fire all the year round, they excluded the seditious from their worship. But while

a party of the Jews were abroad upon this office, a band of assassins, called Sicarii, fell in amongst them, and improving the advantage of the king's troops being overborne both with hardiness and numbers, they forced them out of the upper town, and the faction immediately took possession of it. They then set fire to the house of Ananias, the high-priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice, proposing, in the next place, to burn the offices of record, and the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby dissolve their obligations for paying their debts. This was done to gain to their interest multitudes of debtors, who might then join in an insurrection with safety against the more wealthy. The keepers of the records, in fine, abandoned their trust, and consulted their own personal safety, and both writings and offices were all burnt. After this stab to the strength and credit of the city, they applied themselves more particularly to the prosecution of the war.

The sedi-
tious part
the king's
party.

In this scene of confusion many of the rioters, and high-priests, were forced to fly for safety to subterraneous caverns; while others got amongst the king's troops into the upper palace, and immediately shut the gates. In this number were Ananias, the high-priest, Hezekias, his brother, and the deputies of Agrippa.

The seditious contented themselves, for the present, with the advantage they had obtained, and the mischiefs they had done, and proceeded no farther. But the day following, being the fifteenth of the month Lous, they attacked the castle of Antonia, after two days carried it by assault, cut off the whole garrison, and set fire to the place. Passing from thence to the palace, where the troops of Agrippa had taken sanctuary, they divided themselves into four bodies, and attempted the undermining of the walls; but the defendants were obliged to keep close, not being strong enough to venture a sally. The assailants plied their works, and several of the faction, as well as the Sicarii, perished under the walls. In fine, they fought day and night, without respite: the faction, in hopes of rendering the besieged despond by starving them; and the besieged thinking to tire out the faction with the fatigue of unremitting duty.

The castle
of Antonia
taken and
burnt.

There was amongst the seditious one Manahem, the son of Judas of Galilee, a subtle and specious orator, who had formerly upbraided the Jews, under Cyrenius, for professing to worship one God, and at the same time acknowledging the supremacy of the Romans. This Manahem, having a design upon Herod's arsenal at Massada, inveigled several men of rank into his party, took them with him, and forced the place, armed a band of vagrants, and marched with the state of a king to Jerusalem, where he set up as head of the mutineers, and gave orders in form for carrying on the siege of the palace.

Manahem
heads the
faction at
Jerusalem.

But they wanted proper instruments; for it was impracticable to undermine the wall, as the enemy showered darts upon them from above; so that they began to break ground at a distance, and carried on a covered way to the foot of one of the towers, which they undermined at the foundation, and then propped it up with timber to support the weight. When they had finished the work, they set fire to those timbers, and so withdrew; and the pillars being consumed, the turret fell to the ground. But the king's troops, it seems, were aware of this stratagem, and ran up another wall immediately behind the turret to make the place good. This discovery, upon the fall of one of the towers, and when they deemed their work accomplished, threw the besiegers into the utmost consternation. The king's people in the palace, however, sent to Manahem, and the other heads of the faction, for permission to depart, and those of his religion, who forthwith took their departure.

An artificial
wall was
demolished.

The Romans, in consequence of this, were greatly dejected, as they were incapable of coping with so vast a number; nor could they, in honour, descend to treat with rebels. In this extremity they quitted the camp

The Ro-
mans return
to the city
town.

camp as indefensible, and betook themselves to the king's forts, as Hippon, Phasaelis, and Mariamne. Manahem's party brake in as fast as the soldiers quitted, slaying all that came near them, plundering whatever was left behind, and, in the conclusion, burning the camp. This action bare date the sixth of the month Gorpiaeus.

C H A P. XVIII.

Death of Ananias and Hezekias. Eleazar and his party assault Manahem in the temple. Two factions oppose each other. Metilius, a Roman general, treats upon terms with Eleazar. The agreement ratified upon oath and articles. The barbarity and perfidy of Eleazar. Leading cause of the destruction of the Jews. Execution upon a sabbath day.

ON the day following Ananias, the high-priest, and his brother, Hezekias, were taken out of one of the aqueducts, wherein they had concealed themselves, and both put to death by some of the Sicarii. The faction let a strict guard also about the forts, insomuch that none of the soldiers could make their escape. Manahem was so elated with the ravaging of so many fortified places, and the death of Ananias, the high-priest, that he became a most inhuman and insupportable tyrant, and behaved as if he had engrossed to himself the government of the universe. These overbearing tyrannies gave occasion to Eleazar, and some of his confidants, to reason amongst themselves upon the subject. It was observed, that it was by no means consistent that those who had revolted from the Romans, from a desire of asserting their liberty, should betray that liberty to any of their own people, and admit of a supreme governor, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was inferior to themselves; concluding from thence, that if there was an absolute necessity of setting up one man above the rest, it should by no means be Manahem. In the heat of this resolution they went up to the temple, where they found Manahem at his devotion, arrayed in royal robes in all the state of a prince, both as to dress and train, with all his guards about him.

While he was vaunting himself in all his glory, some of Eleazar's party made a violent assault on his person. The multitude then began to stone him, thinking that the death of the sophist would bring about the revival of their liberty. His guards made a slight resistance, till they found he was opposed by the people, when they respectively shifted for themselves. They slew all they took, and made diligent search for the rest. Some few got privately into Massada, and amongst the rest Eleazar, the son of Jairus, and Manahem's near kinsman, who afterwards exercised a tyrannical government in that place. Manahem himself was taken lurking in a place called Ophlas, dragged out, exposed, tortured, and then put to death. His deputies and assistants were treated in the same manner, and amongst the rest Abfalom, who was the chief abettor of the tyranny.

The people espoused the cause of the opposers of Manahem, imagining, as before observed, that it would be a ready means of effecting an accommodation; whereas the party, in truth, was only an antipathy to Manahem, that were setting up for themselves, not so much with a design of suppressing one tyranny, as promoting another. The multitude earnestly pressed the prevailing faction not to bear so hard upon the Romans, but rather to raise the siege, and suffer them to depart. But the more they pressed it on the one side, the more it was opposed on the other. When Metilius, the Roman general, and his people, had exerted their utmost power for the defence of the place, and were now reduced to the last extremity, they offered to capitulate with Eleazar, to deliver it up with all that was in it, upon condition only of sparing their lives. The terms were readily accepted; and Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, Ananias, the son of Saddaca, and Judas, the son of Jonathan, were appointed to ratify the treaty,

No. 32.

and sign and seal the articles. As soon as the agreement was confirmed, and the due formalities had passed, Metilius drew off his soldiers, without interruption, or the least suspicion of danger, as long as the Romans were under arms. But when, according to compact, they came to deliver up their swords and shields, Eleazar's guards broke in upon them, seized and barbarously assassinated them, without resistance or supplication on the part of the Romans, or so much as one word of reproach, except those of "oaths and articles." Metilius was the only man that begged it, which, however, was granted him upon promise of turning Jew.

Barbarous
perfidy of
Eleazar.

The Romans sustained no real detriment by this stroke, as their loss, upon the occasion, was trifling, when put into comparison with their vast armies. But it was manifestly the leading cause of destruction to the Jews; for a war now became inevitable, and that upon just grounds; and that very city which took so principal a part in the contest, was so polluted with perfidy and rebellion, that, if it might escape the vengeance of the Romans, it would certainly fall a victim to Divine justice. Never did the state of the Jews wear so melancholy an aspect; despair universally prevailed, and the innocent were involved in the dread of the common fate, as they were to be answerable for the guilty; and the slaughter being perpetrated on the sabbath day, rendered it the more horrid and heinous, as upon that day we are not allowed to perform any work, though ever so laudable and praise-worthy.

Prelude to
the ruin of
the Jews.A slaughter
on a sab-
bath day.

C H A P. XIX.

Slaughter and calamities beset the Jews. Florus condemns many of them to the galleys. Shocking ravages in Syria and its environs. Pernicious effects of avarice. Civil dissensions bring on the massacre of 13,000 Jews at Scythopolis. Exploits of Simon, a man of singular strength and resolution. His confession and recantation. Puts his father, mother, wife, and children to death with his own hand; and finally himself, to avoid the stroke of the enemy.

UPON the very same day and hour, as if by the direction of Providence, there was a massacre of the Jews at Cesarea to the number of above twenty thousand: nor was there a Jew left in the place; for Florus caused those that fled to be apprehended, and sent in chains to the galleys. This horrid carnage incensed the whole nation, insomuch, that the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, dispersed, began their inroads upon some of the villages of Syria, and then laid waste several of the bordering cities, as Philadelphia, Gebonitis, Gerassa, Pella, and Scythopolis. After this they broke in upon Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulonitis, destroying some places, and setting fire to others. Thence they advanced to Cedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, to Ptolemais, Gaba, and Cesarea. They also over-ran Sebaste and Ascalon without opposition; and when they had reduced these places to ashes, they demolished Anthedon and Gaza. They rifled also, and laid waste, several villages upon the frontiers; and put to death as many of the inhabitants as they could find.

20,000
Jews slain—
ter at Ce-
sarea in one
day.Great ra-
vages in Sy-
ria and its
environs.The Sy-
rians a-
venge them-
selves upon
the Jews.Terrible
disorders
in Syria.

The Syrians, on the other hand, made their reprisals upon the Jews, not only in the vast numbers of them that were put to the sword, but the persecution extended to the very inhabitants of their cities. The state of Syria was at this time most deplorable, as every city had, in effect, two armies in it; and there were no means of preserving either, but by destroying the other. The days were spent in bloodshed, and visionary fears rendered the nights more horrible. The pretence of the Syrians was to remove the Jews; but they were so divided concerning others, whom they suspected to be Judaizers, or favourers of their clan, that, as they thought it hard to put them to death upon suspicion, so they were fearful of suffering them to remain, lest they should afterwards prove to be Jews.

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Those

Pernicious
effects of
avarice.

Those who before had discovered some degree of humanity and moderation, were now become inexorably cruel, from mere avarice, and the hope of lucre; for they plundered all they killed, and had the booty for a reward, reputing him the bravest man who obtained the greatest share, as having overcome the greatest number of his enemies. It was an horrid spectacle to behold the streets filled with dead bodies of men, women, and children, that lay there not only unburied, but uncovered. The provinces laboured under the same calamities, besides the dreadful prospect of various and much greater miseries in future.

The Jews
become ene-
mies to one
another.

The conflict had hitherto been maintained betwixt Jews and strangers, but drawing towards the borders of Scythopolis, they found the very Jews of that quarter inimical to them, so much did they prefer their interest and convenience to every other consideration; for the Jews of Scythopolis joined the inhabitants against the other Jews. Nay, such was their alacrity, that the citizens of Scythopolis suspected them, lest they should join against them with the other Jews, surprize the town in the night, and impute it, at last, either to a desire of revenge for their sufferings, or the necessity of their condition. The citizens, upon this account, told the confederate Jews, that if they would confirm their agreement, and demonstrate their fidelity to them, they should withdraw, for the present, with their families, into a certain grove adjacent. This they accordingly did, and for the two following days all was quiet at Scythopolis; but, upon the third night, their scouts bringing them intelligence that they lay in a careless, easy, and supine posture, the inhabitants fell upon and cut them all off, to the number of 13,000, seized the plunder, and so departed.

The inhabi-
tants of
Scythopolis
make great
slaughter a-
mong the
Jews.

Exploits of
Simon, a
man of ex-
traordinary
strength and
resolution.

Having given this general account, I cannot pass over some particulars relative to one Simon, who perished in this barbarous action. He was the son of Saul, a man of rank among the Jews, and distinguished from the rest of his contemporaries for the firmness of his mind, and the strength of his body, both which faculties he had employed in favour of the Scythopolitans, to the injury of his country. He did daily execution upon several of the Jews living near that place, and would frequently put whole troops to the rout, insomuch that his single person was held almost equivalent to an army. But in the end, a vengeance overtook him adequate to his crime; for when he saw the Jews surrounded by the Scythopolitans, and annoyed by arrows and darts all over the grove, he drew his sword, and, without giving a stroke, (which he found of no avail against such a multitude,) thus passionately addressed himself to the men of Scythopolis: "How justly am I punished for the wrongs I have done, and purchasing your confidence with the lives of so many of my fellow-citizens. As I am now to die, and it will not become a man of honour to fall by the hand of an enemy, but rather to do justice upon myself, I will not therefore put it in the power of an enemy to glory in my ruin, and triumph over me in my calamity."

He takes
vengeance
on himself
and family

Having thus spoken, he surveyed his wife, his children, his aged parents, and whole family, with a mixture of rage and commiseration, and while gazing, as in suspence, he took his father by his grey hairs, and ran him through the body, and after him his mother, who willingly submitted to the stroke. After the father and mother, he did execution upon his wife and sons, who appeared rather to meet the weapon than avoid it, as by that means they prevented the enemy. When he thus put all his kindred to death, he piled them up, and ordering their bodies to be seen by all, he stretched out his right hand, and sheathed the sword in his own bosom. This man, from the strength of his body, and firmness of his mind, deserves to be remembered with compassion; but whoever considers his attachment to strangers, must confess that, in the end, he met with a deserved fate.

CHAP. XX.

Massacre of the Jews at other places. Agrippa goes to Antioch, and leaves Varus his viceroy. Batanea sends seventy deputies to solicit for a garrison. Varus sends a band of armed men to cut them off upon the way. Agrippa deprives him of his commission. The seditious takes possession of the castle of Cyprus. The Romans surrender up Macherus to the Jews.

AFTER the massacre at Scythopolis, other cities rose up against the Jews that were amongst them. The people of Ascalon slew two thousand five hundred; those of Ptolemais two thousand; those of Tyre a considerable number, but kept more of them in bonds. In Hippon and Gadara they cut off all that were young and active, imprisoning the rest; and proceeded in like manner elsewhere, as they were actuated by hatred or fear. But in Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, they were safe and quiet in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties: whether it was that they were not powerful enough to be dangerous, or from compassion to a people who did not seem to have any design upon the state, cannot be determined, but the latter seems the more probable cause. As for the Gerasenes, those who were dispersed were permitted to abide with them in peace, and they gave the rest safe conduct to their borders.

There fell out, at the same time, an unfortunate incident for the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa, who, having occasion to visit Cestius Gallus at Antioch, committed the administration of his government to Varus, a kinsman of king Sohemus. The province of Batanea, during the king's absence, sent seventy deputies of the first rank to desire the indulgence of a garrison, to the end that, in case of any commotion or tumult, they might be able to suppress it. Varus immediately sent out a party of the king's troops to cut them off upon the way. This he had the confidence to do, not only without the knowledge of Agrippa, but entirely against his approbation. He was induced to this horrid outrage by his avarice; so that, after so flagitious a beginning, he stopped at no manner of tyranny or iniquity, but continued his havoc throughout the kingdom. When Agrippa had intelligence of his destructive proceedings, for the sake of Sohemus he spared his life, but removed him immediately from his government.

The seditious, in the mean time, got possession of the citadel of Cyprus, upon the frontier of Jericho, put the garrison to the sword, and demolished the fortifications. At the same instant another considerable body of the Jews treated with the Romans in Macherus to deliver up the garrison, who, choosing rather to part with it by agreement than compulsion, surrendered it upon conditions.

CHAP. XXI.

Instances of the Jews former favour with Alexander the Great, and afterwards with the Cæsars. A violent tumult at Alexandria between the Jews and the Greeks. It is composed by Tiberius, who turns his army loose upon them with a commission to kill, burn, and pillage at pleasure. Fifty thousand Jews slain upon the spot, and the rest beg their lives. The implacable rage of the Alexandrians

THE natives of Alexandria conceived a mortal antipathy to the Jews, from the days of Alexander the Great, who, in acknowledgment of the services they had done him against the Egyptians, made them free of this city, with the grant of all privileges in common with the Greeks. These privileges were continued to them by the successors of Alexander; a peculiar quarter was assigned apart to themselves, where they lived in a manner sequestered from

from the converse of other people; being also entitled to the privilege of calling themselves Macedonians. When Egypt came afterwards to fall into the hands of the Romans, the Jews had their ancient privileges still continued by Cæsar and his successors: but they were perpetually at variance with the Greeks; and though they suffered justice on both sides for their misdemeanors, it had no other effect than to inflame the contention.

Things were extremely out of order at this time every where, but particularly so at Alexandria. The inhabitants being met in assembly about an embassy to Nero upon an extraordinary occasion, there came rushing into the amphitheatre a mixed crowd of Jews and Greeks. The latter immediately exclaimed that the Jews were enemies and spies, and at the same instant fell furiously upon them. They took three of them, and the rest made their escape; but these three they dragged away in order to burn them alive. This commotion brought in the whole body of Jews to their rescue. They began with casting stones at them; and after that ran with lights in their hands up to the amphitheatre, threatening the whole multitude to burn them to ashes, which they had certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had not restrained their fury. He did not use violent measures, but employed some of the most popular men amongst themselves to attempt, by mild persuasion, to bring them to reason, advising them to moderation, and due caution how they incited the Roman soldiers. The seditious Jews, however, made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for the pacific measures he had pursued.

When the governor found the tumult was not to be suppressed without having recourse to arms, he sent out upon them two Roman legions that were then in the city, and five thousand Libyan troops, to harra's the mutineers. Their orders were not only to slay all that opposed them, but to seize their effects, and then fire their houses. The word of command was no sooner given, than they marched to a quarter of the town called Delta, where the Jews chiefly resided, and there executed their orders to the utmost extremity. The Jews placed their best armed men in the front, who, for some time, made an obstinate resistance, but, upon the first disorder, they were scattered and cut to pieces; though it proved to the conquerors a bloody victory. Death and destruction never appeared in more hideous forms: some were caught in the open field, others forced into their houses, which were first plundered, and then set on fire by the Romans. No mercy was shewn to age or sex, till the place ran with torrents of blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead in heaps; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication for their lives; so that the governor, commiserating their case, gave orders for the Romans to retire, which they did at the first word, out of the deference they paid to order and discipline. But the populace of Alexandria bore so implacable an hatred to the Jews, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from insulting the very carcases. Such was the consequence of the tumult at Alexandria.

C H A P. XXII.

Cestius marches with a powerful army against the Jews.

The inhabitants of the country come in to him upon his march to Ptolemais. He is joined by Agrippa. Zebulun, the strongest city of Galilee, plundered and burnt. Cestius returns to Ptolemais. The Jews cut off two thousand Syrians. Cestius removes to Cesarea. Total destruction of Joppa by the Romans.

CESTIUS finding the Jews, from their seditious disposition, become so totally obnoxious, determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war. To that end he drew out his troops, and marched for Ptolemais. He took with him the twelfth legion entire, which he had at Antioch; two thousand chosen

men out of the other legions; four troops of horse; besides the king's auxiliaries, that is to say, two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, belonging to Antiochus, armed with bows and arrows; a thousand horse, and three thousand foot, belonging to Agrippa; a body of four thousand men from king Sohemus, a third part horse, and the remainder of them foot, chiefly archers. The people came flocking in to Cestius out of the cities through which he passed in his way to Ptolemais, who, though they might be deficient in military skill, were zealous in the cause, from their implacable hatred to the Jews.

Agrippa assisted Cestius not only with his troops, but his counsel; so that at his instance the general marched away with part of his army to Zebulun (otherwise called Andron, or *the city of men*) which divides Judæa from Ptolemais. When he came up to the place, he found it totally deserted by the inhabitants, who had all fled up to the mountains, abounding in all sorts of provision; so that he gave his soldiers the plunder of the city. Though he could not but admire the beauty of the buildings, which much resembled those of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, he caused them to be razed to the ground. From thence he over-ran the whole country, destroying whatever fell in his way. When he had laid waste the territory, and set all the adjacent villages in a blaze, he left them in ashes, and so returned to Ptolemais. The Syrians were so intent upon the booty, especially those of Berytus, that many stayed behind for the sake of plunder; so that the Jews, taking courage upon the retreat of Cestius, and falling upon them by surprize, cut them off to the number of near two thousand.

From Ptolemais Cestius removed to Cesarea, and from thence sent a detachment of his army to Joppa, with orders to preserve the place, if they could quietly get possession of it; but, in case the inhabitants should put themselves in a posture of defence, they should wait for the bringing up the rest of the army. The Romans, in fine, assaulted the place both by sea and land, and mastered it without much difficulty; for the inhabitants were so far from attempting to dispute it by force, that they had no opportunity for so much as an escape. They were all put to the sword, men, women and children, without distinction. The city was plundered and burnt; and the number of the slain was supposed to amount to eight thousand four hundred persons. Cestius also sent a body of horse into the adjacent toparchy of Narbatane, near Cesarea, where they laid the country waste, put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, seized upon their effects, and buried their cities in ashes.

C H A P. XXIII.

Cestius sends Cefennius Gallus into Galilee. Sepphoris, and the neighbouring parts, join with the Romans. The Romans overcome the freebooters. Gallus moves from Galilee to Cesarea, and Cestius marches with his army to Antipatris. Lydda destroyed. Cestius encamps near Jerusalem. The Jews make a furious sally on the sabbath day, and put Cestius and his army in danger. The Jews put to a retreat. The Romans draw off, and the Jews fall upon their rear.

CESTIUS now sent Cefennius Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, with such additional forces as he judged sufficient for the reduction of that province. The inhabitants of Sepphoris, the strongest city, opened their gates to him, and the rest of the towns had the prudence to follow their example. But the mutineers and free-booters withdrew to the mountain of Asamon, that crosses Galilee, and lies just opposite to Sepphoris. Gallus advanced upon them in their own post; but so long as they maintained the upper ground they were too hard for the Romans, and slew near two hundred of them in the encounter. But when the Romans came to take a compass, and, by degrees, had gained the top of the mountain, and were thereby enabled

Is joined by numbers in his way.

Zebulun deserted, plundered, and burnt.

Two thousand Syrians cut off by the Jews.

Joppa destroyed, and the inhabitants cut off.

Cefennius Gallus commands under Cestius in Galilee.

to cope with them upon even terms, the fugitives were presently routed, their light-armed men not being able to stand the shock, nor those that fled to escape the pursuit of the horse. Some few, indeed, concealed themselves in lurking places among the mountains; but upwards of two thousand of them were cut to pieces.

Gallus moves to Cesarea, Cestius to Antipatris.

Cestius encamps 50 furlongs from Jerusalem.

The Jews make a furious sally on the sabbath day.

Gallus, apprehending no cause for innovation in Galilee, drew off his troops to Cesarea; and Cestius, with his whole army, went to Antipatris. He was there given to understand, that a considerable body of the Jews were got together into the tower of Aphec, and sent a party thither to dislodge them. The Jews, not being in a condition to stand the attack, left it to the Romans, who rifled it, and then setting fire to all the adjoining villages, took their departure. From Antipatris Cestius removed to Lydda, where he found only fifty men, the rest being gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles. He put those fifty to the sword, burnt the town; and then advanced, by the way of Bethoron, to a certain place called Gaboah, fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and there pitched his camp.

The Jews, finding the war approach their metropolis, left the festival, and betook themselves to their arms. They thought their number sufficient, and in that confidence sallied out upon the Romans, with hideous clamour, and in great confusion, regardless of any qualms, it being now their sabbath, which, as often mentioned, is by them most scrupulously observed. But the same rage which caused them to dispense with the observance of the sabbath, proved an advantage to them in the execution of their design upon their enemies; for they threw the Romans into disorder upon the first charge, broke into their ranks, and made so furious an attack upon their main body, that, if they had not been supported by a party of foot which was then entire, and a troop of horse that came up to their relief in the critical minute, Cestius, and his whole army, had been in danger of being lost. There fell five hundred and fifteen of the Romans in this skirmish; four hundred of them horse, the rest foot. Two and twenty only of the Jews were slain upon the spot. Those who signalized themselves upon the occasion were Monobasus and Cenedæus, two kinsmen of Monobasus, king of the Adiabeniens. The next in reputation to these two heroes were Niger of Perea, and Silas, the Babylonian, who went over from king Agrippa, whom he had formerly served, into the interest of the Jews.

The Jews press hard upon the Romans.

The Jews, at length, being forced to a retreat, retired into the city; while the Romans, drawing off likewise to Bethoron, were pressed upon the rear by Simon, the son of Gioras, who cut off several of them, seized their carriages and baggage, which they found upon the road, and so went off to Jerusalem. Cestius continued three days after this in the field, as the Jews had possessed themselves of the elevated parts of the city, set watches at the entrances, and appeared resolved to fall upon the Romans if they had quitted their stand.

C H A P. XXIV.

Agrippa proposes to the Jews an alliance with the Romans. The people rise upon it, and treat the ambassadors with severity. Cestius falls upon them, and pursues them to the walls of Jerusalem, bringing his whole army up to the city. He encamps near the palace. The Jews repair to the defence of the walls. The Romans are repulsed upon several assaults. An invention to secure the pioneers. Cestius raises the siege, and the revolvers fall upon his rear. A great slaughter of the Romans by the Jews. Cestius is in great perplexity. The miserable condition of the Romans. Cestius saves himself by a stratagem.

AGRIPPA, observing that the affairs of the Romans were in a dangerous situation, while such an immense number of their enemies had seized up-

on the mountains round about, determined to try if the Jews were to be influenced by words, flatter- ing himself that the parties might be reasoned into a better understanding one of another; or thinking, however, if he could not reconcile them, he might possibly be able to divide them, and abate something of the rancour of the quarrel. Pursuant to this design, he sent two of his officers, Barceus and Phebus, men of approved integrity, to offer them a treaty of alliance with the people of Rome, with an assurance of pardon and indemnity for all that was past, upon condition of laying down their arms, and coming over to Rome. The factious, upon hearing of this proposal, were so apprehensive of the people going over to Agrippa, in hopes of this amnesty, that they determined to assassinate the ambassadors. Accordingly they slew Phebus before he could open his commission; and Barceus was wounded, but prevented his fall by flight: but the multitude was so enraged at the baseness of this action, that they drove the seditious before them into the city.

This intestine division gave Cestius the fairest opportunity to break in upon the factious; so that he advanced upon them with his whole army, charged, routed, and pursued them to the walls of Jerusalem. He then marched off to a place called Scopus, seven furlongs from the city, and there pitched his camp. He remained three whole days in a state of inactivity, without so much as making an attempt upon the place, hoping, perhaps, that the people might become disposed to peace; but, in the mean time, sent out a party of soldiers into the neighbouring villages, to procure corn and other necessaries.

On the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus, he advanced with his whole army, in good order, up to the city, where the people durst not stir, through fear of the factious party. But their very leaders were so intimidated by the apparent order and discipline of the Romans in their march, that they retired from the suburbs, many into the inner parts of the city, and some into the temple. Cestius took his way by Bezetha, and, as he advanced, burnt Cenopolis, and a place called the timber-market. Thence advancing to the upper town, he pitched his camp near the palace. If he had then made a vigorous assault, he might easily have carried the place, and put an end to the war. But Tyrannus and Priscus, and some other great officers, had been corrupted by Florus to divert him from his purpose. This false step proved the absolute ruin of the Jews, and the source of all their future calamities.

Under these circumstances divers of the principal men amongst the Jews, at the instance of Ananus, the son of Jonathas, invited Cestius into the city, proposing to open the gates to him; but he delayed his resolution so long, either through indignation or diffidence, that the design was discovered, and Ananus, with his party, forced, by stones from the walls, to fly for sanctuary to their own houses.

The Jews dispersed themselves upon this into the turrets, to the defence of the walls, which they made good for five days against the utmost efforts of the Romans, though pressed with the most impetuous violence. On the sixth day Cestius, with the choicest of his troops and bow-men, assaulted the temple on the northern quarter; but the Romans were so galled with slings and arrows from the porch and galleries, that they were not only obliged to give way, but in the end totally repulsed. After these disappointments the Romans had recourse to this invention: the first rank rested their shields upon the wall, and guarded themselves with what they called testudo, from its resemblance to the back of a tortoise, which being proof against all the enemies darts and arrows, they were at liberty to undermine the walls without further danger. They then made preparation for setting fire to the gate of the temple. This so alarmed the faction, that they gave up all for lost, and many of them quitted the town. But it was matter of joy to the moderate and peaceable part, in- so-much, that they called out to open the gates to Cestius, whom they deemed their friend and preserver. To such a plight were they reduced, that if Cestius



Metz delin.

Brignien sculp.

*Ten Thousand JEWS Massacred in one Day by
the Inhabitants of DAMASCUS.*

Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke No. 7 Paternoster Row Oct. 20. 1848.

Cestius had prosecuted the siege but a little longer, the Romans would certainly have had possession of the city: but it seems not to have been agreeable to the Divine will, that this dreadful war should thus terminate: for Cestius, as if unconscious of the good disposition of the people in general, or the desperation of the seditious in the city, by a kind of judicial infatuation, drew off his men on a sudden, even when their hopes were at the fairest, and, contrary to all reason, quitted the siege. This unexpected retreat so emboldened the revolvers, that they fell upon the rear of the Romans, and cut off a considerable number both of their horse and foot. Cestius lodged that night at the camp he had fortified at a place called Scopus. The next day he continued his march, with the enemy at his rear, who, pursuing, cut off many of the hindmost of his men. They also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and galled them with darts: nor durst they so much as turn their heads to look the enemy in the face, imagining the number of those that pursued them was immense. They did not even attempt to repel those that pressed them on each side, because their armour was heavy, and they were fearful of breaking their ranks; whereas they knew the Jews, on the other hand, were light armed, and ready for excursions and surprizes upon any occasion. Upon the whole the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to avenge themselves upon their enemies. The ways, in fine, were covered with dead and wounded bodies upon their retreat. Amongst the slain were Priscus, who commanded the sixth legion; Longinus, the tribune; and Emilius Jucundus, a principal officer of horse; so that, with difficulty, and the loss of their baggage, they got to Gabaoh, where they had encamped before.

Cestius remained here two days, doubtful how to proceed in his present embarrassed situation. Upon the third day he found the number of Jews greatly increased, insomuch that the country was overrun with them. From this he was sensible that his delay had not only hindered but endangered him, and that the longer he stayed the more enemies he should have.

Upon this he ordered the army to be discharged of all incumbrances, for the ease and expedition of the march. The mules, asses, and other beasts of burthen, he caused to be killed, reserving a few only of those which were to carry machines that he might have further occasion for, and which he was desirous also of retaining, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy.

This was the state and posture of the army on their march to Bethoron. They were not annoyed by the Jews so long as they continued in an open country, but when they came into narrow passages, they charged their front and rear, to separate them from the main army, and force them further into the valley, while the multitude, from the rocks and craggs, galled them with their darts. While the foot were in this state of distress, not knowing how to defend themselves, the condition of the horse was much more desperate, as they could neither advance up to the Jews to attack them upon the mountains, or secure themselves against them in the valleys; nor could they keep their own troops in order against the shower of arrows that poured down amongst them. They were at length in such a situation, that they could neither fight or fly; and in this desponding extremity they had recourse to all the passionate extravagancies of tears, groans, and outcries, that are usual in such cases; whilst the rocks and the vallies rang, on the other side, with transports of joy, triumph, and vaunting.

Such was their advantage, that if the Jews had been favoured with day-light, the army of Cestius had been totally destroyed: but night coming on, the Romans escaped to Bethoron; and the Jews secured all the passes round about, to cut off the retreat of the Romans.

When Cestius found in what manner he was beset, he bethought of a stratagem to assist him in his escape. He selected about four hundred of his bravest

men, and placed them at the strongest of the fortifications, giving orders that, when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns, that the Jews might be induced to believe the army had not yet decamped. In the mean time Cestius shrunk away with the rest of his forces without any noise, about thirty furlongs during the night.

When the Jews perceived in the morning that the place was abandoned, and the main army withdrawn, they immediately fell upon the four hundred Romans who had deluded them, slew them to a man, and then went in pursuit of Cestius. But having availed himself of the night to prosecute his escape, they could not overtake him. The soldiers fled in such consternation, that they left behind them all their warlike instruments, which the Jews took up, and afterwards used against the Romans. They followed the pursuit as far as Antipatris; but finding it vain to continue it longer, secured their engines, stripped the dead, collected their booty, and so returned with joy and triumph to Jerusalem, for having obtained so important a victory with such very little loss. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dios, and in the twelfth year of the reign of the emperor Nero.

CHAP. XXV.

The most eminent Jews quit Jerusalem. Cestius sends deputies to Nero, imputing the late misconduct to Florus. A conspiracy at Damascus against the Jews. Ten thousand are massacred in the space of one day. The Jews, who overcame Cestius, return to Jerusalem, and appoint their officers, civil and military. Eleazar acquires popularity. Josephus, our historian, appointed governor of both the Galilees. His leading principles. Mode of administration. He institutes a council of seventy. Walls in the defensible cities. Establishes the Roman order and discipline.

AFTER this disaster had befallen Cestius, the most considerable of the Jews in Jerusalem quitted the city, as mariners would a ship sinking in a storm. Costobarus and Saul, two brothers, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, formerly Agrippa's general, withdrew to Cestius. But Antipas, their fellow prisoner in the palace, disclaiming to save himself by flight, was put to death by the faction; the particulars of which I shall relate hereafter. Now Cestius sent Saul and his companions to Nero in Achaia, with information of his distressed condition, and to transfer the blame of the whole miscarriage to Florus. Cestius adopted this measure to exculpate himself, and raise the indignation of the emperor against the other.

When the people of Damascus heard of the destruction of the Romans, they entered into a resolution of cutting off all the Jews in that place. This they were persuaded they could effect, if they could but take them together at the baths, or any of the places of public exercise or recreation. Their principle ground for apprehension of failure was its coming to the knowledge of their wives, who were mostly attached to the Jewish religion. They took, however, their opportunity, when the Jews were at one of these public meetings, in an unarmed situation, to fall upon them, and massacred ten thousand of them in one day without any difficulty.

The Jews who gave Cestius that terrible overthrow, being by this time returned to Jerusalem, endeavoured, by every means, fair and foul, to engage as many of the Romans as they could in their party. Upon this they had a meeting in the temple, for the election of officers for the government of the war, as well as civil and ecclesiastical departments. They declared Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus, the high-priest, governors of all affairs within the city, recommending to their care, in a more especial manner, the rebuilding of their walls. As for Eleazar, the son of Simon, though he had in his possession a

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Cestius sends deputies to Nero.

Ten thousand Jews massacred in one day at Damascus.

The Jews appoint rulers over the city.



Metz delin.

Grignon sculp.

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Cestius acts
capitally in
the
siege.

Routes the
Jews with-
out a just
cause.

Antipatris
is the
Roman.

Cestius is in
a great dis-
lemma.

The danger
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were
in during
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mighty booty taken from the Romans, a considerable sum of money from Cestius, and a mass of public treasure to an immense value over and above, they did not think him worthy of having any commission conferred upon him, looking upon him as a man of an imperious, tyrannical disposition, and upon his specious friends and confidants rather as guards than companions. But this did not prevent Eleazar from insinuating himself, by degrees, into the affections and esteem of the people; for he so prevailed upon them by the popular means of money and address, that, in their professed opinions, no man was so well qualified for governor as himself.

Eleazar acquires popularity.

Governors are sent into Idumæa and other parts.

Josephus, the historian, made governor of both the Galilees, &c

The commanders they sent into Idumæa were Jesus, the son of Sapphas, one of the high-priests, and Eleazar, the son of the new high-priest; at the same time enjoining Niger, the present governor of that province, to obey their orders. This Niger, coming from Perea, beyond Jordan, was called Peraites. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country. They sent Joseph, the son of Simon, to Jericho; Manasses to Perea; John, the Essene, to Thamna; while Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, were to be governed in the form of toparchies. John, the son of Ananias, was made governor of Gophnitis and Acrabatena; and Josephus, the son of Matthias, governor of both the Galilees, adding to the command Gamala, the strongest place in the whole country.

He endeavours to acquire popularity.

His plan of policy.

He institutes a council of seventy.

These governors discharged their duty with alacrity and prudence, according to the extent of their respective commissions. The first care of Josephus, when he came into Galilee, was to obtain the goodwill of the people, an interest which he knew to be most conducive to the preservation of order and good government. He was also conscious that the certain way to make great men his friends was, to admit them to a share in the government; and that the most effectual means to conciliate the esteem of the multitude, was to employ natives, and popular instruments in popular cases. His plan was therefore this: he selected a council of seventy out of the elders and ablest men of the nation. To this council of seventy he committed the whole government of Galilee, under some few restrictions; appointing seven to every city, to hear and determine all common causes, in such manner and form as he had prescribed; reserving to himself the judgment of capital causes, and matters of greater importance.

Provides for the security of the cities of Galilee.

Having thus regulated affairs at home, so far as related to domestic policy, he took into consideration the necessary means of securing his people from foreign injuries and insults. Taking it for granted that the Romans would break into Galilee, he took care, in the first place, to wall in all the defensible cities, as Jotapata, Bersabee, Selamis, Perea, Japha, Sigoh, Tarichee, and Tiberias, with the mountain Itabyr. He fortified also the caves about the lake of Genezareth, in the Lower Galilee; and in the Upper, Petra of the Achabarians, Seph, Jamnith, and Mero; and Seleucir, Soganes, and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. The people of Sepphoris being wealthy and warlike, had liberty to build their own walls. John, the son of Levi, by order of Josephus, walled in Gischala. As to the rest of the castles, they were fortified by the direction and assistance of Josephus himself. He collected an army out of Galilee of more than an hundred thousand young men, and armed them with old weapons, which he had collected together, and prepared for them.

Furnishes the Galileans with arms.

Adopts the Roman military discipline.

The next thing that occurred to him was the mighty power of Rome, and the means by which it became invincible, which evidently appeared to be their strict attention to military discipline. Observing, therefore, that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made partitions in his army after the Roman manner, dividing and subdividing offices of command into several subordinations. He had his officers over tens, hundreds, and thousands, and all these subjected to other superiors. He taught them the discipline of signals, the points of war in the sound

of the trumpet, to distinguish an alarm, a charge and a retreat, the disposition of an army and form of battle, the order of bringing off or on, seconding the weak, or relieving the weary. He explained to them the nature and effects of fortitude, mental and corporeal; and whenever he treated on military subjects, held forth the Roman discipline as the grand instance of authority and example. He told his soldiers, that, if they would lay a foundation for success in their military undertaking, they must renounce before-hand, all violence, robbery, fraud, pilfering, and the like; that they must do justice to all people without exception, nor seek to raise themselves upon the downfall of others; observing, upon the whole, that a good conscience is the only real foundation of genuine courage.

Excellent instruction both martial and moral.

Josephus had now raised his complement of forces: they consisted of sixty thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse; and besides these four thousand five hundred mercenaries, with six hundred select men for the guard of his person. These men were no very great charge to the country, for all but the mercenaries were maintained by the different cities, which, as they sent out one half of them to the war, employed the other half in providing necessaries, so that one part wrought for the other; and those that were in arms protected their purveyors.

The complement of the army of Josephus.

C H A P. XXVI.

Character of John of Gischala. He obtains the confidence of Josephus, and then abuses it. Raises a sedition against him. Josephus is deserted by all his friends but four. His address to the seditious Jews. He gains upon the multitude, and thereby puts John upon other treacherous practices. Silas gives notice of it to Josephus, who hastens away to Tiberias. John counterfeits sickness. Josephus set upon, and narrowly escapes. John is execrated for his perfidy. All Galilee reconciled to Josephus. Terms of accommodation proposed and accepted. Secret plots against Josephus. Four cities go over to the enemy.

WHILE Josephus was engaged in his administration in Galilee, there started up an extraordinary kind of impostor. He was a native of Gischala, the son of one Levi, and his name was John. He possessed cunning and fraud in an extraordinary degree, and was capable of the most flagitious practices. His poverty for a long time prevented the execution of his wicked designs. Though he was a notorious liar himself, he was as credulous as those he imposed on. Fraud by him was estimated a virtue, and his best friends were the objects of his delusion. He made great pretence to humanity, but was barbarously cruel where he had hopes of gain. His ambition had no bounds, and the foundation of his hopes was laid in his crimes. He was so naturally addicted to theft, that he acquired its various tricks, and particularly of alluring others, insomuch that he collected accomplices, by degrees, till they amounted to a train of four hundred, in which number there was not one irresolute man, or inexpert in the use of arms, so scrupulously careful was he in his choice for mental and corporeal qualifications. The greatest part of this band was raised from the villages and borders of Tyre. With this banditti, however, he made great ravages, and put many of those to the sword who had withdrawn upon the apprehension of a war. But he aspired to far greater things, and wanted only money to put himself at the head of a well formed party.

John of Gischala, a native of Tyre, an impostor.

When he found that Josephus was greatly pleased with the activity of his disposition, he employed his influence with him to obtain the superintendence of the re-building the walls of Gischala, upon which pretence he drew large sums of money in contributions from all the citizens of property. He had then recourse to another invention, concerted with wondrous shrewdness. He procured

He induces the superintendence of the rebuilding of Gischala.

an order from Josephus to all the Jews in Syria, forbidding them expressly to send any oil into the bordering parts, but of the produce of their own nation. Upon this prohibition John engrossed the oil, and sold it again at eight times the price it cost him.

This being a plentiful year, and Galilee a country abounding with oil, the monopoly which he practised in sending so much abroad, where there was a great scarcity, brought an incredible sum of money into his coffers, which credit he converted afterwards to the mischief of his benefactor. Persuaded at this time, if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee, he gave it in charge to the ruffians under his command to harraiss the inhabitants more and more, which would either exasperate the people into practices upon his person, if he controuled them, or else expose him to accusations and complaints, if he let them alone. As an introduction to his design, he caused a report to be circulated far and near, that Josephus was in a plot to betray the province to the Romans; and many other stratagems did he contrive to effect his ruin.

There was at that time a party of young men of the village of Dabarith, who kept guard on the great plain; and as Ptolemy, king Agrippa's and queen Berenice's steward, was travelling that way, set upon him, and took away all his boxes and baggage, to a great value, in rich robes, silver plate, and six hundred pieces of gold. This was a prize not to be concealed, so that they carried it whole as it was to Josephus at Tarichee, who checked them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen, and ordered the booty to be deposited in the charge of one Eneas, an eminent man of that city, and to be forth coming upon demand. This act of justice had well nigh cost Josephus his life; for when the pillagers came to understand that they were excluded from all share in the prey, and that the governor reserved it entirely for the king's use, they ran through all the neighbouring cities and villages, exclaiming that Josephus had betrayed them.

This outcry raised such an uproar, that, by daylight next morning, there was a body of an hundred thousand people assembled, who ran to the Circus at Tarichee, exclaiming against Josephus; some being for deposing, some for stoning, and others for burning him as a traitor. The tumult at the same time was encouraged by John, and Jesus, the son of Sapphas, who were magistrates of Tiberias. This violent outrage of the people threw the attendants and guards of Josephus into such a consternation, that all but four persons deserted him. He was at that time in a sound sleep; and as they were just setting fire to the house his four friends waked him. Josephus maintained an extraordinary degree of composure, nor discovered the least emotion, either at the number of his enemies, or the desertion of his friends, but frankly presented himself to the view of the people in rags and ashes, with his hands behind him, and his sword about his neck. This generous constancy moved his friends, and especially those of Tarichee, to the highest degree of commiseration. But the savage mob, both of the town and country, to whom his government seemed burthensome, reviled him for his treachery and oppression, calling upon him, again and again, to restore the money, and confess the fact. They concluded in fine, from his habit and behaviour, that he was now disposed to declare the truth, and that with a view of obtaining both pardon and pity. Under these circumstances he thought it most expedient to divide his enemies, and set them at variance, and to this end promised them a frank confession of the whole matter; so that having obtained an hearing, he spoke to this effect:

"I neither did intend to send this money back again to Agrippa, or to convert it to my own use; as it never was my design to court the friendship of any prince that was inimical to you, or propose to myself any benefit to your prejudice. But (addressing himself to the people of Tari-

chee) considering the defenceless state of your city without walls, your own inability to rebuild them, and the avidity with which the people of Tiberias, and several other cities, have beheld this prize, I thought I could not do better than increase it for the accomplishment of so laudable a purpose. If you agree with me in opinion, you are bound in honour to justify me in what I have done; if otherwise, I am ready to lay all that I have taken at your feet, to be disposed of at your pleasure."

The people of Tarichee loudly applauded this speech; but those of Tiberias loaded him with calumnies, menaces, and reproaches, and their rage and animosity became fiercer than ever. In the heat of their division, however, they declined their quarrel with Josephus, and entered into a warm contest one with another.

When Josephus found he had secured the people of Tarichee in his interest, (who amounted to near forty thousand,) he addressed them with more freedom, pointed out to them their error, and assured them that, for his part, he was absolutely for employing the money they had in the fortification of the town. He recommended to them to leave to him the care of the other cities also, assuring them, if they would follow his direction, nothing should be wanting towards the charge of the work.

This carried so fair a face, that part of the mutineers, though still dissatisfied, withdrew; but, at the same time, another party of two thousand armed men advanced furiously towards Josephus, who escaped into the house, while the rioters stood pressing and menacing without. Josephus was now under a necessity of having recourse to another invention: he went up to the top of the house, and waving his right hand as a signal for silence, when the uproar subsided a little, thus addressed them: "I cannot understand the drift of your desire, nor is it possible for us to understand each other in this confusion of noise. I stand here ready to fulfil your commands, if you will depute any person to come to me, that we may treat on the matter with composure and temper."

Upon this proposal some of the leaders repaired to Josephus, were admitted into the house, taken into a remote quarter, and there scourged with the utmost severity. The rabble thought they had waited long enough at the door for the issue of the conference, imputing the delay to some difficulties in the case, when, on a sudden, the doors were thrown open, and the commissioners dismissed in their bloody hue after the flagellation, which struck the people with such terror, that those who were highest in their menaces before, were the first to cast down their arms, and betake themselves to flight.

This disappointment so mortified and exasperated John against Josephus, that he concerted other practices to gratify his revenge. He counterfeited sickness, and desired permission of Josephus to go to the hot baths at Tiberias for the recovery of his health. Josephus, upon this, gave him recommendatory letters to the governor of the city, to afford him assistance in what might be requisite for his accommodation, without the least suspicion of treachery. But John was no sooner possessed of the advantages he desired, than he tampered with some, and corrupted others with money and fair words, to abandon Josephus. When Silas, who, at that time, had charge of the city, received information of this practice, he forwarded advice of it to Josephus, who, upon the very instant of receiving the letter, (though late at night,) hastened away for Tiberias, and arrived thither early the next morning. The people in general received him with the utmost deference, John only excepted, who suspected the matter, and the faction which he had corrupted. He sent him, however, a complimentary excuse for not doing himself the honour of waiting upon him, pretending to be confined through sickness. The people of Tiberias were now assembled by order of Josephus, with an intent to acquaint them of the advice he had received.

Different effects of the speech.

Josephus brings himself off by a stratagem.

John frames a new plot against Josephus.

Josephus goes to Tiberias.

Josephus set upon, and narrowly escapes.

received. John, having notice of it, sent a band of bravos to destroy him; but, at the instant of their drawing their swords, the people gave a shriek, and Josephus taking the alarm, when the weapons were just at his throat, leaped down from a standing of six cubits high, which he had mounted for his harangue, and made his escape to a little boat upon the lake, with only two of his guards to protect him.

His moderation.

The soldiers immediately betook themselves to their arms, to avenge their general upon these traitors. But Josephus, fearful lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and involve the city in ruin, sent a messenger to his people, with a positive command to proceed no farther with the traitors than was necessary for their own preservation; and they accordingly followed his orders with the strictest punctuality.

The Galileans flock to Josephus.

When the rumour of the plot, and the author of it, was spread throughout the country, the people assembled in great multitudes, and went in quest of John; but he prevented their design by flying to Gischala, his native place. The cities of Galilee went over in general to Josephus upon this occasion, and with them many thousands of armed men, who offered their best services against John, whom they reviled as a traitor, and the common enemy of mankind, and declared him deserving of being committed to the flames, with the city that protected him. Josephus assured them that he was highly sensible of their kindness and good-will, but inclined to moderate proceedings where the case would admit, as he had rather save an enemy by candour and prudence, than destroy them by force. He declared, however, at the same time, that he would wish to find every man out of the respective cities excepted by name from pardon, his goods confiscated, and his family destroyed, who should not, in five days after the publication of such a decree, abandon the interest of John, and return to his allegiance.

He proposes terms of accommodation.

They are accepted.

The heads of several cities were unanimous in the promotion of these conditions: proclamation was made in form, and all things pursuant duly executed. This declaration brought over three thousand of John's party, who cast themselves and their arms at the feet of Josephus. But John, with the remainder, which consisted of about a thousand Syrian fugitives, betook himself to secret practices, when he found he could not carry his point by open attempts. He sent private emissaries to Jerusalem to calumniate Josephus for extravagant levies, and insinuate that he would soon become tyrannical, unless restrained by a superior power. The people in general disregarded this intimation; but some of the leading men supplied John with money towards maintaining the contest with Josephus. Nay, they even passed a decree for re-calling him from his government; nor did they think that decree sufficient, but sent a detachment of two thousand five hundred armed men, and four persons, eminent as lawyers and orators, in order to supplant Josephus in the credit he had with the people. They were directed to offer him no violence, if he would come away by fair means; but, in case of refusal, to treat him as an enemy. These commissioners were Joazar, the son of Nomicus; Ananias, the son of Sadduc; and Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathas.

Four cities of Galilee revolt from Josephus.

The friends of Josephus gave him intelligence that an army was coming against him; but the design of the enemy was kept so close, they could not form the least judgment of it. For this cause four cities immediately revolted from him: these were Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias; but he soon recovered them without bloodshed. Four of the principal men he had taken, both for arms and counsel, he sent back to Jerusalem, which enraged the people to so violent a degree against them, that, if they had not escaped in time, they would have been all cut to pieces, both those who were sent, and those that sent them.

C H A P. XXVII.

Tiberias again revolts, and is recovered by a notable stratagem. The inhabitants surrender, and send hostages for the performance of articles. Clytus does justice to himself, and cuts off the one hand with the other, according to sentence.

DURING this time John was in such dread of Josephus, that he kept himself close within the walls of Gischala. Within a few days Tiberias revolted again, invited Agrippa to take possession of the town, and acknowledged him for their king. But, as he did not come at the time appointed, some Roman cavaliers appeared, and expelled Josephus out of the city. When the news of this desertion reached Tarichee, Josephus was in a very embarrassed situation, as he durst not venture himself alone among the whole body of the deserters, nor could he stay in town for fear of being surprized by the king's soldiers: besides, as the next day was the sabbath, no plan could be carried into execution. Thus circumstanced, he found himself under a necessity of circumventing the revolted by a stratagem. He ordered the gates of Tarichee to be all shut and guarded, to prevent any intelligence being conveyed to Tiberias of his design. Upon this he caused all the vessels in the lake to be got together, to the number of two hundred and thirty, and four men to be put in each of them. With these vessels he sailed early in the morning for Tiberias. When he was advanced within such a distance of the town that they might easily discern the number of the fleet, without distinguishing what men they had on board, he ordered all the vessels to come to anchor, and stay behind, while himself, with only seven of his guards, and those unarmed, rowed up towards the town within view of the place. His adversaries were still reviling him from the walls; but, upon sight of him in this situation, and taking for granted that the vessels were full of men, they threw down their arms in consternation, and, by tokens of the most submissive intercession, besought him to spare the city.

Josephus uttered terrible menaces against them; and reproached, that, when they took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions, and do that which their enemies desired above all things; that, besides, they should endeavour so hastily to seize upon him who took care of their safety; and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him who built their walls. He, however, told them, he would admit of such intercession from them as he could enter upon terms with for the security of the city.

Upon this they dispatched ten of their principal men as deputies, whom Josephus ordered to be put on board a vessel, and conveyed some distance from the city. He sent afterwards for fifty of the principal senators as a farther security for the performance of the conditions; and so proceeded, upon one pretence or other, till he had the whole senate in his hands, to the number of six hundred persons, besides two thousand of the inhabitants, who, as fast as the vessels could be filled, were all conveyed to Tarichee, and there kept in custody.

The people now exclaimed against Clytus as the author and ringleader of this tumult, desiring Josephus to make him an example, and to accept of his punishment for satisfaction. Josephus had no design of putting any man to death; but, however, on the supplication of the people, he ordered Levi, one of the guards, to cut off both the hands of Clytus. The soldier durst not venture upon the execution in such a crowd of enemies; on which Josephus was inclined to go on shore, and do it himself. Clytus, perceiving this, entreated Josephus

to content himself with one of his hands. The request was granted, upon condition that he himself should cut it off. Clytus drew out his sword, and with his right hand cut off the left. Such was the awe in which Josephus was held: and thus was Tiberias recovered by Josephus, seven soldiers, and a number of empty vessels.

Resolution of Clytus.

Not many days after this, upon the revolt of Sephoris, and some other cities, Josephus gave his soldiers the plunder of that place and Gischala; but, upon application of the inhabitants, he caused restitution to be made of all they could discover; and the like at Tiberias; proposing, at the same time, to chastize and oblige them.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem prepare for war. Ravages and cruelties of Simon, the son of Gioras.

The Jews prepare for war.

THUS were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, and the Jews no sooner ceased the prosecution of civil dissensions; than they applied themselves to making preparations for a war with the Romans; Ananus, the high-priest, and the men of power in Jerusalem, that stood in opposition to the Romans, both repaired the walls, and procured numbers of warlike implements, such as darts, arrows, and the like. All hands were employed upon warlike preparations; and the youth, in general, were trained

to the exercise of arms. In this confused state of affairs the more moderate and candid part of the people could not restrain from lamentation at the prospect of calamities to come. Those of a pacific turn beheld with horror the discord that prevailed; but public incendiaries were pleased with the expectation of mischief. The city, in fine, wore the aspect of destruction, before the Romans came against it. Ananus contended for laying aside these preparations for a war, and endeavoured to bring them to reason; but he miscarried in the attempt, as will appear from the sequel of this narrative.

Ravages of Simon, the son of Gioras.

Simon, the son of Gioras, was, at this time, at the head of a band of free-booters, who lived upon the spoil in the toparchy of Acrabatena, where they not only plundered great mens houses, but injured their persons also, and treated the masters themselves with the greatest ignominy, exercising, indeed, the most barefaced tyranny. He went on in this lawless manner till he was forced, by the troops sent against him by Ananus, and other rulers, to retire with the small party he had remaining to Massada, where he continued till Ananus, and his other adversaries, were cut off. He made such ravages in Idumaea and its environs, and committed such horrid outrages, that, for the security of the country, government was under a necessity of putting garrisons into the very villages. This was the state of affairs in Judaea at this juncture.

End of the SECOND BOOK of the WARS.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Instances of the vanity and ostentation of the emperor Nero. Distracted state of the Roman affairs. Nero appoints Vespasian to the government of Syria. His qualifications for such a trust. Vespasian, and his son Titus, draw together a powerful army. The defeat of Cestius render the Jews rash and insolent. They advance towards Ascalon. The armies engage, and the Jews are totally routed, as incompetent to vie with the Romans. Great slaughter of the Jews upon two several occasions. Niger, their general, preserved in a wonderful manner. The inhabitants of Sepphoris are friendly to the Romans.

Nero is affected by the ill success of the Roman arms in Judæa.

WHEN Nero was informed of the ill success of the Roman arms in Judæa, a consternation and terror, as is usual upon such occasions, fell upon him; though he openly affected unconcern, intimating, that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander than to any valour of the enemy. It seems he thought it becoming him, who bore the burthen of the whole empire, to condemn such misfortunes, which he pretended to do, as possessing a soul superior to all the casualties of fortune. But, after all this ostentation of invincible courage, his solicitude for the want of a general equal to the necessities of the empire was plain and evident; for the east was now wavering and falling off; the Jews were in deep rebellion already; other nations prepared to revolt; and the state of affairs universally perplexed. The great points necessary to be attended to, were to keep the one quiet, reduce the other, and prevent the seditious spirit of the third from tainting the whole body. Vespasian was the instrument pitched upon as the only person Nero deemed competent to the discharge of so important a trust. He was now advanced in years, and had been exercised during the whole course of his life in military exploits. This was the man that settled the peace of the empire in the west, upon the revolt of the Germans. This was the man who completed

the conquest of Britany, which before was neither perfectly subdued or known; and he presented his father Claudius with the honour of a triumph for it, without any danger or fatigue of his own. Considering Vespasian under all these circumstances, his years, resolution, faith, and conduct, the children he had, (hostages for his fidelity,) together with other incidental matters in favour of the empire, Nero was induced to constitute him general of his forces in Syria. For his further encouragement, his commission was accompanied with many fair words and alluring promises, according to the custom of the world in an hour of necessity.

Vespasian had no sooner received his commission from Nero, in Achaia, than he dispatched his son Titus for Alexandria, to draw off the fifth and tenth legions there; while he himself crossed the Hellespont, and so made his way by land into Syria, where he came to a rendezvous with all the Roman troops, and the auxiliaries sent in by the princes bordering upon that province.

The Jews, in the mean time, were so transported with the unexpected advantage they had gained over the Romans under Cestius, that they behaved in the most extravagant manner, carrying on the war beyond all the bounds of moderation and prudence. They collected with expedition a multitude of their most hardy troops, and marched towards Ascalon, an ancient city, distant near 520 furlongs from Jerusalem. They ever had an aversion to the inhabitants of this place, and therefore made choice of it for their first attack. They had for their leaders three celebrated commanders; Niger, of Perea; Silas, a Babylonian; and John, an Essene; men eminent for sagacity and resolution.

Ascalon had a wall of prodigious strength, if there had been but men to defend it; the whole garrison consisting only of one company of foot, and a troop of horse, under the command of Anthony. The Jews were impatient till they came to blows with the Romans, and therefore marched with more than ordinary expedition to fall upon them by surprise.

Vespasian's qualifications.

He is appointed general of Syria.

Vespasian and Titus draw together their army.

The Jews march towards Ascalon.

The Romans march against the Jews.

prize. But Anthony, being apprized of it, had drawn his horse out of the town before hand, to be in readiness for the encounter, without being intimidated either by their numbers or their courage. Upon their advance, he received their charge with great bravery, and so put a stop to their progress towards the walls of the town. The Romans, through the advantage of veteran horse to foot, order to confusion, troops well appointed to people without arms, counsel and conduct against rage and passion, and men, in fine, of obedience and resignation, against a loose headstrong multitude, made no difficulty of putting the Jews to the rout; for their first ranks were no sooner broken by the Roman horse, than they fled several ways; some towards the town, where they were crushed to death by crowds of their own people; while others were scattered all over the plain, with the Roman cavalry at their back, and spacious room for the horse to play in. These circumstances greatly favoured the Romans, and occasioned the slaughter of great numbers of the Jews; as which way soever they fled, the Romans were upon them, overtaking some, crossing others, while they surrounded many, and dispatched them with their darts. In this calamitous state of desperation their vast multitudes were no more than so many single men; and the Romans, greatly flushed with victory, out of their small number had enough to spare. The Jews, on the other hand, as they were ashamed of having turned their backs, so they did all that was possible towards the recovery of their honour: but the Romans, in the course of their success, without weariness or intermission, pursued their victory the greatest part of the day, killed ten thousand Jews upon the spot, two of their generals, John and Silas, being of the number. The rest were mostly hurt, and made their escape, with Niger, their only surviving general, to Salis, a town in Idumæa; and during the whole contest there were but few wounded on the Roman side.

But the Jews were so far from desponding under so great a calamity, that the losses they had sustained seemed rather to have quickened their resolution for other attempts. This confidence entailed on them a second overthrow. When they had paused a little, scarcely long enough to dress their wounds, they got together, in the most outrageous indignation, all the power they were able to make, and in a much greater body attempted Askalon once again, under the same disadvantages of want of skill and discipline, and with the same fortune as before; for they fell unawares into an ambush laid by Anthony in the way they were to pass, where they were beset, charged, and routed by the Roman troops, before they could put themselves in order of battle. Eight thousand were slain upon the spot. The rest got off with their general, Niger, who acquitted himself several times upon that occasion like a gallant officer: but the enemy pursuing them closely, they were driven, for sanctuary, into a strong castle, belonging to a village called Bezedel. This castle was deemed impregnable; so that Anthony, to bring matters to a speedy conclusion, set fire to the fort, as the only means of destroying the castle and the general at once. Upon this exploit the Romans went their way triumphing and rejoicing, making no doubt but Niger was destroyed in the flames. But it seems, to avoid the fire, he leapt down from the top of the castle into a deep vault; and as some of his friends were searching for his body, in order to give him a decent funeral, he presented himself before them yet living, which transported the Jews out of an affliction almost insupportable into an excess of joy, to find their commander delivered by so signal a providence.

Vespasian being now come with his army to Antioch, the capital of Syria, and, without dispute, for beauty and situation, the third city of the Roman empire, he found king Agrippa with all his forces waiting his arrival. He passed from thence to Ptolemais; in which city the inhabitants of Sepphoris, a town of Galilee, were ready to attend him. These people had prudently provided for their own safety, and being sensible of the formidable power of the Romans, without staying for the arrival of Vespasian,

to shew their good affection to the government, they had, by anticipation, promised as much to Cestius Gallus, receiving a garrison from him, acknowledging him for their governor, and binding themselves to serve him even against their own countrymen. Vespasian granted them, at their request, such a body of horse and foot for a garrison, as might be a sufficient security against incursions, if the Jews should make any such attempt. Sepphoris, indeed, being the largest and strongest city of all Galilee, Vespasian judged it a matter of high importance to have it in good hands.

CHAP. II.

Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa. Division or distribution of Judæa.

THERE are two Galilees, known by the names of the Upper and the Lower Galilee, which are encompassed by Phœnicia and Syria. They are bounded on the west by the city of Ptolemais and mount Carmel, formerly belonging to the Galileans, at present to the Tyrians. To this mountain adjoins Gaba, or the city of horsemen, so called from the plantation of Herod's horsemen that settled there upon their dismissal. They are bounded, on the south by Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east by Hippene, Gadaris, and Gaulanitis, together with the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and on the north by Tyre, and the frontiers of the Tyrians.

Two Galilees. Their situation.

The Lower Galilee extends in length from Tiberias to Zebulon, near Ptolemais on the sea-coast. In breadth, from Xaloth, on the great plain, as far as Bersabe; and there begins the breadth of the Upper Galilee, which extends as far as the village of Baca, that divides it from the territory of the Syrians. Its length is computed from Thella, a village near Jordan, to Meroth.

These two provinces are of large extent, and surrounded by several distinct nations, but yet have ever been able to make powerful resistance upon all occasions of controversy; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous. The men neither wanted courage, or the country provisions. Their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of every kind, inasmuch that it invites the hand of cultivation, and courts the cherishing art of the husbandman. The grounds are every where dressed, and not a foot of it lies unmanured. There are cities, towns, and villages in abundance, which, in so plentiful a country, must be populous; for the inhabitants of the least of them are computed to amount in number to fifteen thousand. Though Galilee falls short of Perea beyond Jordan, in point of magnitude, it is much superior to it in strength and value; for, besides the fertility of the soil, every spot is so improved, that no ground is lost; whereas that vast track of land beyond Jordan is, in general, dry and barren, and not so proper for corn, and the milder kind of fruits. In some places, indeed, as Perea in particular, the soil is more fruitful, and produces excellent fruits, which appears from the vines, palm-trees, and other plants scattered up and down the fields in great abundance and perfection. They are all watered and refreshed with torrents from the mountains, and with quick springs in the season of excessive heat.

Strength and fertility of Galilee.

The length of Perea is from Machærus to Pella; the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; with Pella on the north; the river Jordan on the west; the land of the Moabites on the south; and Arabia, Silbonitis, Philadelphia, and Gerasa, on the east.

Samaria is situate betwixt Judæa and Galilee, beginning at a village called Ginea upon the plain, and extending to the toparchy of Acrabatena. The country is much of the same nature with that of Judæa, rich in soil; easily tilled and manured, abounding in trees and autumnal fruits, both those which grow wild, and those which are the effect of cultivation.

Description of the country of Samaria.

vation. It is naturally dry, but amply supplied with showers. The waters of those few rivers they have are exceeding sweet; and, as they have excellent grass, their cattle yield abundance of milk. But the superior advantage of these provinces is the incredible number of inhabitants. The boundary of Samaria and Judæa is Annath, otherwise called the village of Borcæus.

Jerusalem stands in the middle of Judæa.

The same village likewise bounds Judæa on the north. The length of it runs from the south side to a village, upon the borders of Arabia, called Jordan. The breadth is from the river Jordan to Joppa. In the midst of it stands the city of Jerusalem, which has been aptly denominated by some the "Navel," or center of the province. Judæa wants nothing to render it as delightful as it is fruitful, and that by sea as well as land, as far as Ptolemais.

Division of Judæa.

It is divided into eleven parts. Jerusalem, the first, as the sovereign head of all the rest, is called emphatically the royal city. The other ten are distributed into as many toparchies. Gophna is the second; and then Acrabatena, Tamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engedi, Herodion, and Jericho. The neighbouring countries are under the jurisdiction of Jamnia and Joppa; as Gamala, Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachon, are comprized in the kingdom of Agrippa. This country, which is inhabited by the Syrians and Jews promiscuously, extends in breadth from mount Libanus, and the sources of Jordan, to the lake of Tiberias; and in length from the village of Arphas as far as Julias. Thus have we, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judæa, with its boundaries and confines.

C H A P. III.

Vespasian sends relief to the people of Sepphoris under the command of Placidus. Josephus attacks Sepphoris, but is frustrated in his attempt. Galilee is miserably harried. Titus comes with a great army to Ptolemais. The order of the Roman discipline. The Roman method of encamping and decamping. The order they observe in marches. Extent of the Roman empire.

Vespasian sends assistance to the Sepphorites.

THE auxiliaries sent by Vespasian to the relief of the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horse and six thousand foot, were distributed, after drawing them up on the great plain, into two divisions. The horse continued in the camp; but the foot were quartered within the walls, for the security of the city. They made daily excursions up and down the adjacent parts, which, though they committed no act of hostility, either by assault or surprise, was very disgusting to Josephus and his men. Besides, they pillaged all the places which were out of the liberty of the city, and intercepted all the inhabitants that durst venture out of the gates.

Josephus frustrated in an attempt upon Sepphoris.

Upon this account Josephus made a bold attempt upon the city; but finding, to his cost, that he himself, before his going off from the Galileans, had made the place almost impregnable against himself, and that it was not to be gained from the Sepphorites by any means, he dropt his enterprize. This practice, however, as the Romans deemed it highly treacherous, rendered the war much fiercer, and the enemy more outrageous than before; depopulating the country, night and day, with fire and sword; pillaging whatever they could lay their hands on; putting all to death, without mercy, where they found resistance, and making slaves of the rest. Galilee, in fine, was one tremendous scene of fire and blood, not exempt from any kind of calamity, with no refuge left but the places which Josephus himself had fortified.

Galilee miserably harried.

Titus brings a great reinforcement to Vespasian.

Titus was by this time come up to Vespasian at Ptolemais, with the troops he brought from Alexandria; and his arrival was much sooner than could have been expected from a winter's march. He then joined the fifth, sixth, and tenth legions, which were reputed the choicest troops of the empire.

These legions were followed by eighteen cohorts. There came also five from Cesarea, with one troop of horse, and five troops of horse from Syria. Ten of these cohorts had a thousand men each, and the rest six hundred and thirteen, with an hundred and twenty horsemen. There was also a considerable number of auxiliaries from neighbouring princes, as Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of whom contributed two thousand foot and a thousand horse. Malichus, king of Arabia, sent five thousand foot, mostly armed with bows and arrows, and a thousand horse: so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the respective princes, amounted to sixty thousand horse and foot; besides the train of baggage and servants that followed the camp, who had been so trained to military exercises, that they could scarcely be distinguished from the professed soldiers.

The policy of the Romans, in thus training their servants, cannot be too much admired, or too closely imitated, as it renders them, at the same time, not only useful to private families, but also to the commonwealth, in the important particulars of war and government. Whoever attends to the excellency of the Roman discipline in military matters, will find that fortune had the least share in the success of their arms, and that they advanced themselves to the command of the world upon the foundation of their own honour and virtue. They were not to learn the art of war when they were under a necessity of exercising it; but they made it their practice in times of peace, and handled their arms with as much ease as if they were their constant appendages. Peace and war were in every respect the same to them, and they were ever in readiness for all occurrences, times, and seasons. Their very trials of skill resembled real combats: not a day passed but every man went through all his exercises, which kept them in disposition and in breath. By these means they were always in order, without feeling the inconveniencies either of fear or fatigue. Their exercises are effectively combats without drawing blood, as their fiercest encounters are but bloody exercises.

To secure themselves from surprise, when entering into an enemy's country, the first thing they do is to pitch and fortify their camp, not slightly or disorderly, but with regard to the situation and condition of the place, levelling the ground where it is uneven, and making it in form resembling a quadrangle. To dispatch the execution of this business, they have their smiths, carpenters, pioneers, and other workmen for fortifications, to attend the army. The inner part of the camp is distributed into quarters, or lodgments, for the officers and soldiers. The outside bears the resemblance of a wall, where they raise turrets at an equal distance one from another. In the intervals they have all sorts of weapons to be used at a distance, as darts, arrows, stones, &c. as well as instruments and machines for casting them. The camp has four large gates, for horse and foot to pass and repass at pleasure. On the inside there are several streets, orderly disposed, with lodgments in the middle for the principal officers; and within them a tent erected for the general, after the form of a little temple; a market-place, with shops and standings for artificers and tradesmen; courts of justice and tribunals, for the hearing of causes, civil and military; so that, upon a general view, it looks like a city rebuilt on a sudden, so wonderful is the dispatch where there are great masters to direct, and many hands to execute. If occasion requires, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

When they have thus secured themselves, they live together in a kind of military brotherhood, orderly and peaceably one with another. Upon any occasion of foraging, they go out in parties; and as for their times of repast, they do not eat singly, but statally, and all together; and the trumpet directs them when to sleep, when to rise, and when to let the watch; so that they do nothing but by rule and command. In the morning the soldiers wait upon their officers, from whom they receive the word or signal, and such other orders to be communicated to their subordinates.

subordinates as the occasion requires; to the end that every man may be instructed in his duty, and how to behave himself in action; how and when to fall out, or to retreat; and to do all things in order. The trumpet informs them when they are to decamp, and then they take up their tents, pack up their baggage, and prepare to be gone. Upon the second sounding they load their carriages, and stand ready for motion. They then set fire to the camp, which may be easily repaired by throwing up another, while it prevents the enemy from taking an advantage. Upon the third sounding the army marches, and all possible care is taken to prevent stragglers, and to move every man in his rank.

On the right hand of the general stands the herald, who, with an audible voice, puts the question thrice over to the army, whether they are ready for battle? The soldiers, in martial tone and action, return for answer thrice in the affirmative. Nay, they often prevent the very demand, by stretching forth their right hands, and giving other tokens of joy and satisfaction, in hopes of coming to that issue. After this the army advances with order and composure, as if in the face of the enemy.

The footmen are armed with breast-plates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side; but the sword on the left side is much longer than the other. Those that are chosen from the rest to be about the general have a lance and buckler; and all the rest pikes and long bucklers, a saw, a basket, a pick-axe, a hatchet, a rein, a scythe, a chain, and bread for three days; so that the men carry little less burthen than the beasts.

The horsemen were long swords girt to their right sides. They carry a lance in their hands; a buckler in a scarf hanging across the horse's side; a quiver, with three or more darts upon it, broad pointed, and about the length of a short javelin. Their helmets are like those of the foot. The arms of the cavaliers, that attend the person of the general, are the same with the rest, only being chosen by lot, the successful troop has the precedence.

This is the Roman mode of marching and encamping, with the various manners of their arming. They do nothing, in their military enterprizes and combats, that is rash and inconsiderate; but their actions are the result of deliberate councils, by which means either their failings are few, or those that happen are easily redressed: for, provided that matters are well digested, it is more eligible to suffer disappointment from the ill success of a well-grounded enterprize, than become indebted to fortune for an advantage gained from an ill concerted plan. These blind events give persons an ill habit of abandoning all to chance, without any precaution or foresight; whereas men become wiser and better for instructive examples, even in cases of miscarriage, and have the consolation of having acted with propriety, though a calamity may have befallen them, which human prudence could not prevent.

The constant exercise of arms not only tends to strengthen the bodies of men, but to fortify their souls for daring enterprizes. It is death, by the Roman martial law, for a soldier not only to desert his station, or betray his trust, but for being in the least degree remiss in any point of duty. Their officers, if possible, are more severe than their laws, and make amends for the punishment they inflict upon criminals, by the honours and rewards they confer upon men of merit. Such is the reverence in which they hold the authority of military discipline, that a Roman army exhibits a most glorious spectacle in time of peace; but when under preparation for action, it appears awful and tremendous. Every individual moves as a member of the same body; and there is such harmony of motion as if they were all governed by the same mind. Their ears are ever open to the word of command, their eyes watching for the signal, and their hands ready to execute the orders of their superiors, in contempt of all difficulty and danger.

No. 33.

When they come to the encounter, and a battle is once resolved upon, they are not at all solicitous as to the number of the enemy, or the danger of the passes, but break through all obstacles, and think themselves sure of the victory before the first onset. If their counsels are thus guided by political maxims, and executed with a proportionable degree of vigour, what wonder is it to behold the Roman empire give laws to the universe, and extend itself as far as the Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the fertile climes of Africa on the south, and the Rhine and Danube on the north? And yet, after all, the dominion seems too narrow for the great souls of the possessors.

Discipline the chief cause of the success of the Roman arms.

I have not recounted these particulars from a motive of writing a panegyric in honour of the Romans, but by way of consolation to those who have been obliged to submit to their all conquering arms, and to divert rash innovators and male-contented from absurd and fruitless attempts. This summary of the Roman military discipline will also afford a very instructive lesson to such as may be disposed to enter into a martial life.

C H A P. IV.

Placidus breaks into Galilee. Attempts to take Jotapata, but is repulsed.

WHILE Vespasian remained with his son Titus at Ptolemais, he gave all necessary orders for the supply and government of the army; and in this interval Placidus made an inroad into Galilee, over-ran the whole country, took a great number of prisoners, and put many of them to the sword. These were a timorous, pusillanimous people; but the more daring Galileans took sanctuary in the cities, and other strong holds, that Josephus had fortified. Placidus, observing this, resolved to set upon them by assault, and to begin with Jotapata, the strongest place they had, making no doubt of carrying it upon the first attack by surprize, acquiring a reputation among the rest of the generals, and opening a way to the taking of other places, as the very example of Jotapata would soon intimidate the rest to make a surrender. But Placidus was much mistaken in his conjecture; for the inhabitants, being apprized of his design, and that he was already upon his march, went out of the city to encounter him, and falling upon the Romans unawares, with a considerable body, and in high spirits, as deeming their country, wives, children, and all at stake, they put them to the rout; but killed only seven of them, they being well armed, and making an orderly retreat. Of the Jews there were only three slain, and some few wounded; for being light armed, they were obliged to throw their weapons from a great distance, without venturing a conflict at close quarters; and upon this repulse Placidus took his departure.

Placidus makes incursions into Galilee.

Besieges Jotapata.

Is repulsed.

C H A P. V.

Vespasian comes from Ptolemais into Galilee. Description of the order of his march. Shews himself to the Galileans. Josephus is deserted by his soldiers, gives up the contest, and withdraws to Tiberias.

VESPASIAN, being resolved upon an incursion into Galilee, left Ptolemais, and gave the army their marching orders, according to the form of the Roman discipline. The auxiliaries, being light armed, and the bow-men, advanced before the rest, to keep the enemy at a distance, and, by scouting out into the woods, and other suspected passages, for the discovery of ambushes, to prevent surprize. These were followed by a party of Roman horse and foot; and after them marched a detachment of ten men out of every company, with their arms and necessary provisions for the forming of a camp. The next in course were the pioneers, to level and mend the

Vespasian marches into Galilee.

Order of the march.

ways, and cut down the trees and bushes that incommoded them in their march. After these came the general's baggage, with that of his principal officers, and a strong party of horse for their convoy. Next marched Vespasian himself, with a select body of horse and foot, some troops of lances, and six score of his own men, drawn out of so many squadrons. The engineers, with their machines and instruments for assault and battery, took their place next; then followed the tribunes and other officers, with a choice body of troops about them. These were followed by the imperial eagle at the head of all the rest of the Roman ensigns, as the prince of birds for authority and power; an emblem of government, and a good omen of success in arms. After the sacred ensign came the trumpets; and after the trumpets the main body of the army, six in front, with the proper officers to keep them in rank and file, according to order and good discipline. The servants of every legion marched along with the infantry, and took care of the carriages and baggage. In the last place were the purveyors, and other mercenaries for the service of the army, under a convoy of horse and foot.

In this order Vespasian advanced to the frontiers of Galilee, and there encamped with his soldiers about him, earnestly pressing for action; but, partly in confidence that the enemy's courage would fail upon the very approach of the army, or otherwise that they might change their minds before it came to a battle, he gave them time for reflection, and made the necessary preparations for a siege.

Such was the fame of this great general, that the Jews were struck with consternation at the very report of his approach; insomuch, that the soldiers of Josephus, who were then encamped near Sephoris, abandoned their commander, not only without striking a blow, but without so much as a fight of the enemy. Finding himself therefore thus deserted, and out of condition to encounter the Romans, the spirits of the Jews totally sunk, the greater part gone over to the enemy, and the remainder in all appearance ready to follow them, he declined all further warlike pursuits, and, consulting his own safety, withdrew to Tiberias.

Josephus is deserted by his soldiers.

Declines the war, and retires to Tiberias.

C H A P. VI.

Vespasian, having taken Gadara, puts the inhabitants to the sword. Josephus refers to the council of Jerusalem to decide upon the propriety of fighting or treating with the Romans.

VESPASIAN marched to the city of Gadara, attacked it, and carried it without any difficulty, there not being men to make a necessary defence. The Romans, upon the forcing the town, put all to death without distinction, through hatred to the Jews, and revenge for the overthrow of Cestius. They set fire not only to the city itself, but to the small towns and villages about it, laying them utterly waste, and making the inhabitants slaves.

The retreat of Josephus to Tiberias, for sanctuary, greatly alarmed the inhabitants, as they concluded that nothing but desperation would have driven him to flight. Nor were they mistaken in their judgment; for he foresaw the tendency of the war, and that nothing but submission and repentance could save the Jews from inevitable destruction. With respect to himself, he made no doubt of obtaining lenity from the Romans, if he should request it; but rather than betray his country and his trust, he was determined to suffer a thousand deaths, without soliciting the friendship of a public enemy.

He wrote upon this to the principal and leading men of Jerusalem a plain state of the case, without extolling or depreciating the merit of the Romans, lest, by aggrandizing the power of the enemy, he might intimidate them, or, by representing it in an inferior light, he might encourage them to make resistance without ability. He, in fine, referred the

Josephus refers to the council at Jerusalem.

whole matter to the council, requesting them, after due deliberation, to send him word if they were disposed to treat; or, if, on the contrary, they were determined to prosecute the war, to send him an army, without delay, to encounter the Romans. This was the purport of the letter which Josephus sent express to Jerusalem.

C H A P. VII.

Vespasian resolves to besiege Jotapata, whither Josephus had betaken himself. A desperate conflict between the Jews and the Romans for five successive days. The situation of Jotapata. Vespasian carries on the siege with all possible vigour. Manner of the attack and defence. Invention of Josephus to keep off stones and fire. The Romans under great disappointment.

JOTAPATA was deemed the strongest place in all Galilee, which Vespasian observing, and taking notice also that the Jews, in all their difficulties, fled thither for sanctuary, he determined to assault it, and to that end sent horse, foot, and pioneers across the mountains to clear the ways, which were, at that time, craggy, and extremely difficult for the foot, but utterly impassable for the horse. These pioneers, however, in four days, cut a passage for the whole army to march without any trouble.

On the fifth day, being the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, Josephus went privately out of Tiberias, and conveyed himself into Jotapata, which, in some degree, revived the spirits of the Jews. A certain deserter carried the news to Vespasian of Josephus being arrived in the town, and advised him, by all means, to hasten thither, as, if he could once get him within his power, the Jewish war must be at an end. Vespasian was so transported with the tidings, that he looked upon it as a particular providence to infatuate the most considerable enemy they had, and thereby inveigle them with a kind of voluntary bondage. He therefore commanded Placidus away with a thousand horse, and Ebutius, one of the best officers for counsel and execution in the whole army, along with him, giving them express orders, without delay, to invest the city, and take particular care that Josephus did not make his escape.

Vespasian followed the next morning with the whole army, and got up to Jotapata in the evening, when he drew up his army on the north side of the city, seven furlongs distant, encamping upon an hill within view of the enemy, in order to startle them with so tremendous a sight. This was accordingly effected; for the people were seized with such consternation, that not an individual durst so much as look over the walls. The Romans were so fatigued with the march of the day, that they made no attempt at present. Vespasian, however, ordered the encompassing the town with two great bodies, and a third troop of horse to be posted at a distance, to cut off all communication with the place. When the Jews found they were streightened and pent up, their very despair inflamed their courage, as daring enterprizes take their rise from necessity.

The next morning the Romans began to play upon the walls, and the Jews, at first, made a gallant resistance; but when Vespasian attacked them with slings and arrows, to force them from the walls, and when he himself, at the same time, with a body of foot, assaulted the wall upon an hill over against the other, that lay more exposed to the danger of a battery, Josephus was so alarmed for the safety of the town, that he fell most outrageously upon the Romans, at the head of the whole body of the Jews, beat them from the walls, and followed the advantage with a desperate resolution. The havoc they suffered was not inferior to what they did, both parties being equally provoked and inflamed; the Jews by desperation, and the Romans by shame and indignation, to find the others cope with them so powerfully. There were skill and valour on the one side

opposed

opposed to fury and rage on the other. Of the Romans there were several wounded, and thirteen slain; of the Jews six hundred wounded, and seventeen killed upon the spot. The fight was maintained all the day, until night parted them.

The assailants renewed the conflict the ensuing morn, and in this encounter both parties performed wonders. The Jews took courage from the repulse they had given the enemy already beyond all expectations, and the Romans from the shame of being so long in play; for the very delay of a victory was little less to them than an overthrow. The combat continued five successive days, the assailants pressing still harder and harder upon them; the Jews, on the other hand, not only supporting the defence, but, at the same time, making occasional sallies, without being daunted by the prodigious numbers they had to encounter. Nor did the Romans abate any thing of the vigour of their attack from the difficulty and hazard of the enterprize.

With respect to the situation of Jotapata, it stands upon a rock utterly inaccessible, having only upon one quarter. It is encompassed, on three sides, with such precipices of steep and profound vallies, that, to look down from the top to the bottom, is enough to cause a vertigo of the brain. It cannot be approached but towards the north, where part of the city is built upon the brow of the mountain; and that way alone it is accessible. But Josephus had caused this place to be fortified, and taken into the town, to secure a mountain that overlooks and commands it; which, with other mountains adjacent, kept the place so close, that it was not discernible till the nearest approach. This was the situation and strength of Jotapata.

Vespasian, finding that he had the natural difficulties of the place, and the rugged hardiness of the people, to contend with, took up a resolution of prosecuting the siege with more vigour, and called a council of his officers to deliberate on the manner in which they should carry on the attack. The debate came to this issue, that a large terrace should be erected on the weakest part of the town; pursuant to which, Vespasian set the whole army to work, to provide necessary materials for raising such a mount; such as vast quantities of stone and timber from the neighbouring mountains, with provisions for hurdles to shelter the besiegers against the darts and shot from the town. Under the cover of these defences they advanced their design, though the weapons from above fell down in showers upon them. They procured the earth they used from the neighbourhood, and so handed it from one to another; so that, with the multiplicity of hands they had to assist them, and the undertaking going on without intermission, the work advanced with great expedition. The Jews, in the mean time, did their utmost, by darts and arrows from the walls, to divert them from their design; but all they were able to do could only interrupt the proceeding, without defeating or disappointing it.

Vespasian had by this time sixty engines at work, casting lances at the defendants; besides larger machines, to throw stones and javelins, arrows and artificial fires, which were all managed by the Arabians; and rendered not only the wall itself, but the whole space betwixt that and the terrace, too hot for the defendants.

This, however, did not hinder the Jews from sallying out upon the Romans, stripping them of all their defences, setting fire to every thing about them that was combustible, and by these means counteracting all their efforts. Vespasian, finding the mischievous contrivances of the Jews prevail more and more, and that there was no means of preventing their effects, but by filling up the intervals, so as to exclude their passage, joined his troops in a close body, and put a final end to their excursions.

The mount being now brought up almost to the height of the town wall, Josephus did not think it expedient to have more done on the one side to destroy the town, than on the other to defend it. He

therefore called the workmen together, and gave orders for the raising of the wall, and keeping it up still above the height of the terrace. But, upon their representing the impossibility of advancing the work under such showers of weapons, he bethought himself of an invention to keep off both stones and fire. This was by driving several large stakes fast into the ground, and stretching up a number of raw hides against them; these were to be interspersed betwixt the enemy and the bodies of the besieged, as the moisture of the skins would resist and damp the flame, and their yielding temperature throw off the stones and lances with little or no impression.

Invention of Josephus to keep off stones and fire.

Under the protection of this cover, the workmen plied to hard day and night, without either fear or danger, that, in a short time, they raised a wall of twenty cubits, and fortified it with turrets and strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who before looked upon themselves as masters of the place; while they were at once astonished at the contrivance of Josephus, and the fortitude of the defendants.

C H A P. VIII.

Vespasian attempts to effect by starving what he could not by force. No provisions wanting in Jotapata but water. Stratagem of Josephus to conceal the want of water, and frustrate the hopes of the enemy. Vespasian again has recourse to arms. Josephus finds out a mode of supply. Proposes an escape. The Jews solicit him to stand by them. He reasons the matter with them. They continue their importunities. Josephus deliberates, and enters into action. Vespasian declines the assault. The invincible courage and resolution of the Jews.

THE citizens of Jotapata were so elated by the success of this stratagem, that there passed not a day without sallies, skirmishes, plunder, and violences, by fire, sword and pillage. Vespasian was greatly irritated at this disgrace and disappointment, and, upon mature reflection, declined the assault, and determined on starving the place instead of storming it; concluding that either want would bring them to submission, or, if they stood it out, famine would do the business of the sword, and, either by weakening or wasting them, put them out of a condition of defence. With this resolution therefore he blocked them up so close, that there was no possibility of passing either in or out.

Vespasian resolves to try the effect of famine.

The besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and, indeed, of all other necessaries, except water, as they had not so much as one fountain, and only rain for their common use, which, in that hot and dry country, was very scarce in summer, and this was their present case. The very thought of a drought was a great affliction to them: indeed, they had already fallen into distress for want of water. The place being plentifully served with all other provisions, and the men in good spirits, Josephus put the garrison upon an allowance of water, that the stock might hold out so much the longer; but this scanty distribution disgusted them very much, as they were apprehensive of an approaching drought, inasmuch that they became refractory, and desisted from their work.

Scarcity of water in Jotapata.

This sroward disposition of the Jews could not easily be kept from the knowledge of the Romans, who were within distance of observing, from another hill near at hand, whatever passed among them; such as a tumultuous throng, the measuring of their portions, and their dissatisfaction therewith; to that many of them were cut off upon the spot by showers of darts from the enemy.

The pit-water being by this time nearly exhausted, and Vespasian in hourly expectation of the town falling into his hands, Josephus, to frustrate his hopes, had recourse to a stratagem. He caused a great number of clothes to be made very wet, and then

Stratagem of Josephus to frustrate the hopes of Vespasian.

hung

hung upon the battlements within view of the Romans, by which means he induced them to believe that there could not be such a scarcity of water in the place where they were so lavish of it. Upon that presumption, they despaired of ever taking the place for want of water. Nay, Vespasian himself gave over all hopes of carrying it by a siege, and therefore again had recourse to arms. This was exactly the desire of the Jews, as they themselves, as well as their city, were reduced to the last extremity, and wished nothing more earnestly than to change a calamitous state of dearth of water for an honorable death in the field of battle.

Another stratagem of Josephus.

While Josephus was racking his invention for some expedient, it occurred to him, that, on the west side of the town, there was an hollow gutter, that stood so much out of the way as to be in general unobserved. He proposed through the convenience of this passage to get relief into the town, such as water, and whatever else was wanted. To that end he wrote to some of the Jews, who lived about that quarter, to send him, from time to time, such supplies as might be requisite; together with express instructions to cover the messengers with hair-skins, and cause them to creep along, so that if they should be observed by the watch, they might pass for dogs, or some other four-footed animals. This went on till the correspondence was discovered, and the communication cut off.

Josephus at length proposes an escape.

The multitude importune him to stay.

Josephus, perceiving, by this time, the utter impossibility of defending the city, and the certainty of losing his own life if he stayed, called a council of the leading men, in order to deliberate on the means of escape. When this came to the knowledge of the multitude, they surrounded him in throngs, entreating him not to overlook their safety, as their sole reliance was upon him. They observed, that there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would remain with them, as they were in general ready to undergo any hardships on his account; that, if they should be all seized upon, it would be recorded to his eternal honour, that he was too brave either to fly from his enemies, or to abandon his friends; as, in that case, it would resemble a man leaving a vessel in a storm, of which he had taken charge in a calm, upon a comparative view of the case of the vessel with that of their city; for (said they) who shall stand up in defence of our country, when we have lost the very man whom we looked upon as the only means of our safety?

He reasons the matter with them.

Josephus, unwilling to have it thought he consulted his own particular safety, gave them to understand, in a plausible discourse, that his motive for withdrawing was more for their sakes than his own; observing, that, if he stayed with them, he should be able to do them little good while they were in such a condition, and that, if they were once taken, he should only perish with them to no purpose: but that if, on the other hand, he was at liberty, and abroad, he might bring an army into the field out of Galilee time enough to raise the siege; while, as long as he continued pent up in the town, the Romans would be more eager for the prosecution of the siege, as their great object was to have him in their possession.

The Jews are importunate.

This plea was so far from moving the people to accord with his desire, that they urged him with greater importunity; men, women, and children, mothers with their infants at their breasts, bathed in tears, embracing his knees, and casting themselves at his feet, entreating him, with outcries and supplications, not to forsake them in their distress. This, it is presumed, they did, not from envying his deliverance, but from a certain impulse of persuasion, that the presence of Josephus would be a kind of protection to his friends.

It occurred to him, upon reflection, that, if he determined to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties; if to go, he should be taken into custody. His commiseration of their state, deplorable as it was, had also much weight with him; so that at length he resolved to stand it out with them, and bear his part in the common desperation of the city.

Having fixed this determination, he thus addressed them: "This is the time, my friends and countrymen; to display our valour, when we have no hope of safety but in our arms; when we are sure to receive immortal honour in exchange for transitory life; and, by acting as firm patriots, to have our names celebrated by posterity as devotees to the good of our country."

From these words Josephus advanced to action, and putting himself at the head of the bravest men he had, charged the enemy's guards, beat them from their trenches, and drove them to the very camp, tearing the coverings of their tents to pieces, and setting fire to their works. This they did, from time to time, for three successive days and nights, with insuperable boldness, and indefatigable labour.

When Vespasian found the Romans distressed by these sallies, and, though they were worsted, disdained to turn their backs; when he also observed that if, at any time, they got the better, they were too heavy armed to pursue the advantage, so that the Jews never sallied, but they annoyed them much; he commanded his troops to give over the attack, and not throw away their lives against men who desired to die under the provocation of remediless despair. Their rage, he observed, was like a blaze that would go out of itself, if it wanted but matter to entertain it; besides, the case of the Romans was totally different from that of the Jews, as the former fought only for dominion, the latter for life and liberty, so that the one stood much more in need of victory than the other. In the mean time the Arabian and Syrian slingers, archers, and engineers, were all busily employed, as the Jews found to their cost. But this was so far from staggering their resolution, that, on the contrary, they pressed through all difficulties to single out the Romans man to man; and they fought it out without quarter, the living on both sides stepping up to supply the place of the dead.

CHAP. IX.

Description of the battering ram. The manner of ordering it. A contrivance to repel the force of it. The Jews have recourse to fire. One Samaeas signals his bravery. Two brothers distinguished heroes. Vespasian is slightly wounded. The extraordinary effect of battering engines. A terrible slaughter of gallant men. The Jews maintain their resolution to the last.

THROUGH the length of the siege, and the perpetual excursions of the besieged, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged; but, having now carried up his works near the height of the walls, he resolved to bring matters to an issue by dint of battery, and ordered an engine, called a ram, to be brought up to the place of action.

This ram is a machine of prodigious bulk and size, like the mast of a ship; fortified with a strong piece of iron at the top of it, wrought into the form of the head of a ram; from which, and the manner of plying it in the use of it, like the butting of that animal, it derived its name. This machine is hung up by the middle, with great cables, or ropes, fastened to cross timbers, well cramped together, and strongly supported. There it lies upon a poise, like the beam of a pair of scales; and, as it hangs thus ballancing in the air, it is moved backward and forward by the force of many hands, and falls with such violence upon the place where it is to batter, with the iron part that is pre-eminent, that no wall is able to withstand its repeated attacks.

Delay was now death to Vespasian, as the length of the siege had rather damped the exertions of the Romans, while the Jews were incessantly annoying them by some means or other; so that he was now determined on dispatch. The first thing he did was

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Device of
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ram.

The Jews
have re-
course to
fire.

The story
of Samas.

The story
of Netiras
and Philip.

Vespasian
receives
wound.

to bring his slingers, archers, and ordinary machines, closer up to the town, to beat the defendants from the walls, and to make way for the battering ram, which was then brought on, that is, as soon as the bow-men and their companions had made the wall too hot for the Jews to shew their heads. It was covered with hurdles, and wrapt in hair-skin, for the security both of the directors and the machine. The wall was shaken by the very first stroke of this engine, which raised a terrible clamour amongst the people in the city, as if all had been lost; and Josephus, finding that the continuance of their battering would bring down the wall over their heads in a very short time, ordered several sacks of chaff to be provided, and let down by ropes from the battlement against the place where the engine played; and still, as the Romans charged their battery, the Jews encountered them with their sacks; by which means they generally missed the mark, or failed of the effect.

This invention greatly impeded the efforts of the Romans; for, in whatever line of direction they pointed the engine, the Jews would be sure to meet them with their chaff bags, so that the wall sustained very little damage from the stroke, till the Romans found out another means to defeat the contrivance. They procured some long poles, with sharp iron hooks fastened to the ends of them. With these they immediately cut the strings of the bags; and, upon this disappointment, the machine did its office again; and the wall, being but newly repaired, and not yet settled, could not possibly hold out any longer.

Josephus and his companions had no other resource than that of fire; so that collecting all the combustible matter they could, besides pitch, sulphur, and the like, they divided it severally into three parcels, and set fire to the Roman machines, huts, and all materials that would take it, in three several places at the same time. The rage of the flames and of the Jews were so terrible, that there was no place for relief, and the danger of perishing both ways was equal. The conflagration, in fine, was so dreadful, that in a moment it destroyed that which had cost the Romans a long series of labour and hazard.

There was one Samas, of Paab, in Galilee, and the son of Eleazar, who signalized himself, on this occasion, by a most memorable action. He took up a stone of enormous bulk, and cast it down from the wall upon the machine with such prodigious force, that he broke off the iron head of it; and then leaping down into the middle of his enemies, carried it off, without any apprehension of danger, to the foot of the wall, where he stood awhile, unarmed as he was, a common mark for the enemy, till he had five arrows stuck in his body. In this condition he re-mounted the wall, where he stood, for a short time, a glorious spectacle, without any change either of countenance or behaviour, till at length he expired with the anguish of his wounds, and the head of the machine in his arms, which he would never quit till the last.

There were also two brothers, of Ruma, in Galilee, Netiras and Philip, who exhibited singular instances of resolution. These men fell upon the soldiers of the tenth legion with such impetuous fury, that they broke into Roman army, and drove all opposition before them; while Josephus, at the head of a troop of men with fire-brands, burnt the machines, huts, and works, of the fifth and tenth legions; and those that followed made the same havoc with what was left.

By the evening of the same day, the Romans were at work with the same engine upon that part of the wall that had been shattered and broken before. Vespasian, at the same time, received a shot upon the ankle, by an arrow out of the town; but it proved a slight wound, as the force of the arrow, through the great distance, was spent. Those who were near enough to see their general's blood, so alarmed the whole army with the report, that the principal officers quitted their posts, and came to the head quar-

ters to learn the particulars of the incident; Titus himself being at the head of them, from an impatient regard for the welfare of his father: but this generous concern threw the multitude into a consternation.

Vespasian, however, quickly put them all out of their pain, both his son Titus and the army, by shewing himself with the utmost frankness, and pointing out to them that the accident was attended with no injurious effect; so that the anxiety and sorrow under which they laboured before, for fear of a mortal stroke, were now turned into the transport of an honourable revenge; Vespasian encouraging the soldiers, and the soldiers one another, to renew the assault in defiance of all opposition. The enemies stones and arrows destroyed great numbers of the Jews: but Josephus and his people did not desert the wall, but, with fire, sword, and other implements of war, galled those who had the direction of the battering engine. The Jews, however, with all their bravery, could advance but very slowly, as they were forced to engage in sight of the enemy; and the very fire they made use of against the Romans, afforded the enemy light against themselves; so that they stood so fair a mark, that there was no missing it on the one side, nor any avoiding it on the other; for they could not so much as see the very machines from whence the weapons came. By the force of stones from these engines, the very battlements, and the corners of the towers, were broken down, and where they fell in a body, they carried away whole files before them. But those who would be informed of the wonderful effect of these machines, need only look into the history of the tremendous events of that memorable night.

One of the guards of Josephus, as he was upon the walls of Jotapata, had his head struck off with a stone from one of these engines, which was carried three furlongs from the place, as if it had been thrown out of a sling: and another coming across a pregnant woman, carried the child within her half a furlong from the body. The prodigious violence and noise of these machines, and of the weapons they cast, the groans of the wounded falling from the walls, the shrieks of women within the town, answered by miserable wretches without, the town-ditch running with blood, and filled with piles of carcasses sufficient to mount an enemy to the assault, and the echo from the mountains reverberating the dismal sounds during that tremendous night, served to strike the eye and ear with inexpressible horror. There was a great slaughter of gallant men in this action, who fell in defence of the liberty of their country, which they maintained all night, against the utmost efforts of the enemy's machines, till break of day, and then the walls fell to pieces. But the Jews, even in this extremity, made the breach good with their bodies and their arms, before the Romans could pass their men over the ditch to the attack.

C H A P. X.

Vespasian makes ready to storm the city. Josephus makes the necessary preparations for its defence. Horrid outcries upon the approach of the Roman army to the city. A bloody conflict betwixt the Jews and the Romans. The Romans advance up to the wall under cover of their bucklers. Josephus orders scalding oil to be poured on the assailants to force them off. The extraordinary courage and constancy of the Romans. Vespasian orders the raising of his platform. The Jews are compelled to quit the breach.

WHEN the army had a little refreshed themselves, after the fatigue of the last night's extraordinary exertion, Vespasian made every necessary preparation for an assault, taking care, in the first place, to keep the Jews from daring to shew themselves in the breach. To this end he dismounted a party of the best horse he had, armed them at all points, and so ranged them in three divisions, with

The besieged resist the force of the machines.

The force of these engines.

Many gallant Jews fall in defence of their country.

Vespasian prepares to storm the city.

pikes in their hands, to make good the breach, and, upon the advance of the bridges, to be the first to enter the town. The horse were seconded by a body of choice foot. The remainder of the horse were to be distributed round the mountainous parts of the city, to prevent any of the enemy from escaping upon its surrender. The next in order were the archers, with their bows and arrows fixed at hand; and then the slingers and engineers. Others were employed with ladders to attempt the scaling of some parts of the wall that were entire, which was intended only for an amusement, and draw off the assistance from other places that more needed it, and to force them, by this diversion, to abandon the attack.

Josephus
prepares to
defend it.

Josephus was so well informed of the purposes and designs of the Romans, that he employed only men that were superannuated for the guard of those parts of the wall that were sound. But wherever there was the least flaw, he appointed none to that duty, but those of tried integrity and courage. He put himself, with five more, at the head of them, to receive the first shock of the enemy; giving them in charge, not to heed the outcries of insulting clamours, but rather to shut their ears against them, as they were but empty sounds. He directed them to cover their heads with their shields, as the best defence against the arrows of the enemy; or to withdraw a little till they had emptied their quivers; but added, that, if they once came to lay over their bridges, the only resource then was fighting; not as in defence of a country that is to be preserved, but for the honour of a country that is already lost; and that therefore they should make the authors of their destruction pay dear for their acquisition; for they must expect, upon the subduing of their city, that their adversaries would gratify their cruelty with the blood of their fathers, wives, and children.

Gives his
people pre-
vious in-
structions.

Horrid out-
cries on the
approach of
the enemy.

When the common people, the women, and the children, saw the town surrounded by a three-fold army, and no force sent out to encounter them, the enemy marching up with their drawn swords towards the weak side of the wall, the mountains round about glittering with arms, and the Arabians ready with their arrows, they made a lamentable outcry, as if destruction not only threatened, but was actually come upon them. These clamours were so moving, that Josephus ordered the women to their houses, lest they should intimidate the soldiers, enjoining them, at the same time, silence at their peril; while he himself went to that part of the town which fell to his lot, passing by the scaling ladders without the least fear, his thoughts being wholly taken up with the enemy's way of attack by their darts and their arrows.

A bloody
conflict be-
tween the
Romans
and the
Jews.

Upon the several Roman legions sounding their trumpets together, and the warlike shout of the army, the very sky was darkened with a cloud of arrows. The soldiers of Josephus, however, were not unmindful of the charge he had given them, but stopped their ears against the clamours, and covered themselves with their shields against the darts. Upon the least advance of the bridges, they set upon the Romans with amazing intrepidity to put a stop to their design, either keeping them off, or beating them off, and disputing every inch of the possession. As fast as the Romans endeavoured to mount the bridge, the Jews violently pushed them down again, with signal instances both of their skill and courage in the conduct and execution; shewing themselves bold and fearless in the extremity of danger, as were the Romans where there was any at all: nay, the greater their hazard, the firmer was their resolution; so that when they were once engaged, there was no parting them, till one or the other fell upon the spot.

But the Jews being kept upon perpetual duty, and no reinforcements to relieve them, while the Romans had continually a fresh supply of men to substitute in the places of those that were wearied or worsted, numbers must of necessity prevail in the process. The Romans were sensible of the advan-

tage they had, so that pressing as close together as possible, they threw long bucklers over their backs, and making an impenetrable figure, drove the Jews before them, as if the strength of the whole army had been united in one body, and thus they advanced up to the very wall.

In this state of distress, or rather desperation, Josephus resolved upon the trial of an experiment. The Jews having a great deal of oil by them, he ordered a considerable quantity to be boiled, and cast down scalding hot upon the soldiers under the wall, together with the very pots and vessels in which it was boiled. This was accordingly done, and passing between the bucklers, and over the bodies of the Romans, it utterly broke their order, and destroyed the men, by forcing them down from the wall in their extreme misery; for the oil flowing under their arms from head to foot, and so all over the body, consumed the flesh like fire itself, being naturally apt to take heat, and long in cooling. Their armour also being braced and buckled to their bodies, there was no getting clear of the torment; some of them leaping and springing in their pains, others drawn double, and all falling from the bridge down to the ground. Those that attempted to get off to their own people were easily mastered by the Jews at their backs.

In the whole course of this calamitous circumstance, there was no failure either of courage in the Romans, or prudence in the Jews: for the former, notwithstanding the misery they endured by the scalding oil, had the resolution to press upon those that poured it among them, and not without a competition who should be foremost. The Jews, after this, put another check to the progress of the Romans, by casting boiled fenugreek, a seed of a glutinous nature, upon the boards of the bridge, which rendered them so slippery that the Romans could not keep their feet, so that they could neither fight or fly. Some fell at their length upon the planks, where they were trampled upon by their own people; others fell lower, and were slain by the Jews. Vespasian found his people so harassed out by this way of fighting, that, towards evening, he called them off, having lost several men, and had many wounded. Of Jotapata there were only six men slain, although three hundred were carried off wounded. This action happened upon the twentieth day of the month Desius.

Vespasian was so sensible of this miscarriage of his, that he took an opportunity of consoling the army upon the occasion; but finding the soldiers so far from being dejected, that they were rather inflamed, and desirous of being continued in action, he ordered the raising of his platforms, and the erecting of three wooden turrets upon them, each fifty feet high, covered with plates of iron, to keep them steady with the weight, and not so liable to be set on fire. In these turrets were the choicest of his marksmen and engineers, with their machines, instruments, and arms. The people in them had this advantage of the besieged, that they were out of sight and reach of the others; whereas those upon the walls were easily seen, and wounded from the turrets. The Jews, therefore, being neither able to avoid the arrows from above, or so much as to see those that annoyed them, quitted the breach; but still, upon all attacks, made a vigorous and brave resistance. Thus did the people of Jotapata defend themselves against the Romans, though with daily loss of men, without being able to retort the mischief upon their enemies.

C H A P. XI.

Vespasian sends Trajan to besiege Japha. The people meet him on the way to give him battle. The Jews put to flight, and driven into the first enclosure. A great slaughter. Trajan desires Vespasian to send Titus to his assistance. Titus, in consequence, brings his

his troops to Japha. The Romans mount the walls, and enter the town. A warm conflict in the street for six hours, attended with an horrid massacre.

VESPASIAN being given to understand that Japha, a neighbouring city to Jotapata, after the example of others, was inclining to a revolt, and especially as being encouraged by the defence of that place, which held out beyond expectation, sent Trajan, the commander of the tenth legion, with two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to reduce it. But he found the town impregably fortified, as, besides the natural strength of situation, it was encompassed by a double wall. He was likewise encountered on the way by the inhabitants of the place, in a posture to give him battle. The parties accordingly joined, and, after a slight resistance, Trajan put them to flight, and pursued them so close to the out-wall, that they fell in together with them. But, upon their pressing to get up to the second wall, the inhabitants shut the gates, lest they should admit friend and foe one with another.

This extraordinary mode of the Galileans being delivered into the hands of the Romans, seems to have been in consequence of a judicial providence, as they were shut out of their own gates by their own people, and given up for a sacrifice to an enemy that thirsted for their blood. They crowded in throngs up to the gates, called to the officers by their names, and begged admittance; yet were they massacred in the midst of their supplications. The Romans kept one gate, and the citizens the other. Some of those who were pent up in this enclosure laid violent hands on themselves; others fell by the swords of their companions; besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had one of these the spirit to lift up an hand, or so much as offer to revenge; for, besides the dread of an enemy, they were daunted by a sense of treachery amongst themselves. There died, in fine, to the number of twelve thousand persons, curling not the Romans, but their own citizens.

Trajan now taking it for granted that their martial men were in a manner all cut off, and that those few who remained would take warning from the fate of their companions, sent to Vespasian, requesting that his son Titus might have the honour of completing the victory. Vespasian, apprehending that something was still requisite to be done, dispatched Titus accordingly, with a reinforcement of five hundred horse, and a thousand foot, which immediately, on his arrival, he formed into two divisions; that on the left he gave to Trajan, that on the right he commanded himself.

The first thing the Romans did was to plant scaling ladders, and then mount the wall upon all quarters at the same time. The Galileans made a faint resistance, but soon quitting the wall, Titus and his party leaped down after them, and entered the town. There was now a desperate conflict in the street, which, through ambushes and sallies from narrow passages, where a number of resolute were posted, together with annoyances of every kind they received from the very women at the tops of the houses, lasted near six hours. But the bravest being by this time cut off, the remainder of the multitude, whether in their houses or not, young men or old, were all destroyed indiscriminately, and not a male left alive, but infants, who were carried away captive with the women. The number of the slain in the city, and in the first encounter, was fifteen thousand; and the prisoners were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befel the Galileans on the twentieth day of the month Desius.

C H A P. XII.

The Samaritans assemble upon mount Gerizim, and seem to threaten a revolt. Vespasian sends Cerealis against them. The Samaritans raise a formidable body. A

mortal drought. Cerealis offers them an indemnity, which they reject, and are all put to the sword.

NOR did the Samaritans escape the calamity of the times. They assembled themselves together upon mount Gerizim, which is by them deemed an holy mountain, and there seemed to wait the event of things. But, in the mean time, the complexion of the assembly, and the manner of their behaviour, seemed menacing and turbulent, and indicated a disposition to revolt. They had not become wise by the example of others, but, without considering either their own weaknets or the mighty power of the Romans, were precipitating themselves into a rebellion, which Vespasian took early care to prevent. Though the province of Samaria was well garrisoned; he was not without some apprehension of what such a multitude, and such an union of ill affection, might produce; and therefore, by way of prevention, dispatched Cerealis, a tribune of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse, and three thousand foot, to maintain the public tranquillity.

The Samaritans meditate a revolt.

Cerealis is sent among the Samaritans.

When Cerealis came up with his troops to this mountain, he found the Samaritans gathered together in so vast a body, that he did not think it expedient to attack them upon that post, but rather intrenched himself round about them at the foot of the mountain, and there narrowly watched their motions. It so fell out, that, being now in the height of summer, and a very hot season, the Samaritans were in great want of water, (the people having made no provision to supply it,) insomuch that some perished daily by a parching drought, whilst others went over to the Romans, preferring slavery to so miserable a death.

A mortal drought.

Cerealis being informed, by deserters, that those who stayed behind were as much dispirited as their fellows, advanced up the mountain, and surrounding them with his army, not only offered them life and liberty, upon condition of laying down their arms, but courteously entreated them to accept of the indemnity preferred, upon an assurance that it should be made good. But when the Roman commander found they could not be prevailed on, he caused them all to be put to the sword, to the number of eleven thousand six hundred persons. This happened on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius.

The Samaritans reject an indemnity, and are put to the sword.

C H A P. XIII.

The Roman works at Jotapata are finished. A deserter informs Vespasian of the bad state of the city, and advises him to assault it about break of day. He makes due preparation. The Roman army enter the city. Their relentless cruelty. Forty thousand men slain in the siege; the city razed, and the castles burnt.

THE people of Jotapata held out manfully, and stood firm against all extremities with admirable constancy; but, upon the forty-seventh day of the siege, when the Romans had carried their works to over-top the walls, Vespasian had an account brought him, by a deserter, of the miserable state of the town, which was, that, with the loss of men, watching, and hard duty, the garrison was so weakened, that, with one sharp assault more, the Romans might certainly carry the place; or, as the easier way, they might take an opportunity of surprising them. The deserter advised Vespasian to take his time about break of day, when he would be sure to find them supine and careless, and the guard so drowsy and fatigued, that he could not fail of carrying his point.

A deserter informs Vespasian of the ill state of the city.

Vespasian was so well acquainted with the natural fidelity of the Jews, and how much they condemned force or torments, that he gave little or no credit to this fugitive, and particularly from an instance he had of a wonderful constancy of mind in one

one of that city already. He was a prisoner of Jotapata, and being put to the question about the condition of the town, he stood all manner of tortures, even to fire, and the cross itself, to the contempt of death in all forms, rather than make the least discovery. But as there was some probability in the account, he thought he should run no risk in seeming to believe it; upon which consideration he ordered the informer to be taken into custody, and every thing made ready for the assault.

He prepares
for the af-
sault.

Particulars
of the ac-
tion.

Pursuant to this resolution, at the hour assigned, the army made a silent march up to the walls, Titus at the head, with Domitius Sabinus, and some chosen men from the fifteenth legion. They killed the guards, entered the city, and were followed by Sextus Cerealis, the tribune, and Placidus, with the troops under their command. The Romans were now in possession of the fort, masters of the town, broad day-light, and yet the garrison was so spent with fatigue and over-watching, that they did not so much as know the town was taken. Nay, those that were awake were almost as ignorant as the rest; for there fell such a mist at that very instant, that either they saw nothing, or knew not what they saw. This fog continued till the whole army entered the place, the people never waking till they felt the danger, and till they were convinced, by the fatal consequences, that they were undone.

The Romans had suffered too much in the siege to have any sense of mercy or tenderness upon the storm. Some were thrown headlong down from the top of the fort to the bottom; others, that wanted neither good-will or resolution to revenge themselves, were either pressed to death in crowds, forced down precipices, or dashed to pieces by the ruins over their heads. This was the case of several of the select friends of Josephus, who chose rather to die by their own hands, than by the hands of an enemy, and to slay themselves in private, when they could not have the satisfaction of taking a Roman along with them. This induced divers of them to withdraw together into a remote part of the city, and there do the last office for one another.

A terrible
slaughter of
the citizens
both by the
Romans
and their
own men.

Those of the watch, who first perceived that the town was lost, got into a certain turret towards the north, and, for a while, defended themselves; but being overborne by numbers, they offered to treat, and finding no terms would be allowed them, they were cut to pieces upon the place, and fell like men of honour. This action closed the siege; and the day had passed without the shedding of one drop of Roman blood, had it not been for the death of Anthony, a centurion, who was basely slain at the taking of the city.

A base and
treacherous
murder.

There were several of the Jews that fled into caves; and one of them called out to Anthony for quarter, desiring that he would give him his right hand upon it, as an obligation of honour for the performance of the condition. Anthony unwarily stretching his right hand for the satisfaction of the Jew, the other stabbed him under the loins with a dagger, and killed him on the spot.

No com-
passion
shewn to
the be-
sieged.

The Romans slew all they met that day without distinction; and for some days following they searched all hiding places, vaults, and cellars, for fugitives, putting all to death they could find, women and children only excepted. There were twelve hundred taken prisoners, and forty thousand slain during the whole course of the siege. Vespasian ordered the city to be razed, and the castles to be burnt. Jotapata was taken the first day of the month Panemus, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

Jotapata de-
molished.

CH A P. XVI.

The strictest search is made after Josephus, who is betrayed by a woman. Vespasian offers him quarter. Nicanor endeavours to prevail with him to comply. The soldiers enraged at his hesitation. He calls to mind former revelations. Is for delivering himself up to the Romans. The Jews invective against him.

Expostulation of Josephus with the Jews. They continue irreclaimable. Draws lots for their lives. Josephus and one more submit to live. He is set at liberty, and conducted by Nicanor to Vespasian, who confers with him in private. Titus expresses esteem for him. Josephus foretells the succession of Vespasian and Titus to the empire. Vespasian disregards the prediction, till it is afterwards confirmed. Vespasian returns to Ptolemais, and thence to Cesarea.

THE Romans made the strictest search for Josephus, partly through personal animosity to him, and partly through an officious desire of obtaining the favour of Vespasian, who looked upon him as the main support of the war. It was his good fortune, upon the taking of the town, to make his escape through the midst of his enemies, and conceal himself in a deep pit, with a passage that led out of it into a large cavern, which could not be discerned from above. In this recess he found forty persons of eminence under his own circumstances, with provisions about them for several days. The enemy being in possession of the whole country, he was under the necessity of keeping close in the day-time, but went abroad in the night, to observe the posture of the guards, and look for some means of making his escape. But the watch were so strictly observant, and particularly on his account, that it being impossible to elude their vigilance, he went back to his retreat, and there continued for some time.

On the third day he was betrayed by a woman that was taken up; and Vespasian sent two tribunes to him, Paulinus and Gallicanus, to invite him from his recess, and assure him, upon the word of the general, of the most liberal treatment. Josephus could not think it prudent to trust so far to the Roman generosity as to venture himself upon the general's parole; and being conscious, from the mischiefs he had done them, he had more reason to expect revenge than favour, he excused himself from complying with the proposal. Vespasian then sent a third tribune to him, Nicanor, his familiar friend. Nicanor represented to him the humane disposition of the victorious Roman towards those whom he had subdued; and assured him, moreover, that, so far from resenting his conduct, considered in the light of an enemy, he highly approved his bravery, and esteemed his virtues. He farther proceeded to reason with him, when he had only to enjoin subserviency to his will: that his behaviour was a proof of his respect for a worthy man, and his disposition to treat Josephus in a manner becoming that character: that, if duplicity had been his design, he would not have employed a friend in the office of a miscreant; nor would he himself have submitted to be the instrument of treachery.

Josephus still continuing to hesitate, notwithstanding the pertinent reasoning of his friend Nicanor, the soldiers became so incensed, that they would have set fire to the cave, if the tribune had not prevented it, by assuring them that he was desirous of taking him alive. As Nicanor became more pressing in his instances to bring him to compliance, the rage and menaces of the soldiers increased. This recalled to his mind certain dreams he had, in which had been revealed to him the calamities that were to befall the Jews, and the grandeur and prosperity of the Romans. He was endowed with a gift of expounding dreams, and revealing many things which had been veiled under the guile of mystery. As he was a priest himself, and of the sacerdotal race, he was well versed in the writings of the inspired prophets; and at this very instant, as if impressed by a sacred emotion, and under the immediate impulse of the tremendous images represented in his former visions, he thus addressed the Almighty.

“Great God! since it is thy blessed will to depress the Jews, and to exalt the Romans, and to make me the instrument to foretel thy purpose, I submit myself to thy providence, and to the acceptance

"ance of my life upon condition of surrendering myself to the Romans: but in the presence of thy sacred Majesty, I do likewise declare, that I do it as the minister of thy good pleasure, and not as a betrayer of my country."

He had no sooner complied with Nicanor's invitation, than his companions, in the recess, reproached him with invectives to the following purport:

Josephus's address to his companions. "What is become of the laws of our country, or of the honour of our profession? the spirit of our ancestors, and that primitive vigour of the Jews, that, with the first breath of life, drew in a contempt of death? Can Josephus be so fond of that life too, as to think of looking the sun in the face, and seeing himself a slave? Why does he not act according to his doctrine, and practise what he teaches? He recommends liberty to others, and renounces it himself. You were certainly very much mistaken (they exclaimed) in the measures you took of true wisdom and courage, either if you could hope for quarter where you have so little deserved it, or if you can sink so low as to accept of life upon dishonourable terms. But, however the fortune of Rome may fright you into a forgetfulness of yourself, it shall never make us depart from the duty we owe to the good of our nation; and we have yet hearts and swords ready to stand by you in that quarrel. If you are otherways resolved, you have it now at your choice, whether you will die a general of the Jews, or the death of a coward and a traitor. Fall upon your own sword, and you do the former; or leave it to us, and it will be the latter: for the work must be done."

Having uttered this invective, they unsheathed their swords, and threatened him with immediate death, if he entertained a farther thought of submitting to the Romans. Josephus, apprehensive that he might be taken off before he had delivered to the Jews what he had been enjoined by Divine revelation to communicate, thus expostulated with his companions:

Josephus's address to his companions. "What can be the meaning, my good friends and companions, of this desperate fancy you have taken up of laying violent hands upon yourselves, and setting the two dearest friends in nature at variance, the soul and the body? Am I changed? Ask the Romans. Is it a glorious fate to die in war? It is so undoubtedly, if it be in a war according to the law of arms; that is to say, where a man falls by the hand of the conqueror. Neither should I make any more conscience of killing myself than of desiring a Roman to do it; but if the Romans have a mind to spare an enemy, shall that enemy, on the other hand, be so cruel as not to spare himself? or so foolish as to be more rigorous in his own case, than he would have an enemy to be? No man dies so great, it is true, as he that sacrifices his life to his liberty; but then it must be in arms, and in the act of contending for it; and that life must be taken away in the contest by the competitor that would take away that liberty. But we have to do with an enemy at present, that neither kills us, or fights with us; for the quarrel is over. Now he is as pusillanimous a wretch that presses to die when he should not, as he that is afraid to die when his honour calls him to it. What is it, at last, but the fear of death that keeps us from going up to the Romans? Shall we cast ourselves into a certain death one way, for fear of an uncertain death another? But it is, you will say, perhaps, to avoid slavery: and do you think yourselves now at liberty? But it is looked upon as the part of a brave man to take away his own life with his own hand. What would you think of the matter of a vessel, that, for fear of a storm approaching, should sink the boat before it comes? Would you account that man a brave commander? To say nothing of the affront that is offered to the common wisdom of Providence in the nature of things, (for the desire of self-preservation is a

"principle implanted in all living creatures;) for any thing to destroy itself, it is contrary to nature, and consequently a sacrilegious wickedness against God himself. There is no creature that seeks or covets its own death, in opposition to the universal impulse of a desire to live; and therefore we pronounce those people our enemies that would take away our lives, and punish those that lie in wait to destroy us. It is from God that we have received life; and it is to him again, in his good time, that we are to render it. What can be more provoking and ungrateful than the despising of his gifts? Our bodies are all mortal, and so are the materials of which they are compounded; but the soul is a divine particle, infused into the body by God himself, and it can never die. If any man shall embezzle or abuse a deposit betwixt man and man, we can say nothing bad enough of him. Now the soul is effectually but God's deposit; and shall we presume to rob the Divine Majesty, and think to come off at last without either discovery or punishment? We find it reasonable enough to punish servants who desert, though it be from the worst of masters; and shall we at the same time, that forsake a gracious and a righteous God, pretend to justify ourselves? As for those that govern themselves according to the instinct of nature, and pay the debt of life back again to him that gave it, whenever he commands it, do not you know that everlasting honours attend the memory of those blessed souls from generation to generation, which, after a certain number of ages in the heavenly mansions provided for them, shall return, and animate bodies, pure like themselves? Whereas the deepest pit of hell is reserved for self-murderers; and God will revenge the iniquities of the fathers upon the children in after ages. They are hateful to God: and the wisdom of our great law-giver hath been so severe upon them, that he that kills himself is not allowed burial till after sun-set; though a privilege never denied to an enemy. In other places the right hand is cut off from the body of the dead, as armed against himself: for it is reasonable that the hand that parts the soul and the body shall be divided from the body itself. It is a great blessing, my good friends, to make a right judgment of things, and not to render our condition worse than it is, by blaspheming and incensing our Maker. If we are disposed to live, what hinders us? for life can be no dishonour to us, when we have given so many signal proofs of our virtue. But if nothing will serve us but dying, let us fall by the hands of those that have mastered us. I am not for going over to the enemy in such a manner as to deprive myself of life, by doing the same thing to my destruction, that a deserter does to save himself. If the Romans should be treacherous, and break faith with us, it would be no more in some respects than what one might honestly wish for, as it yields matter for a steady and a generous mind to work upon, not only in the sufferance, but in the contempt of death; for the very baseness of the perfidy will be some sort of comfort to us, when we consider that the authors of our ruin have made themselves infamous and odious to posterity."

These, and many arguments of a similar nature, did Josephus use to dissuade his companions from the impious resolution of suicide. But desperation had rendered them deaf to all prudent advice, as having long ago devoted themselves to destruction. In the most frantic rage they pressed upon him with their drawn swords one after another, reviling him as an infamous coward, and declaring him deserving of death at their hands. Josephus, in this extremity, conducted himself with all possible address and sagacity, interposing one while the authority of his commission, which carried a kind of reverence with it; at another the plea of friendship; at another the force of argument; so that at length, by a prudent application to their respective humours and dispositions, he diverted the blow. When it came to the point of execution, however, the venerable aspect of their general struck them with remorse, and

The Jews continue irreclaimable

Josephus is in imminent danger of his life.

compelled them to drop the weapons they had uplifted to deprive him of life.

His sagacity
in proposing
lots.

In this state of despair he acted with his usual sagacity, and trusting himself to the providence of the Almighty, determined at last to put his life to the hazard, observing to his companions, "that, since they were resolved upon death, they had nothing more to do than to commit that death to determination by lot, so that he on whom the lot fell first, might be killed by him that had the second lot, in which manner fortune would make its progress through them all, and prevent any of them from perishing by their own hand; as it would be unreasonable, when the rest were gone, that anyone should repent and escape."

Josephus
escapes
death.

This proposal appeared to them all very just and equitable; so that they accordingly drew, and the persons upon whom the lots fell were successively put to death by the next men, as supposing the general would die in his turn, a consideration dearer to them than life. At length (either through fortune or Providence) there was only Josephus and one more remaining of the whole number; upon which Josephus thus reasoned with his surviving companion. "If we cast lots once again, either my friend must kill me, or I must kill him, and imbrue my hands in the blood of my countryman." By these means he prevailed with his companion to submit to live, upon his engagement for his security.

Is conducted
to Vespasian.

Having extricated himself from the difficulties in which he was involved, not only with the Romans, but his own countrymen, Josephus committed himself to Nicanor, who conducted him to Vespasian. The multitude thronged to see him, and were variously affected by the incident. Some rejoiced that he was taken, some threatened him, some pressed to get near him; and others, at a distance, cried out for justice upon him as a public enemy. Those who approached near enough to observe his person, reflected on his extraordinary enterprizes in a comparative with his present condition, and were struck with amazement at the change. Nor was there any of the Roman commanders, however prepossessed against him before, but relented at the sight of him. Above all the rest, Titus, in particular, shewed the highest esteem for his character and person, and the insuperable dignity of his mind in the greatest misfortunes, comparing what he remembered of him in the war, with what he saw of him now in the hands of his conquerors, and making pertinent remarks on the uncertain chance of war, and the vicissitudes of all human affairs. Such were the sentiments of Titus concerning Josephus; and he brought all that heard him to coincide with him, his father not excepted, with whom he was very instrumental towards effecting his preservation. Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as he intended to send him to the emperor.

Titus entertains a singular regard for him.

When Josephus heard him give those orders, he informed the general that he had something to communicate to him in private. Vespasian, upon this intimation, ordered all to withdraw, except Titus and two friends, and then giving him audience, Josephus addressed him to this effect.

Prophetic
speech of
Josephus to
Vespasian.

"You have now, general, in your hands, Josephus, a prisoner of war; and your present thoughts, perhaps, extend no farther. But I come as a messenger of greater tidings, in a matter of much more importance. Had it not been for this commission, I could not have been here at present, contrary to the duty of a Jewish general, living, and in the hand of an enemy. But why am I to be sent to Nero, when Vespasian himself is so near the empire, that I can hardly distinguish between Vespasian and the emperor, or Cæsar? Besides, his son Titus is to succeed him. Keep me at pleasure; but let me be the prisoner of Vespasian, who is not only my master, but in effect, sovereign of the universe. This is what I have in charge to deliver; and whenever I am found so

"sacrilegious an impostor as to call God witness to a fallacy, deal with me as I deserve."

This address, carrying with it the resemblance of design, was not attended to at first by Vespasian, till comparing the particulars with other predictions of the same tendency, which appeared exactly to correspond, he was at length induced to give credit to the presage. A friend and confidant of Vespasian, expostulating with Josephus on the credibility of his declaration, observed to him, "that, as he was so skilful in divination, it was extraordinary he should know nothing of the ruin of Jotapata, and his own imprisonment." Reply was made by Josephus, "that he foretold the inhabitants very particularly what was to befall the town and himself; that the former was to be destroyed on the forty-seventh day, and that he himself was to be taken prisoner by the Romans." Vespasian caused strict enquiry to be made in private of the truth of this relation, which he found verified by the prisoners. Though Josephus was not actually set at liberty, he was, in every instance of accommodation, treated with great courtesy and respect, but by Titus in a more peculiar manner.

Thence he was taken prisoner by the Romans.

On the fourth day of the month Panemus, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and thence proceeded to Cæsarea on the sea-coast, which is one of the first cities of Judæa. The greater part of the inhabitants were Greeks, so that they received the Roman army with great acclamations; not only from the respect they bore the empire, but the aversion they had for the Jews, on which account they pressed Vespasian with clamorous importunity to put Josephus to death. But the general, considering this tumultuous way of proceeding only as the act of a rash multitude, dismissed the petitioners without an answer. Deeming Cæsarea a commodious place for winter quarters, he placed two legions in it, and sent the fifth and tenth legions to Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cæsarea with the entire army. This town is situated upon a plain near the sea, and is extremely hot in the summer, but temperate in the winter season.

C H A P. XV.

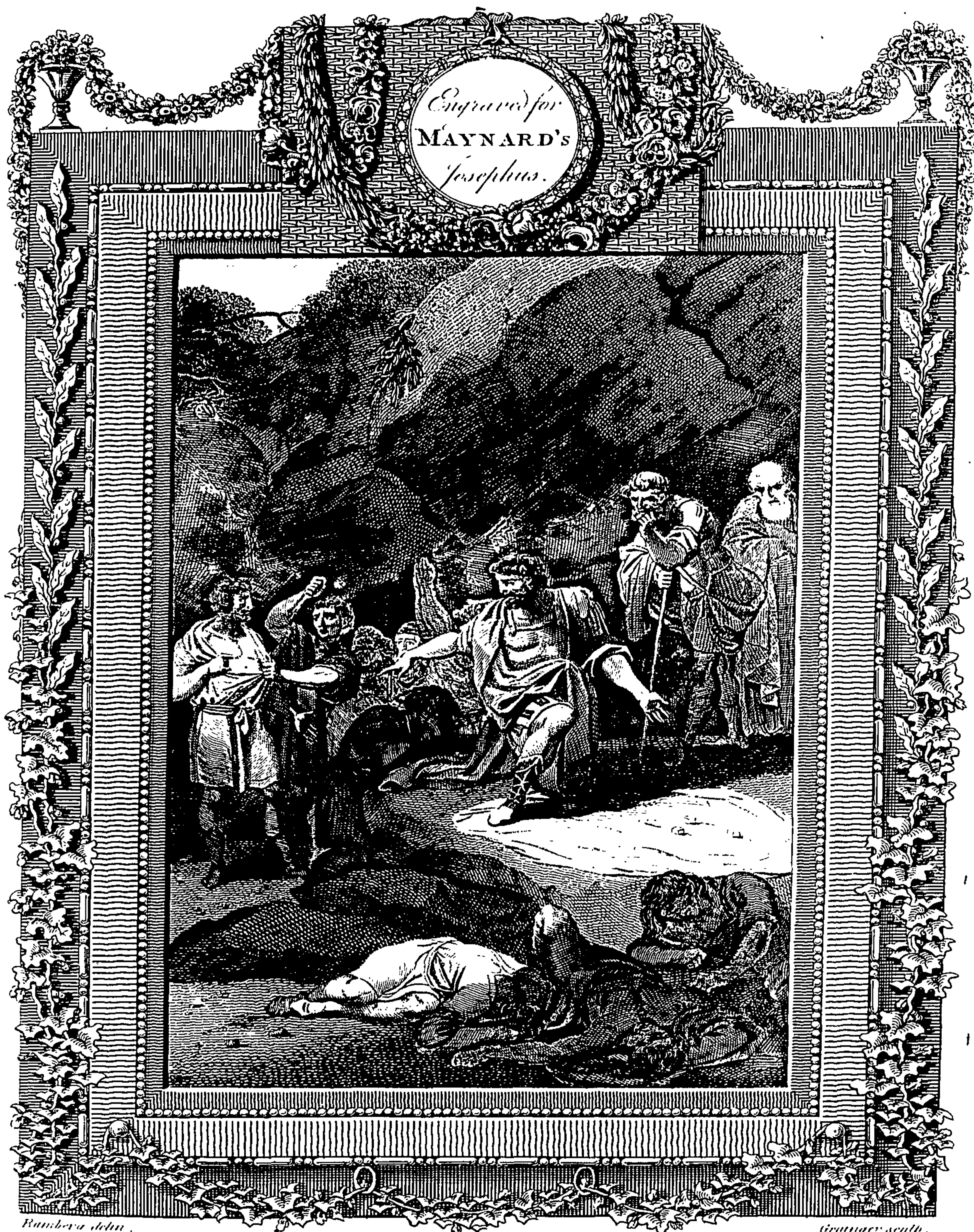
Joppa a refuge for revolted and robbers. Vespasian sends an army thither. Description of Joppa. The inhabitants suffer shipwreck. It is taken a second time by the Romans. Vespasian places a garrison in the castle. Josephus is reported to have been slain, and is thereupon lamented by the Jews, who, when they found that he was living, and in favour with the Romans, held him in the greatest aversion.

THERE was, at this time, a great multitude gathered together, partly revolted from the Romans, and partly fugitives from some conquered cities of the Jews. They applied themselves to the repairing of Joppa, which Cestius had demolished, and, for want of subsistence in the country which he had laid waste, resolved to try their fortune at sea. To this end they put out with a fleet of piratical ships, scowling Syria, Phœnicia, and the coasts of Egypt, pillaging all trading vessels in those seas, and thereby wholly obstructing commerce. Vespasian, receiving intelligence of these proceedings, sent a body of horse and foot to Joppa, which being loosely guarded, they entered the town in the night with much ease. The inhabitants were so alarmed at this surprize, that, without attempting to oppose the Romans, they fled to their ships, and lay off at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

Joppa is taken a second time by the Romans.

Joppa may be said to be a sea town, without any manner of port: the shore is steep and craggy, with two pointed rocks on each side, stretching a considerable way into the sea, and bending in the form of an half-moon, which renders it very tempestuous there in foul weather. Here are still to be seen the marks of Andromeda's chains, which attest that

Andromeda's chains.



Banchera delin.

Girounger sculp.

JOSEPHUS in a CAVE, after the Siege and Destruction of JOTAPATA, casting Lots with his Companions, which should first destroy each other, in order to avoid dying by the hands of the Romans, when only Josephus with one of his Companions escaping the dreadful catastrophe, they surrendered themselves to the Romans, by whom they were honourably treated. ————— Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke & Co. Stationers & Printers, No. 10. Pall Mall.

fable of antiquity. A cross wind upon the quarter dashes the waves against the rocks in so dreadful a manner, that nothing can be more hideous or dangerous.

While the people of Joppa were riding in this station, there arose a furious storm at break of day, which is called by the name of the Black-north. This wind dashed their vessels to pieces, some against one another, and others against the rocks. Great numbers, that laboured against the tide, to put out to sea, were up-set, and swallowed up; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land. Their situation, indeed, was desperate, betwixt the wind at sea, and the Romans on shore. Their lamentations and outcries were horrible: some were drowned, others died on board the wrecks; some fell upon their swords, to prevent other consequences; several were washed away by the billows, and dashed to pieces against the rocks, till the water was discoloured with blood, and the whole coast covered with dead bodies; the soldiers waiting all the time upon the land, to dispatch those that were driven on shore. There were supposed to be four thousand two hundred bodies cast up with the tide.

The Romans being now masters of Joppa without a stroke, (this being the second time of their taking it,) razed it to the ground; but Vespasian, lest it should become an harbour for pirates, once again fortified the castle, and placed in it a competent garrison, leaving a considerable body of horse in the place, to scour, burn, and lay waste the circumjacent towns and villages; which orders were accordingly executed.

The report of the surrender of Jotapata was so extraordinary, and the fact so dubitable in itself, that it gained little or no credit. Indeed, there survived not a man of the place to carry the tidings; though a rumour was spread at random, that the city was taken, as adverse incidents soon transpire. By degrees, however, it passed for current; and in the course of time, was generally admitted, with many additional and fictitious circumstances. It was confidently reported, that, upon the taking of the city, Josephus was slain, to the infinite affliction of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in general. Some that fell were lamented by particular families, others by particular friends; but the general, being a public loss, was the subject of universal mourning, in so much, that for thirty days there was no intermission of the solemnity, nor any cost spared for the celebration of the funeral pomp. But when time brought truth to light, and represented the transactions at Jotapata in their true colours; when it came to be known that Josephus was not dead, as reported, but still living, and in such credit with the Romans, that their generals, instead of treating him as a captive, conferred the highest honours upon him, the veneration they had for him, while they supposed him dead, was turned into the most rancorous envy and hatred. They reproached him with cowardice and treachery, in abandoning the cause, and the whole city joined in calumny and detraction against him. Wise men avail themselves of one misfortune as a precaution against another; but those devoted people, when they had once deviated, pursued their error, and made the end of one mischief the beginning of another. The Jews, by a kind of fatality, were now thrown into a greater rage against the Romans than ever, as if the wreaking of their vengeance on them was the most effectual means of revenging themselves upon Josephus. These were the tumults in Jerusalem at this time.

CHAPTER XVI.

Vespasian goes to Cesarea Philippi, where he is entertained by Agrippa twenty days. Tiberias and Tarichee revolt from the Romans. Vespasian orders some troops to Scythopolis, and encamps at Sennabris, within sight of the rebels. The faction fall upon Vale-

rian, who is sent by the general to compromise matters. Vespasian, at the instance of Agrippa, pardons the affront. Trajan takes possession of the castle. Vespasian enters the city, and is received with acclamations.

KING Agrippa having invited Vespasian to pass away some time with him in his country, and to bring his army with him, partly from a motive of generosity, and partly from the hope of bringing some male-contents to better order, the general embraced the offer with cordiality, and marched from Cesarea upon the sea-coast to Cesarea Philippi, where he staid twenty days, refreshing himself and his troops, and returning public thanks to the great disposer of all events for the success which he had been pleased to crown his undertakings. He was there given to understand, that Tiberias was at that time wavering, and that Tarichee had already revolted, (both of which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa,) and therefore thought he could not have a fairer opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Agrippa, than by reducing those people to allegiance, especially being resolved within himself to press hard upon the Jews. With this view he sent his son Titus for the troops that were quartered at Cesarea, to bring them to Scythopolis, a place not far from Tiberias, and much the largest town in the district of Decapolis. Vespasian got thither first, and waited the arrival of his son; when he advanced with three legions within thirty furlongs of Tiberias, and encamped at a place called Sennabris, within sight of the rebels. From thence he sent Valerian Ducursori, with forty horse, to endeavour, by fair words, to reduce them to their duty. He was instructed to tell them, that the general supposed the people to be peaceably inclined, if they were not incited to sedition by a number of male-contents. When Valerian approached the town, he alighted from his horse, and enjoined his companions to do the same, to obviate any suspicion of an hostile intent.

The faction, under the command of Jesus, the son of Tobias, leader of a band of rovers, fell furiously upon Valerian and his people, without giving them the least previous notice. Valerian, though alarmed at the affront, durst not strike a stroke contrary to the order of his general, though he had every probable view of success. Valerian, in fine, and five of his men, made their escape on foot, being forced to leave their horses behind them, which Jesus and his crew carried off in triumph into the town, as trophies of victory, rather than the booty of an infamous treachery.

This mean and unmanly conduct excited in the minds of the leading men of the place such apprehensions of revenge, that they immediately repaired to the Roman camp, under the countenance and protection of king Agrippa, and cast themselves at Vespasian's feet for mercy and pardon, imploring him not to impute the crimes of particular persons to the whole body of a people who never wanted veneration for the Romans; and likewise to spare the innocent, and punish the authors of the defection. Vespasian could hardly forgive the seizure of the horses: however, upon the mediation of Agrippa, he granted their request. As soon as this act of grace was passed, Jesus and his party, not thinking it safe for them to continue at Tiberias, made the best of their way to Tarichee.

Vespasian sent Trajan, the day following, with a party of horse, to take possession of the castle, and to sound the common people if they were of the same peaceable disposition with their deputies. Upon finding they were of the same mind, Vespasian marched up to the city with his whole army, the citizens opening the gates, and receiving him in the way with due honours and acknowledgments as their benefactor and protector. But the gates being too narrow for the troops to march at liberty, the Roman general caused a part of the south wall to be beaten down to widen the passage, but with a command of the utmost penalty, not to offer any violence

Vespasian goes to Cesarea Philippi.

One Jesus a leader of the sedition.

The faction fall upon Valerian by surprise.

The leading men of Tiberias desire the friendship of the Romans.

Vespasian enters the city with acclamations.

to the people. This he declared was for the sake of Agrippa, as it was that he spared the remainder of the wall, upon the king's undertaking for the good behaviour of the people for the time to come. Thus did he restore this city to a quiet state after it had been grievously afflicted by sedition.

C H A P. XVII.

Vespasian leads his army against Tarichee. Its situation and fortifications. The faction break in upon the Roman pioneers. The Romans pursue the Jews up to their shipping. Great numbers of Jews assembled in a plain. Titus sent out for discovery. His address to his soldiers. Total destruction of the Jews. A violent faction in the city. Titus improves the occasion. Transmits his father an account of the exploit. Sends vessels in pursuit of the fugitives.

Vespasian encamps between Tiberias and Tarichee.

Situation and strength of Tarichee

VESPASIAN, having departed from Tiberias, encamped betwixt that city and Tarichee; but fortified his camp with a wall, upon an opinion that the taking of the place would be a work of time. It was remarkably strong, both by art and nature; and being fortified by the lake of Genesareth, it was looked upon as the receptacle of all the desperate turbulent people of the faction. It is situated, like Tiberias, at the foot of a mountain; and on those sides that are not washed by the sea, Josephus had run up a strong wall, but in some degree inferior to that of Tiberias. At the commencement of the revolt, there wanted neither men, money, or provisions to render that place impregnable: indeed there was a surplus to spare for Tiberias. The besiegers had likewise a fleet of armed vessels in readiness upon the lake for a retreat, in case of an adverse stroke by land; and to serve for a naval fight, if there should be any occasion.

The Romans pursue the Jews to their shipping.

While the Romans were fortifying and entrenching, Jesus and his party made a furious attack upon them, scattered the pioneers, and overthrew a good part of their works, without any dread either of the Roman discipline, or of their numbers. The Romans pursued them to the lake, when they embarked on board their vessels; and when they had got out of the reach of the enemy's darts and arrows, they came to an anchor, and there lay arranged, as if drawn up in order of battle.

During these transactions Vespasian received intelligence that a considerable body of Jews were gathered together on the next plain, and thereupon sent out his son, with a detachment of six hundred chosen horse, to disperse them. Titus accordingly proceeded, and finding himself greatly overpowered by numbers, sent to his father for a reinforcement. Finding, however, the greater part of his troops eager for action, notwithstanding a disparity in point of numbers, he took up his stand where he might best be heard, and thus addressed them:

Titus harangues his army.

"Romans, (for I cannot begin my discourse more auspiciously than by putting you in mind of your race, telling you whence and what you are, and whom you have to do withal. As to the Romans, the whole world allows them to be invincible, upon undeniable proof and experience. I have this to say for the Jews too, that, though they have been often conquered, they would never own themselves to be overcome: so that we have no more to do, than to stand as firm at least in our prosperity, as they do in their adversity,) I read cheerfulness and courage in every face, and it joys me to see it: but yet I am uneasy sometimes for fear the vast numbers of your enemies should strike a secret damp upon that resolution. Wherefore let every man duly consider his own force, and that of his adversary. The Jews, it is true, are generally bold, and fearless of death, but utterly deficient in military conduct and discipline, and may be more properly called a croud of people than an army; whereas nothing can be more regular than our order and

experience. What are we the better for the practice of arms in time of peace, if it does not help us to supply the want of numbers by skill and address? Or, what is the benefit of a perpetual exercise of war, if it gives us no advantage over men that are raw and inexperienced? Do but consider what it is to encounter naked bodies with men in arms, foot with horse; men that understand nothing of government, with eminent commanders; and that we are as good as double the number we appear to be, at that rate of advantage; and the enemy not half so strong as they may appear. It is not number alone that does the business in war, let the combatants be ever so stout; but true courage, as we see every day, does wonders with a few; for moderate numbers are manageable to the best advantage of the party; but great bodies are liable to disorder and confusion, and often more mischievous to themselves than an enemy. The daring, desperate, and brutal fierceness of the Jews, does a great deal, I must confess, in a prosperous course of fortune; but, upon the least check of a disaster or disappointment, that impetuous ardour abates, and comes to nothing; whereas virtue, resignation, obedience, and true valour, will support us in all our fortune, good or bad, without puffing us up, or deceiving us. Beside, we have a greater interest at stake than the Jews; for their's is only a popular quarrel for liberty, and their country; but we contend for glory, and for the fame of immortal memory; and not without some indignation neither, after the conquest of the whole world beside, to find ourselves hampered in a competition with the Jews. You may observe again, even in case of the worst, that we shall run no great risque neither in the contest, being sure to be well seconded with so many of our allies, so strong, and so near us. But what have we more to do now than to anticipate the victory, and engross the honour of it to ourselves, without waiting for the reinforcement we expect from my father? The glory will be the greater when it comes home to us entire, without sharing. The point at present in question, is no less than the characters of my father, myself, and my fellow soldiers; that is to say, whether or no my father deserves the honour the world has done him. And am not I his son then, and are not you my soldiers? My father has been so accustomed to victory, that I should never dare to look him in the face again after one defeat; and would not you be as much ashamed of tardiness on the other hand, where the general leads the way? The first post of danger shall be mine: do you but stand by me, and commit the rest to Providence: only remember what I tell you, that a close fight will be to our advantage."

This address of Titus greatly animated the Roman army, throughout which the spirit of heroism seemed now to be diffused, insomuch, that the arrival of Trajan with four hundred horse, before the engagement came on, disgusted them much, as they could not bear the thought of having more partners to share in the glory of the day. Vespasian had also sent Anturius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and given them in charge to take possession of the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall, which was accordingly done. Titus, in order to render his army more formidable in appearance than it was in reality, drew up in a line, to answer the front of the enemy, and was the first man himself that charged in upon their body, the men following him with the loudest exultations. The Jews, though surprized at the resolution of their attack, made some resistance, till they were beaten down and trampled upon by the horse; when they dispersed, and precipitately fled for refuge towards the city, after many had been slain upon the spot. Titus pressed upon the hindmost, crossed others, and maimed them, and forced others back that made for the walls, insomuch that very few escaped, but those who got into the town. There fell out at this time a terrible sedition in the city betwixt the old inhabitants and the strangers.

The former were concerned for their possessions, and ever averse to a war, and more so now after their defeat. But the foreigners, who were violent and numerous, were the more eager on that account for action. The dispute produced such loud clamours and outrages, that Titus, being near the wall, and overhearing the whole, improved the occasion, and again addressed his soldiers to this effect:-

“ The time is now come, my fellow soldiers, if we have but hearts to make use of it; for God hath delivered up the Jews into our hands, and we may have a victory for the taking it up. Do you not hear the outrageous contentions of the very men that have escaped our hands, and are at this time ready to cut one another’s throats? The city is our own, if we do not slip the opportunity. But this is a business that requires resolution as well as dispatch; and great things are not to be done without hazard. Why do we not take the advantage of this mortal animosity, and fall upon them before their necessities force them to unite? And why do we not fall upon them too, before our auxiliaries come up to rob us, not only of the credit, but of the profit also of the action? For, beside the reputation of so gallant an exploit by such an handful of men, we shall have both the credit and the spoil to ourselves.”

Having thus spoken, he mounted his horse, posted away to the lake, and was the first man that entered the town, followed by his troops. The defendants were seized with such consternation at the boldness of the attempt, that they had neither resolution to oppose his person, or obstruct his passage. They left the guard of the city; and Jesus, with some of his companions, fled into the fields; while others ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth. Others endeavoured to save themselves by their boats, but were cut off by the way; others by swimming, but sunk in the attempt. There was great slaughter in the city, while the foreigners, who had not fled away, made resistance. The natives made none at all, hoping that Titus would consider them only as passive in the case, and never having consented to the war. Titus, from this motive, having quelled the sedition, put a stop to any farther slaughter, out of commiseration to the inhabitants. The town being now taken, those that had fled to the lake withdrew as far as they possibly could from the enemy. Titus sent a party of horse express to his father, with the joyful news of this glorious exploit, and the greatest difficulty of the war was supposed to be surmounted by the reduction of this city. His next care was to place a proper guard about it, and give command that none should attempt to escape privately upon pain of death. The next day he went down to the lake, and ordered vessels to be fitted up to pursue those that had got off to sea. These vessels were speedily prepared, as there were both materials and artificers in abundance.

C H A P. XVIII.

Description of the lake of Genezareth. Head and course of the river Jordan. Description of the country about the lake of Genezareth. The fountain of Capernaum.

THE lake of Genezareth derives its name from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length an hundred. Its waters are sweet, and agreeable to the palate, as they are purer than those of other fens. It lies upon a gravel, is more convenient for drawing, and milder than any river or fountain water; yet so cool, that the natives cannot warm it by setting it in the sun in the hottest season of the year. It abounds with variety of fish, which, for form or flavour, are not to be found any where else; and the river Jordan runs through the middle of it. The head of this river has been thought to be Panion, but, in reality, it is carried thither after an occult manner, from a

No. 34.

place called Phiala, an hundred and twenty furlongs distant from Cesarea, a little on the right hand, and not much out of the way to Trachonis. It is called Phiala from its round figure; and the water always continues up to its edge, without either shrinking or overflowing. The first discovery of this was by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonis, who caused chaff to be thrown into Phiala, which came out again at Panion, till that time taken for the head of the Jordan. Panion is not only delightful from situation, but most magnificently beautified and enriched by the royal bounty of Agrippa. This visible stream or Jordan arises from this recess, crosses the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis, and, after a course of an hundred and twenty furlongs and farther, passes by the city of Julias, and so over the lake of Genezareth, a great way into the desert, till it empties itself into the lake of Asphaltites.

Phiala the true head of the Jordan.

This lake takes its name from the country that surrounds it, which is pleasant to admiration. Its soil is so fruitful, that it abounds with plants of every kind. It is also so improved by the skill and industry of the inhabitants, that, through a peculiar exuberance of climate, every thing that is cultivated prospers; as nuts, palms, figs, and olive-trees, which flourish here in perfection; though, from their nature, they seem to require an air that is more temperate. One, indeed, might term this spot the ambition of nature, that produces plants of qualities totally different; so that there appears an happy contention of the seasons, as if each of them laid claim to their country. It not only nourishes various kinds of autumnal fruits beyond expectation, but preserves them a long continuance of time, in so much, that figs and grapes hold in season there ten months in the year, and other fruits the whole year round. Besides the agreeable temperature of the air, it is famous for a chrystaline flowing fountain, called, by the natives, Capernaum. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces a certain fish, called Coracin, which is nowhere else to be found but in Alexandria. The length of this country along the lake is thirty furlongs, and the breadth twenty. Let this suffice for a description of that beautiful spot.

Fertility of the soil of Genezareth

Fountain of Capernaum

C H A P. XIX.

A sea-fight upon the lake between the Romans and the Jews. Miserable slaughter of the latter. Vespasian deliberates in council on the case of the Jews. A dreadful sentence upon them.

WHEN the vessels were prepared according to order, Vespasian embarked as many of his forces as he deemed sufficient to cope with the fugitives, and set sail in quest of them. Those who were driven to the lake could neither make for the land, where they would immediately fall into the hands of the enemy, or engage upon a level at sea, as their vessels, being small, and fitted out for piracy, were too weak to encounter with those of Vespasian: besides, they were so deficient in point of men, that they were afraid to approach the Romans, who were well manned, and in good order. The only manner in which they could annoy them was by casting stones: yet they themselves were the greatest sufferers; for the Romans being well armed, the stones made a sound where they fell without any effect, while they lay open and exposed to the Roman arrows; or if they made any attempts at close quarters, they were cut off before they could execute their design, their boats upset, and their men drowned. The enemy dispatched some of them at a distance with their darts, others they boarded and destroyed with their swords, and some were hemmed in, and taken, vessels and all, as they were locked in between the two fleets. Those who were tumbled overboard, and struggling for life, no sooner shewed their heads above water, than they were taken off by a lance, or over-run by the enemy’s boats and sunk. If any of them, in the rage of despair, made towards

Vespasian encounters the enemy upon the lake.

A terrible slaughter of the Jews.

II 5

their

their adversaries, they were sure to have their hands or their heads chopped off.

Nothing was to be seen but death and destruction in all the variety of horror, till they were totally broken and routed, pressing through the midst of the enemy to get on shore. In this confusion many were killed upon the water, and more upon the land; nor was any thing to be seen upon the lake, or the borders of it, but blood and carcases. The putrid bodies, in a few days, tainted the air to such a degree of malignancy, that the case was not only dreadful to the sufferers of the calamity, but the very conquerors were shocked at the scene, and many expressed abhorrence at the barbarity of it. This was the issue of the naval battle; and the whole number of the slain, in both actions, were 6500 persons.

Vespasian
deliberates
about spar-
ing the peo-
ple.

When the fight was over, Vespasian took his place upon the tribunal, and separating the strangers, that were the cause of the war, from the natives and old inhabitants, who were merely passive in it, he called a council of his officers about him, to consider what was to be done with these people, and whether they were to be treated all alike. The council opposed the sparing of the strangers, as they would ever be restless, having no habitation, and consequently dangerous and troublesome to any prince that would receive them. Vespasian acknowledged that they deserved to die, and that he made no doubt of their rebelling against their preservers, but the difficulty was, the manner of disposing of them, as the inha-

bitants would lay it to heart to see so many people put to death after a promise of quarters upon their mediation; besides the general's scruple upon a point of honour and justice of breaking faith with his prisoners. His friends, however, insisted on it, that he was not tied up to punctilios with the Jews, and that where strict honour and policy are inconsistent, the common good ought to have the preference.

Vespasian was over-ruled by his council, and gave the strangers leave to depart, upon condition they kept the way that led to Tiberias. As mankind are ready to believe what they wish to be true, in this confidence they set out for Tiberias, without the least apprehension of any violence in their passage, either upon their persons or property. The Romans had beset the road that led to the city, so that it was impossible for any one to escape. When they got them into the town, they made them all prisoners; Vespasian causing them to be shut up in the amphitheatre, where he ordered both old and young, to the number of 1200, that were not able to bear arms, to be put to death; 6000 of the strongest of them to be sent to Nero; and 30,400 were sold for slaves; besides those given to king Agrippa, whom he left at liberty to dispose of as he thought fit. The rest were inhabitants of divers places, most of them incendiaries and fugitives, and promoters of the war, because they could not live in peace. These prisoners were taken upon the eighth day of the month Gorpizæus.

End of the THIRD BOOK of the WARS.



FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Siege of Gamala. Formidable situation of that city. Vespasian advances up to it. The Romans make an assault. Are afterwards repulsed with great loss. Vespasian's bravery and presence of mind. Noble action of Gallus, a Roman centurion. Noble speech of Vespasian to his soldiers. Second attempt upon Gamala.

THE cities and towns of Galilee, which, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, upon the conquest of Tarichæa, returned to their allegiance, so that they were now in possession of all the fortresses except Gilchala, and the mountain of Itabyr. Gamala also, a city over against Tarichæa, situated upon the lake, and under the government of Agrippa, joined in the rebellion. Sogane revolted also; and so did Seleucia, after their example. They were both cities belonging to the province of Gaulanitis; Sogane in the upper part of it, which is called Gaulana, and Gamala in the lower. Seleucia stands upon the lake Semechonitis, which is sixty furlongs in length, and thirty in breadth, and its marshes reach as far as Daphne. This is a delightful country in many respects, but more especially for the curious springs in it, that feed the Lesser Jordan, as it is called, and then take their course to the Great Jordan, at the foot of Jupiter's golden temple.

King Agrippa, at the beginning of this defection, entered into an alliance with the people of Sogane and Seleucia; but Gamala, depending on its own strength, as being much stronger than Jotapata, refused to be of the party. Gamala, which stands upon the cliff of a rock, that arises out of the middle of a mountain, and, in the posture of elevation, with crags before and behind it, has some resemblance of the figure of a camel, from whence it originally took its name; but time and custom have corrupted the manner of writing it. Upon the front and the two sides are inaccessible vallies. The

part that joins the mountain is not of itself so hard of access; but as the inhabitants have fortified it with trenches and defences, it is next to impregnable. The houses stand as thick upon the steep of the hill to the southward, as if they were dropping into the precipice. There is also an hill of so prodigious an height, that it may serve for a citadel to the valley in the bottom. There was also a fountain within the circuit of the city, which terminates the town.

Notwithstanding all that nature had done towards making this place impregnable, Josephus had caused a wall to be run about it, and cast up artificial works, trenches, and fortifications, for a farther security. The inhabitants were much more confident in the defensible condition of the place, than those of Jotapata, though neither so many, or so martial. But the difficulties of the attack made amends for the want of numbers. The city, indeed, was well manned, as it was the sanctuary of all the refugees; in so much, that king Agrippa spent seven months before it without any manner of advantage.

Vespasian at this time decamped from Emmaus, near Tiberias, (the former of which was so called from a warm bath of sovereign virtue against several diseases,) and so proceeded to Gamala, where he found it impossible to draw a regular line of circumvallation about it, but set guards, however, upon all the passes he could come at, and possessed himself of the mountain above. The Romans, according to their custom, fortified their camp, carried up a wall about it, and so entrenched. The fifteenth legion was posted against a tower, eastward, upon the highest part of the town; the fifth toward the middle of the town; and the tenth was appointed to level the ditches, and other hollow places.

While things were in this situation, king Agrippa drew up close to the wall, to try if he could bring the people to surrender the place, and reason them into a sense of their duty. But at this instant he received a terrible stroke with a stone from a sling upon his right elbow. His friends thronged immediately

Vespasian marches from Emmaus, and besieges Gamala.

King Agrippa is wounded by a stone.

diately about him to bring him off; and the Romans were highly incensed, by reflecting how barbarously these people would treat strangers and enemies, that could be so inhuman to their own prince, their countryman, and a friend that advised them for their good. In this heat they pressed the siege with all possible vigour.

Between many hands and diligent application, the walls were not long in raising; and the next thing to be done was the mounting of their machines. Chares and Joseph, two of the principal men in the town, had the ordering of the defence, and so led up the soldiers to the wall with exhortations and encouragements to behave themselves like men of honour. But wanting water, and other necessaries, they were not much disposed to the action, as they found they could not hold it out long. Upon the advance of the Roman machines, they made some sort of resistance at first; but when they came to throw their stones and arrows amongst them, they ran presently into the town. They battered the walls with their rams upon three attacks; and upon disputing a breach, nothing could be more hideous than the outcries without and within the town, the found of the trumpets, and the noise of the arms.

The defendants maintained the first attack with great bravery, and put the Romans to a stand; but being overborne, in the end, by the force of numbers, they all fled, and betook themselves to the highest parts of the city, with the Romans all this time at their backs.

But the Jews, finding themselves pressed, turned short upon their pursuers, drove them down precipices before them, and through difficult passages, where they did execution upon them at pleasure. The Romans, finding the disadvantage of contending with enemies over their heads, betook themselves, for sanctuary, to some of the houses below; but being crowded so full, they sunk under the weight, so that the fall of one brought down another, and that a third. Many of the Romans perished under the ruins; and yet, in this extremity, they chose rather to commit themselves to the hazard of those tottering houses, than be openly exposed for a public mark. Some were crushed to pieces with the timbers, others maimed in attempting to escape, and some again were suffocated with the dust.

The Jews were so far from being troubled at the loss of their habitations, that they esteemed themselves gainers by the fall of so many of their enemies in exchange, and as one house failed, pressed them into another, in order to bring down that. Those who lost their hold were sure to be taken off by weapons from above, with which the very walls and dead bodies furnished them in abundance; the one with stones, and the other with arrows: the swords of those that were slain were used to dispatch the rest, and every thing contributed to the common fate. Some cast themselves down headlong from the tops of the houses, to avoid being squeezed to death in the fall of them; and some few had the good fortune to escape out of the town, and avoid the general destruction.

Vespasian was deeply affected to find his army thus broken by the ruins of a vanquished city; so that, fearless of personal danger, according to his common practice, he slipped away privately to a post at the upper part of the town, where he was left, with some resolute men about him, in the greatest distress; his son Titus being abroad, at this time, in Syria, upon a commission to Mutianus. Such was his condition, that he could not retreat with safety or honour; so that calling to mind former gallant exploits, and resolving to persevere in the path to fame, a very extraordinary expedient occurred to his mind. This was to plant himself, with the few valiant remains he had, as close to each other as possible, and covering themselves with their arms, stand firm against all attempts of violence from above. The Jews were so startled at this astonishing instance of resolution, that, deeming it a kind of providential impulse, and dreading the vengeance of opposing the

higher power, they abated somewhat of the vigour and fury of the action. Vespasian, observing this, drew off by degrees, and never turned his back till he had got from the walls. There fell many Romans, both officers and private soldiers, in the encounter, and, among others, Ebutius, a decedarch, who, as he lived, so he died, exhibiting proofs of invincible magnanimity.

One Gallus, a centurion, being in a certain house with ten Syrian soldiers, and overhearing some measures intended to be taken with the Romans, which, as being themselves Syrians, they perfectly understood, fell upon them in the night, slew them all, and got off safe to the Romans.

Vespasian finding, at length, his soldiers cast down by a series of disasters, and not a little abashed from leaving their general alone to encounter the greatest difficulties and dangers, bethought himself of a method of affording them some degree of comfort, without relating the particulars that concerned himself, or dropping an hint by way of reproach. To this end he thus addressed them:

“ Since, my fellow-soldiers, misfortunes cannot be avoided, let them be generously borne. It is not for any one sort of men to expect an exemption from the common lot of mankind. Who ever considers the nature of war, will find that victory is not to be gained without blood, that fortune is variable, and that this loss is but a reprisal for the thousands of Jews that we have slain before. As it is vanity and weakness to grow insolent upon prosperity, so it is a mark of as mean a soul to be cast down by adversity. Consider again, how insensibly the change passes from one extreme to the other, and that no man is truly great but he that stands his ground, and keeps up the same dignity of mind in all conditions, correcting the malignity of the one by the prudence of the other. We are not now to impute our present miscarriage either to the want of resolution on our parts, or to the valour of the Jews: for, if they fought better than usual, or we worse, the true reason was the odds of the ground we fought upon. If you were to blame for any thing in this encounter, it was, in truth, for your rashness, in pursuing the enemy when they fled up the town from you. You should have held your hands, and contented yourselves with the possession of the lower town, till necessity should have forced them down to engage you upon safer, surer, and more equal terms. But you were so impatient to have the thing done, that you never attended to the right way of doing it. The Romans are a people famous for order and discipline, and not for this impetuous and inconsiderate way of making war, like the Jews and Barbarians. Wherefore let us have recourse to our own methods of sobriety and resolution, and act like men that are rather animated with an indignation for what they have done amiss, than sinking under the burden of it. Every man hath this satisfaction in his own power, if he will but set his own hand to the work, and give himself the comfort of revenging the loss of his friends upon the heads of those that destroyed them. In this prospect and confidence you shall find me still, as you have done already, the first and the last in all dangers.”

The army of Vespasian was greatly animated by this spirited address, and resumed their former courage and resolution.

The people of Gamala could not but be elated by a series of such unexpected success for a short time; but afterwards reflecting that they had no hopes of any terms of accommodation, no possibility of escaping, or procuring a supply of provisions, their spirits were depressed, and they were seized with the horrors of despair. They persisted, however, in the exertion of their utmost efforts for the defence of the place, setting their best men to guard the breaches, and disposing of the rest to the greatest advantage.

The Romans attempt to take Gamala by assault.

Great disasters befall the Romans.

Vespasian's bravery and presence of mind.

The

The Romans, by this time, having repaired their platforms, and made ready for another attack, divers of the citizens stole away through occult and intricate passages, where no guards were posted. Others concealed themselves in subterraneous caverns, where they perished for want of food, as the provisions were wholly reserved for such as bore arms. These were the distresses with which the people of Gamala had to encounter.

C H A P. II.

Vespasian sends Placidus against a seditious party that had taken possession of mount Tabor. He draws them some distance from the mountain into the plain, and there subdues them.

WHILE Vespasian was so harrassed by this vexatious siege, he was under a necessity, in the midst of his confusions, of sending out Placidus, with a party of six hundred horse, to mount Tabor, to disperse a seditious multitude that were assembled there. This mountain lies betwixt the great plain and Scythopolis. The ascent is supposed to be thirty furlongs. It is inaccessible on the northern part. The top is a plain of twenty furlongs, and encompassed with a wall, which, tho' extensive, had been erected by Josephus in the space of forty days. He furnished it with water and other necessaries from below, for the inhabitants had only rain water for their use.

When Placidus, upon his arrival at the place, according to order, found it impossible to ascend the mountain, he amused the leaders of the faction with hopes of peace and pardon, and brought numbers of them down to him upon a pretence that they were wrought upon by the reason of his address; though, in reality, their design was to draw him into a snare, and surprize him. Placidus had also a design upon them: his plan was to get them into the plain, and seize them unawares. They feigned compliance with what he proposed; but the scheme of Placidus succeeded in the result. When the Jews began the fray, Placidus and his men, as if intimidated, betook themselves to flight. The Jews pursued them, till, in the pursuit, they were dispersed throughout the field. Placidus watched his opportunity, and turning quickly upon them with his horsemen, slew several, and put the rest to flight; nor did one of them return to the mountain. Those of the faction who were left at Tabor, now quitted it, and hastened to Jerusalem; but the natives surrendered themselves and the place to Placidus, upon security for their good behaviour.

C H A P. III.

Destruction of Gamala. The inhabitants are thrown into a consternation by the fall of a tower. Titus enters the town without opposition. A terrible slaughter of the inhabitants.

THE bravest of the people of Gamala had now recourse to flight or concealment, while the more pusillanimous and inferior perished by famine. But the resolute in arms sustained the siege till the twenty-second day of the month Hyperberetæus, when three soldiers, of the fifteenth legion, stole out before break of day, to the foot of the highest tower upon their quarter, and undermined it so privately, as to elude the vigilance of the guards. They made not the least noise, but having rolled away five of its principal stones, retired that very instant. The turret immediately fell to the ground with a most dreadful noise, dashing the guards, and all that were in it, under the ruins. The horror of this accident frightened the other guards from their posts, and some of them fell into the very teeth of the Romans. Amongst these was one Joseph, who

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was slain by a dart as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down. Such was the terror that prevailed in the city, that it excited as universal a panic as if the whole Roman army had entered the town. Chares was at that time much indisposed, and it was believed that this stroke hastened his end. But the Romans were so impressed with a remembrance of their former ill success, that they postponed any farther attempt till the following day.

Titus was by this time returned, and, from indignation at the disasters which had befallen the Romans in his absence, drew out a body of foot, and two hundred chosen horse, and entered the city without opposition. The watch were the first that took and gave the alarm, and the news was spread throughout in an instant. It was no sooner confirmed, than the citizens, in the utmost confusion, took their wives and children, and fled to the citadel, amidst horrid outcries and lamentations. Some were cut off by the Roman soldiers; others, that could not get into the citadel, and straggled about, fell into the hands of the guards. Death, in fine, prevailed in all its forms of wounds and groans, and horror had diffused itself throughout every quarter.

Titus enters Gamala.

Vespasian then drew up his whole army to attack the castle. It stood upon the point of a rock, high and steep, and almost inaccessible, with many crags and precipices round about it. Upon this disadvantage, it was impossible for the Romans to avoid the stones and darts of the Jews that were cast down from above, or to reach the Jews from below. Through a wonderful providence, however, in favour of the Romans, and for the destruction of the Jews, there arose a violent storm, which drove the Roman arrows directly in the faces of the defendants, and kept theirs from the Romans, or diverted them away from them. The blast, at the same time, was so strong, that the besieged could not maintain the ground on which they were to make their defence, nor see the people with whom they had to engage. The Romans, with these advantages, made themselves masters of the mountain, which they surrounded immediately, and, in a rage of revenge for their former miscarriage upon that attack, put all to the sword indiscriminately, whether they resisted or not. In this state of desperation many cast themselves, with their wives and children, down the precipice from the castle. They were supposed to amount to the number of five thousand, of whom four thousand were thus slain: so much more merciful were the Romans to the Jews, than the Jews were to themselves. The very infants were thrown down the rocks, without sparing so much as a single creature, two women only excepted, who were the daughters of Philip, a man of rank, and formerly a general in the army of Agrippa. These two sisters were not, indeed, so much beholden to the clemency of the Romans for their preservation, as to the good fortune of laying undiscovered till their rage, in some degree, subsided. The rebellion at Gamala began on the twenty-fourth day of the month Gorpæus, and the place was destroyed on the twenty-third of the month Hyperberetæus.

Attacks the citadel.

Many thousand Jews perish at Gamala.

C H A P. IV.

The people of Gischala are seduced by a seditious impostor to revolt from the Romans. Vespasian sends Titus against them, intending himself to attack Jerusalem. The generosity of Titus towards the people of Gischala. John of Gischala seemingly accepts the conditions, and makes his escape in the night. The inhabitants are in great distress. Titus is received into Gischala, which puts an end to the conquest of Galilee.

THE province of Galilee was now wholly reduced, except the small city of Gischala, where the people, in general, were disposed to pacific obedience;

ence; being mostly employed in the pursuit of agriculture, and consequently dependent on the produce of their lands. They were intermixed, however, with a band of libertines, who lived upon pillage; and there were some citizens of the first rank tainted with seditious principles. The chief leader of the faction, and perverter of the people, was one John, a man of dissolute morals, a vile impostor, versed in the arts of fraud and chicanery, destitute of honour and conscience, and a promoter of sedition from sinister views. He was the son of one Levi, and the head of the rabble in Gischala. Had he not interfered, the people would probably have sent their deputies to the Romans, with proposals of an alliance; but, at his instigation, they were prevailed upon to put it off, till a war should be brought on.

John, the son of Levi, instigates the people of Gischala to revolt from the Romans.

Vespasian, upon this juncture, sent away Titus to Gischala, with a thousand horse, and the tenth legion to Scythopolis, returning himself, with the other two legions, to Cæsarea for refreshment, in order to prepare their bodies and minds for the difficulties they had yet to encounter. He foresaw that the subjection of the inhabitants of Jerusalem would be an arduous task, not only as it was populous and powerful, and the capital city, but as it was an asylum to all the fugitives of faction from other quarters, a nursery of bold and daring men, naturally strong, as well as fortified by art, though not impregnable in point of situation. The Roman general revolving these circumstances in his mind, trained his soldiers like champions in the exercise of their arms, to render them the more expert when called into action.

Generosity and clemency of Titus.

Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, finding, from the view he had, that it was not a place to stand an assault, and reflecting at the same time that the soldiers would undoubtedly treat the inhabitants of that city as they had done those of Gamala, confounding the innocent with the guilty, if ever they should take it by storm, from a motive of compassion for the people, and the detestation in which he held those inhuman cruelties, bethought himself how he might gain upon them by treaty. The walls being now covered with soldiers, and the majority within the town of the corrupted party, he thus addressed them in an audible tone of voice:

Exhortation of Titus to the people of Gischala.

"It is wonderful to me, that, when all the rest of your towns are gone, and places, much better manned and fortified than yours, taken without any difficulty, (many of them at the very first attack,) you should be now so inconsiderate as to think of standing out; especially when you may yet be safe, easy, free, and happy, upon a return to your duty. This, I dare undertake, shall be made good to you; and all your insults pardoned, passed over, and imputed only to an inordinate desire of liberty. But if you do not know when you are well offered, and refuse to cast yourselves upon the faith and honour of the Romans; if you resolve, at last, to run head-long to your certain destruction, and to contend with impossibilities, you must expect to feel the weight of the Roman power and displeasure; and you will find, before you are aware, that your paper walls will fall like dirt before their engines: so that this is the way to shew yourselves to be the most arrogant slaves of all the Galileans."

Not one of the populace durst make a reply, or even come up to the wall; for the faction overruled, and had posted guards at all the gates, that none of the rest should pass in or out, to propose any terms of submission. John, at length, took upon him to return for answer, in the name of the people, "That he accepted the conditions, and that the town should agree to them likewise, or he would force them to it: only he made him this request, with regard to the inviolable strictness of the Jewish law for the observance of their sabbath, which would no more suffer them to treat of peace, than to fight a battle, that he would indulge them that day; it being a case wherein either their comply-

Reply of John in the name of the people.

ing, on the one hand, or, as the Romans knew very well, the enforcing them on the other, would be equally unwarrantable. Beside, there could be no danger in putting off the treaty to another day; for, if they imagined that any man would attempt to escape that night, it would be an easy matter, by placing guards at all the avenues, to prevent it: besides, the reputation he would get by shewing himself as tender of their laws as they were of their own, and of their consciences as well as of their persons, which was a favour beyond their expectation."

John had recourse to this manœuvre with Titus, not so much from a regard to the seventh day, as to his own preservation; for he was apprehensive of being deserted, if the city should be taken; and all his hopes centered in making his escape that night. But the preservation, if eventually, tended to the destruction of Jerusalem, as it was the occasion not only of the truce, but likewise of the encampment of Titus, farther off the city, at Cydæssa, one of the strongest and most populous places in Tyria, and mortally averse to the Galileans.

The night being now come, and the town unguarded, John seized the opportunity, and made his escape to Jerusalem; taking with him not only his military people, but several substantial inhabitants of the town. The old men, women, and children, that had left the place at his instigation, with difficulty kept up with their leader for the first twenty furlongs; but finding themselves spent, and not able to continue the march, they betook themselves to lamentation, for those that had outstript them, and gone before; as the farther their friends were advanced from them one way, the nearer they accounted themselves to their enemies the other. Nay, they fancied the very noise of their own feet to be the tread of their adversaries, and still looking behind them, took their own people for their pursuers. In this imaginary fright they fell one over another; and the way was covered with the bodies of women and children, that were crushed to death by the crowd pressing who should get foremost. There was little more to be heard than the cries of miserable wretches to their husbands and friends to stay for them. But John's exhortations to save themselves by flight prevailed. He observed, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. The multitude upon this dispersed themselves, and every one made the best of his way.

When Titus came to the walls of the town to execute the treaty, he found the gates open, and the inhabitants ready, with acclamations, to receive and acknowledge him as their benefactor and preserver. They informed him of John's escape; entreated clemency for the innocent, and justice upon those left in the town, that should be found to have been abettors of the revolt. Titus sent out a part of horse in pursuit of John, but they could not overtake him before he got into Jerusalem. They slew, however, near two thousand of his party, and brought back near three thousand women and children, whom they found wandering up and down.

Titus was highly displeased at the escape of the impostor, which prevented his being brought to exemplary punishment: but then setting the advantages of the prisoners, the slain, and the taking of the town, against the disappointment of missing the single person of such a miscreant, he ballanced the one with the other, and entered the place with a friendly disposition towards the people. He took possession of it in form, by the ceremony of his soldiers breaking off a piece of the wall; and reduced the authors of the sedition rather by menaces than actual punishment. Titus wisely and humanely thought, that, in a case where so many family feuds, personal piques, and inordinate passions were concerned, it might be dangerous to inflict punishments, as a common rule of distinction between the good and bad, for fear of injuring the innocent, while doing justice to the guilty.

Upon

Upon this deliberation, he thought it more honourable and humane, rather to spare the lives of some criminals; than run the risk of destroying some innocents; there being no place left for remedy and atonement in the latter; whereas, in the other case, there might be hope of amendment, whether from fear of punishment, sense of shame, or an impulse of virtue. Upon conclusion, however, he placed a garrison in the town, partly to restrain turbulent spirits, and partly for the security of those who were disposed for peace. This action finished the conquest of Galilee, at the expence of much labour and blood.

C H A P. V.

John of Gischala imposes upon the multitude at Jerusalem with a false story. Inflames them to prosecute the war. Great confusion amongst the Jews. Outrages of robbers and incendiaries. The faction create and depose high-priests at pleasure. The multitude oppose them at the instance of Ananus, the high-priest. The faction withdraw to the temple. Gorion and Simeon, leaders of the seditious party. Jesus and Ananus, men of respectable character. Ananus states the case in an address to the people. An encounter in the temple. Character and history of John of Gischala.

UPON John's entry into Jerusalem with his party, the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and vast throngs gathered about them, to enquire concerning the state of affairs abroad. John and his companions had been so expeditious in their flight, as to indicate apparent tokens of want of breath: nevertheless, they endeavoured to support their pretences, by insinuating, that they had not fled from the Romans, but were come spontaneously to find out some spot for the encounter, where they might engage upon equal terms; alledging, that it would be unreasonable to expose themselves to desperate hazards for the defence of Gischala, and other places of little importance, when the metropolis itself was at stake, and every man obliged, in duty and honour, to exert his utmost efforts to defend it.

But, notwithstanding the plausible manner in which they related the capture of Gischala, and their own departure from that place, many of the people saw through the disguise, and considered that honourable retreat, as it was termed, as little less than an absolute flight.

The discovery, and story of the prisoners the Romans had taken, struck the people with as much terror, as if the ruin of Gischala had been the prelude to the destruction of Jerusalem. But John, regardless of the miserable condition of those he had left behind him, went amongst the multitude, animating them to the prosecution of the war, by affirming, that the power of the Romans was much decreased, and that of the party resolved to oppose it much enlarged; so that by these means of chicane and imposture, he wrought upon a credulous rabble. He farther insinuated the impossibility of the Romans taking Jerusalem, even if they had wings, from their finding so much difficulty, after so many of their projects were counteracted, in subduing some incon siderable places in Galilee. These pompous harangues had the desired effect upon the rash and inexperienced; but men of sober reason foresaw impending ruin.

Such was the confused state of things in Jerusalem at that time; but the country led the way to the sedition that followed afterwards in the city: for Titus being gone from Gischala to Cæsarea, Vespasian went also from Cæsarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and subdued them both, settled garrisons in them, and so returned, bringing up a vast multitude of people along with him, that were now entered into a league with the Romans. The cities were infested with tumults and intestine broils, and no sooner at

peace with the Romans, than contention prevailed amongst themselves, and particularly between those of a warlike and those of pacific turns. The quarrel began in private families, which had been long adversaries upon the score of hereditary feuds. It thence passed into divided multitudes, and those who had been friends became enemies. It terminated in matter of faction and opinion, where men of the same mind formed an opposition of party to party, and so incorporated in a rebellion. Sedition and faction, in fine, universally prevailed; the young, rash, and active being bent upon arms and innovations, and the more grave and prudent disposed to moderation and candour; but the former overpowered the latter.

A general licentiousness now broke through all restraint, and a right to pillage was assumed, without any regard to law or conscience. Bands and parties were formed, who committed the most barefaced outrages and depredations, in the practice of which the Jews did themselves as much injury as they could the Romans: besides, the calamity would have been much more tolerable from an enemy than from their own countrymen.

The garrisons placed to guard the cities, consulting their own ease on the one hand, and being mortally averse to the people on the other, would not exert themselves in their protection or defence, till, in the end, some of the leaders of the faction entered Jerusalem with a great body they had raised in different parts. The city being under no rule or government, they met with no opposition: besides, according to ancient custom, the gates were open to all Jews, without exception, and at this time more especially, when they took all people that entered them as friends and assistants against the common enemy. This liberty, or rather licentiousness, eventually proved the ruin of the city, when infinite numbers of idlers and runnagates devoured the necessary provisions that were laid up for the soldiers who had the guard of the place. By these means the miseries of sedition and famine were added to the calamities of war.

There came, at the same time, another band of robbers out of the country, who joining themselves with those they found in the town, omitted no instance of insolence, rapine, and barbarity. To robbery they added the heinous crime of murder; not privately, or in the dark, or upon common persons, but in the face of the sun, and upon the most considerable men in the city. They began with the imprisoning of Antipas, a person of the blood royal, and of such credit and authority, that he was entrusted with the charge of the treasury. They treated Levias afterwards, and Sophas, the son of Raguel, with divers other persons of rank, with the same indignity.

Nor did these profligate wretches stop here, but finding their prisoners to be men of power, interest, and credit, and apprehending danger from keeping them longer in custody, either of a rescue or revenge from their friends, or a popular tumult from so desperate a provocation, they proceeded to a formal sentence of death upon them, and employed a blood-thirsty hireling of their own band, (one John, the son of Dorcas,) with a train of ten bravoes, to execute the sentence. As a colour to this execrable villainy, they gave it out that these persons were in a conspiracy to deliver up the city to the Romans, and boasted the merit of a public service, in doing so necessary an act of justice upon the betrayers of the liberty of their country.

The faction now became so daring and arrogant, and the spirit of the people so depressed, that they assumed to themselves the right of disposing of the pontificate, and accordingly took that office out of the right line, abrogated the succession, and advanced creatures of their own, without dignity or virtue to produce as a title. By a choice of ministers like themselves, they subverted all government; for the wicked instruments of wicked masters are alike diabolical and pernicious to society.

Artificial

The rise and progress of them.

The fruits of licentiousness.

A seditious band enters Jerusalem.

Another band of robbers, more injurious than the former.

A bloody sentence and execution.

The faction dispose of the pontificate at pleasure.

Their flagrant impiety.

Encomiums upon Ananus.

The faction determine to elect high-priests by lot.

The office treated with most contemptuous mockery.

The people are bent upon revenge.

Gorion and Simeon, heads of the opposition.

Description of the zealots.

Address of Ananus to the multitude.

Artificial calumnies, and feigned stories, were propagated, to create misunderstandings amongst those who had it in their power to frustrate their designs, and take advantage of the disagreements, till, in the end, having glutted themselves with indignities and cruelties towards men, they carried their impieties against God himself, against his laws and holy sanctuary. But, upon this daring attempt, the people, at the instigation of Ananus, the high-priest, made head against them. Ananus was a person no less venerable for his years, piety, and wisdom, than his general character, and might probably have preserved the city, if he could have escaped the hands of those who conspired against him.

The faction took sanctuary in the temple, as a place of defence against the resentment of the multitude, as well as the seat of their tyranny and usurpation. But the most sensible part of the calamity was the contemptuous mockery that attended it, in the wanton experiment of their own power, and the pusillanimous despondency of the people. For instance, they undertook to dispose of the pontificate by lot, according to precedent, as they pretended; whereas the sacerdotal function was originally a family privilege, and descended in a line by succession. This practice was no better than the abrogation of a positive law, to get the power into their own hands; but they were taken in their own snare; for, upon summoning one of the sacerdotal tribes, called Eniacim, in order to make choice, the lot fell upon a person that fully discovered the iniquity and corruption of the proceeding. His name was Phanes, the son of Samuel, of the village Aphthas, a man brutishly stupid, and not only unworthy of the high-priesthood, but wholly ignorant of the nature and duties of that sacred function. They compelled him, however, to relinquish his rustic concerns, and dressing him up in his pontifical robes, gave him his lesson how he was to behave, and exhibited him as a buffoon on the mimic stage. This horrid prophanation greatly affected the other priests, inasmuch that they could not refrain from tears, to see their holy laws trampled upon, and their profession and worship so impiously ridiculed. The people were at length so enraged with the sense of this oppression, that they had no longer patience to endure it, but zealously joined as one man to depose the tyrant, and cast off the yoke. Those who principally encouraged them in this necessary opposition, were Gorion, the son of Joseph, and Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, who inculcated the doctrine of liberty, and exhorted them, one and all, to stand up for the vindication of their religion and laws, against their prophane and sacrilegious enemies.

There was also Jesus, the son of Gamala, and Ananus, the son of Ananus, two priests eminent for their piety and virtue, who laboured unweariedly in frequent discourses to their disciples, to excite their detestation of the principles and practices of the zealots. They had assumed the denomination of zealots, from an hypocritical ostentation of holiness; though, in their lives and practices, they were the most abandoned and dissolute of men. The people being now assembled, were inflamed to a degree of indignation bordering on phrenzy, to see the havock these miscreants made in their holy places, and the murder and rapine they had committed without controul.

But, notwithstanding this passionate zeal, they did not attempt to oppose them in their impious proceedings, not thinking themselves able to encounter the zealots by force of arms, as, indeed, they were not; till, at length, Ananus, standing in the midst of them, and casting his eyes, deluged with tears, towards the temple, thus addressed them:

"Why did I not rather die than live, to see the house of God thus polluted and prophaned, and the wickedest of men admitted promiscuously into those sacred places of privilege that were only reserved for the high-priests? Why do I live and see all this? in my sacerdotal robes too, and with the venerable name of the great God written on my forehead? Why do I live any longer, after so

"glorious an opportunity now in my age of ending my days with honour? What have I more to do, in fine, under my circumstances, but to fall alone, and give up my life to my God and my duty? Why should any man desire to live in an inflexible generation, and among people that have neither the prudence to foresee calamities, or the courage to resist them? You stand still to see yourselves robbed, beaten, and abused, and your friends and companions murdered before your faces, without so much as one look, word, or action of tenderness or compassion that you dare own. A shameful and an insupportable tyranny! But why do I talk of the actors of the tyranny, and not rather of those that suffer it, and that trained up the tyrants themselves to the power of exercising what they now practise? Why did you not crush them when you might have done it? when they were but few, weak, and inconsiderable? It was your patience, and nothing else, that made these people your masters. When you should have turned your arms against your enemies, you must be cutting throats among yourselves. You should have called them to an account betimes, for the outrages they put upon your brethren. You should have considered that the sufferance of one affront naturally draws on and encourages another, as appeared in what followed. For when they found that they might commit all manner of insolence without controul, they advanced a step farther, and put several of the best men of the city in chains, (who were effectually betrayed by your tameness,) and dragged them to prison, not only unheard, and without a sentence, but without so much as an accusation; and all this was done without one creature appearing in their favour. After the loss of their estates and liberties, there remained nothing more to be taken away but their lives: and that was done too, and their throats cut, like so many beasts drawn out of the herd for sacrifices, before our very faces; and not a mouth opened, or an hand lifted up, in their defence. After all these sufferings, one after another, can you have the patience now to see your holy altars prophaned, and your religion exposed to scorn, without shewing some resentment worthy of your profession? What is it that you are afraid of, at last, but monsters of your own creating, and the professed enemies of all that is good and holy? If they stop here, it is not for want of good-will to be yet more and more wicked, but for want of fresh matter to work upon; for it is impossible for them to outdo the ill things they have done already. They are possessed, you see, of the strongest place of the city; and that which you call the temple serves them only for an impregnable castle, maintained against you. Considering now the strength of the place, and your enemies the masters of it, (as that you see is the case,) what is it that you propose to yourselves? Or what do you imagine will be the end of these things? unless you fancy that the Romans will espouse the cause of your religion and ceremonies: and, in truth, such is the misery of our present condition, that our very enemies cannot but pity us. If so many beasts were in your places, hunted, assaulted, and wounded, as you yourselves are, they would have the spirit to turn again upon their pursuers, and to revenge themselves upon their enemies; while you, at the same time, suffer all tamely, without so much as the sense or apprehension of the brutes. But will you bear this always? and sink in infamy, under the affronts, publick and private, that have been put upon you, without avenging yourselves? This abject patience looks as if you had no longer any sense of the most natural and powerful of human affections, the desire of liberty; but as if you had taken up, on the contrary, the love of slavery, instead of it; a temper which I am sure you never inherited from your ancestors: witness the many dangerous wars they underwent against the Medes and Egyptians, to assert their freedom. But what need of looking back for precedents, when the very war we are now engaged in against the Romans (whether it succeed well or ill) is advanced

"vanced evidently upon the same foot? And shall we now, that dispute our liberties with the masters of the whole world, crouch, like slaves, to our own countrymen? To be overcome by strangers is the chance of war, and may be imputed, without loss of honour, to the iniquity of fortune; but for people to give themselves up in subjection to their own brethren and countrymen, and to the very worst of them too, betrays a sordid servility of spirit, and a soul prepared for bondage.

"With respect to the Romans, make it the case that we were all actually now their prisoners, (which heaven forbid!) whether would our condition, in probability, be better or worse than it is now? For what misery could an enemy inflict upon us that we have not suffered already? Can any man stand a spectator to look upon the Jews, and see them robbing the temple of the oblations and donations that the Romans have bestowed upon it? Defacing the most glorious city under the sun; and dipping their hands in the blood of those heroes, which the Romans themselves, in the very triumph of their victories, would have had a veneration for? Can any man see all this, without tears in his eyes, and a bleeding heart? Whereas the Romans, on the other side, make a conscience of passing the bounds of sacred and prophane, and of breaking in upon the solemnities of holy customs, or but so much as casting a look, unless with reverence, and at a distance, toward the sacred enclosure, we have a sort of people among ourselves, trained up after our way too, and calling themselves Jews, that make no more scruple of walking in the temple than in a common place, and that while their hands are yet reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens. Shall any man, after this, stand in dread of a foreign war, compared with such a domestic one? The enemy is, in truth, (to call things by their right names,) the greater friend of the two; for while the Romans shew themselves the preservers of our laws, our pretended friends destroy them. Certain it is that these tyrants have betrayed your liberties, and that no punishment can be equal to their crimes. I tell you no more in this, than what you all knew before I opened my mouth; and you need no other instigation against these men, than the sense of your own sufferings. But you are afraid of their numbers, perhaps, the daring boldness of these men, and the advantageous post they are now possessed of. What was it, I beseech you, but your want of resolution, that raised them up to this, and made them so considerable? You have no way left you now but a speedy, a generous, and a joint association among yourselves, to bring them down again; for delay gives time to settle, opportunity to increase, and heart to gather courage. The whole faction will flow in the party, which will make them numerous. They have nothing to fear where they meet with no opposition, and that makes them bold; and so for deferring the attempt, the longer it is put off, the more time they have to fortify and entrench. It is but one bold push, to shew that you are in earnest, to bring down their insolence; and you will find that, betwixt the terrors of a guilty conscience, and the infamy of base actions, they will have little joy of their station. Who knows but these impious wretches may be cut off by the just judgment of a righteous God, as a vengeance upon them for their contempt of his Divine Majesty? and that the very weapons they launch at us may, by a providential miracle, be turned against their own hearts; so that they shall not be able to stand the very sight of us, but with confusion. Or, to put matters at the worst, if we should fall every man of us in the contest, could any thing be more glorious than to lay down our lives, at the gates of the temple, for the honour of God, and in the service of his holy house and cause? As to the conduct of the enterprise, you shall have my heart, hand, example, and advice along with you."

This spirited address of Ananus encouraged the multitude to persevere in their resolution against the

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zealots; but being fully informed of their numbers, their choice of men, and their courage, together with the circumstances of the place, and the posture they were in, and finally their despair of pardon, in case they should be overcome, he was not too sanguine in his expectation of immediate advantage from the measures that were taken. He was determined, however, to run all hazards, rather than abandon his country in this distress; while the people expressed the most importunate desire that he would lead them on against these miscreants, in defiance of every danger they could possibly encounter.

The address of Ananus encourages the people to oppose the zealots.

Ananus, finding the multitude thus bravely resolute, selected the best men he could find, and ranged them in the best order the time would permit. The zealots, receiving intelligence from their spies of his motions and designs, advanced immediately towards him, first in small parties, then in large bodies, slaying all before them. Ananus collected his men with great expedition, and in point of numbers exceeded the others; but the zealots had the advantage of being better armed. But the alacrity from each party seemed to supply all other defects. The rage and indignation of the citizens increased their ardour in opposing the progress of the zealots; and the zealots, on the other hand, were inflamed by their resolution against the multitude. The inhabitants were assured they could not be safe, unless they cleared the city of the faction; and it was certain death to the faction if they came not off victorious.

Thus disposed, both parties engaged, and a skirmish began, not far from the temple, by casting stones, and throwing javelins, at a distance. Those that fled were cut off by the swords of their enemies, so that many fell on both sides. When any of the inhabitants happened to be wounded, they were carried off by their friends to their own houses; but the zealots were conveyed up to the temple, which holy place they polluted with their blood. The faction, however, in all their sallies and encounters, obtained the advantage.

A skirmish ensues.

The populace now became more numerous, and lost all patience with the fugitives for not standing their ground, insomuch that, closing up the way behind them in their flight, they turned them back again upon the enemy; so that they were forced to cut out their way forward in their own defence. By these means they were brought every man to the combat, and the faction not being able to stand the shock of the whole body, gave way by degrees towards the temple, when Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. When he had driven the faction before him out of the first court, they got into the second enclosure, hastily shutting the gates upon their pursuers. Ananus had too great a reverence for the holy place, to use any sort of violence for the forcing of his passage, though the enemy did all that was possible to be done, by darts and lances from above, to provoke him to it. But such was the conscience the high-priest made of polluting the holy temple with the mixture of an unpurified multitude, that, if he might have gained the main cause by such a dispensation, he would not have admitted it. All that he did at present was, to order a standing guard, of six thousand chosen men, upon the frontiers of the temple, and a succession of the same number to do duty, and be relieved. The first men of the city were not exempt from their part in this service; only they were permitted, when it fell to their lot, to have a substitute to watch in their stead.

Ananus forces his way into the temple.

His religious scruples.

He appoints a standing guard.

The popular party now carried all before them; but John of Gischala, the fugitive, disconcerted their measures, and counteracted their designs. He was a subtle miscreant, ambitious to a degree, an inveterate enemy, and perfidious traitor to the public. To subserve his flagitious purposes, he assumed the mask of a patriot, seditiously attended the councils of Ananus in the day-time, and went round the guards at night. But the traitor divulged their secrets to the zealots; and every thing deliberated upon was, by his means, known to their enemies even before it

Perfidious conduct of John of Gischala.

had been well agreed upon amongst themselves. In order to evade suspicion, he cultivated, with assiduity, the greatest friendship with Ananus and the people; was most officiously respectful in his behaviour to the high-priest, and, in short, to every man of rank and power.

But his flattery was so gross, and his officiousness and assiduities were so palpably deceptive, that they naturally raised suspicions and jealousies, which were not a little augmented by his constant attendance on councils, without summons or invitation. It was evident, from divers circumstances, that their enemies were apprized of all resolutions taken against them at their consultations; nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of the discovery as this John. But he had played his part so artfully, and insinuated himself with such address into the good opinion of several great men, that it was deemed impossible to remove him from his post; so that they could think of no better expedient of putting him to the test, than administering to him an oath of faith and secrecy to keep their counsels, and serve them against the faction to the uttermost of his power.

He most readily took the oath; and Ananus and his party seemed as readily to believe him sincere; as they not only admitted him into their consultations, but sent him on a commission to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation. They were chiefly induced to adopt such measures, by an earnest desire of avoiding the pollution of the temple with the blood of the Jews, and the blame they should consequently incur. This perfidious impostor availed himself of the trust reposed in him to perpetrate his base designs, and accordingly went to the zealots, and totally misrepresented the whole matter by intimating to them, most artfully and maliciously, in the following address, that the oath he had taken was a confirmation of his good will towards them.

John of Gischala's speech to the zealots.

"I have run (said he) all hazards for your sakes, in order to give you authentic information of the designs and practices of Ananus and his party against you. I am now to assure you, that neither you or I were ever in such great danger as at present, if some providential interposition does not avert it, as Ananus has prevailed with the people to send deputies to Vespasian, to desire him to come immediately and take possession of the city; having ordered the people to purify themselves the next day, to the end that, under the pretext of religion, they might, either by fair means or foul, get into the town. I do not find, under their circumstances, how they should be able to hold out against such a number of armed men; but, as it hath pleased the Divine will, I am deputed to bring you proposals of peace, which, in fact, is no other than a stratagem of Ananus to amuse you with a treaty, and fall upon you by surprise when you think yourselves most secure. You have now no other choice than to throw yourselves at the feet of the besiegers, or call in a foreign power to your rescue. If you are taken, the consciousness of what you have done must exclude you from all hope of mercy. Besides, criminals prove frequently worse for repentance. Consider again, what you are to expect from the friends and relations of those whom you have slain, and from a furious multitude, in the height of their rage, for the abrogation of their laws and customs. A single individual may have some sense of humanity and tenderness, but what will that avail against the violence of an irritated million?"

The faction are alarmed at this speech.

This artful speech alarmed the factious party: but John durst not name what foreign assistance he hinted at, though there was every reason to think it was that of the Idumæans. After this he took some of the leaders apart, and loaded Ananus with calumnies and reproaches, in order to inflame their resentment against him.

CHAP. VI.

The Idumæans, being sent for to the assistance of the zealots, repair to Jerusalem with a formidable army. Jesus, the high-priest, reasons the matter with them. Simon makes a reply to the particulars of his speech. The Idumæans resolve to make good the siege.

ELEAZAR, the son of Simon, and Zachary, the son of Phalek, were deemed two of the ablest men the zealots had in their counsel, and the best qualified for business, either in point of advice or execution; and they were both of the sacerdotal race. These persons taking it for granted, that, besides the general menaces, their lives in particular were threatened, and that Ananus and his party had called in the Romans to their assistance, as John had represented; imagining also, that they should fall a sacrifice to the fury of the multitude, and that no foreign succours could arrive in time to prevent the execution of the plot; they came at length to a resolution of applying to the Idumæans, and wrote them a letter upon the occasion to this effect:

"Finding that Ananus, having first seduced the people, hath designed the betraying Jerusalem to the Romans, we have retired into the temple in defence of the common liberty, where we are now besieged, and upon the very point of falling into the hands of Ananus, and the rest of our enemies, and the city itself into the hands of the Romans, without immediate relief." The bearers had charge to relate many other circumstances verbally to the principal of the Idumæans. The persons chosen for this commission were both called Ananias: they were active, good speakers, endowed with the faculty of persuasion, and (which was equal to all the rest upon this occasion) men of resolution and dispatch. They made no doubt of the ready compliance of the Idumæans, being a people fond of broils and changes, brutal and churlish, that needed no great pains to be wrought upon, as they go to war with as much alacrity and delight, as other people do to a banquet. Expedition was therefore the main business, and the messengers did their duty.

When they arrived at Idumæa, and delivered their letters and instructions to the governors, the people were no sooner informed of the particulars, than they caught the flame, and encouraged and provoked one another to take up arms, insomuch that they soon assembled in a body of 20,000 men, which was speedily raised, and dispatched to Jerusalem, under the command of John and James, the sons of Sofas, Simon, the son of Cathlas, and Phineas, the son of Clusoth.

Though Ananus knew nothing of the deputation to the zealots, he had intelligence of the Idumæan expedition, and ordered the gates to be shut, and the walls guarded, but no act of hostility to be committed, till he had tried the effect of reason and fair words towards composing the broil; so that Jesus, the first priest next Ananus, mounted a tower over against the Idumæans, and thus addressed them:

"Of all the calamities that ever befel this famous city, nothing amazes me more than to see fortune in a conspiracy with the most abandoned people in nature to destroy it. Who could ever have thought to have seen you joining with a band of miscreants against us, even more heartily than would have become you toward barbarians themselves, if Jerusalem had desired your aid? But if you are of the same mind with your superiors, this you have to say for yourselves, that a similitude of manners naturally begets an agreement of affections. This, however, cannot be the case betwixt you and them. For if you consider their lives and actions, you will not find one man of them that does not deserve a thousand deaths. As to their quality, they are the very scum of mankind: then for their manners, after their squandering away their fortunes in luxury and debauch, they proceeded to rapine and pillage; and stealing

“stealing afterward into the city like thieves, they
 “advanced to sacrilege and bloodshed, even in the
 “holy temple itself; wallowing in drink at the very
 “altar, without either fear or shame; devouring the
 “spoils of those they have murdered, and profan-
 “ing the sacred place with all manner of pollutions.
 “In the middle of this confusion, I find your people
 “here in as regular a formality of order and equi-
 “page, as if your army had been brought in at the
 “request of a whole body of the city against a
 “foreign enemy. What shall I call this, but the
 “iniquity of fortune, to see your whole nation uni-
 “ted in so infamous a confederacy against your own
 “brethren? I cannot but admire, I must confess,
 “the suddenness of your resolution, as well as the
 “thing itself. It must be some great matter, sure,
 “that could move you to take up arms for thieves
 “and vagabonds against your allies. But you have
 “a report among you, I perceive, of our calling in
 “the Romans, and betraying the city to them; and
 “upon that pretence you take upon you to set up
 “for asserters of the liberties of Jerusalem against
 “a foreign power. Though it was a gross and ma-
 “licious calumny, it was yet pertinent enough to
 “the purpose of the inventors of it: for our ene-
 “mies could never have gained their ends upon
 “men that value liberty at the rate that you do, and
 “would venture so far for the preserving of it, but
 “by possessing you with a rage against us, as the
 “bale and unmanly betrayers of a blessing and pri-
 “vilege that you have so great a veneration for.
 “But you will do well to consider who they are that
 “thus bely and traduce us, and then form a judg-
 “ment upon the whole; not upon the credit of
 “plausible tales, but upon the force of clear truths
 “and convincing reason.

“How will it be consistent that we should dispute
 “our liberties thus long with the Romans, and just
 “now own them for our matters? How came it
 “that we fell off from them at first? Or how came
 “it that we did not go over to them again, before
 “our lands, towns, and villages were totally laid
 “waste and destroyed? Neither is this a time for a
 “treaty, if we had ever so great a mind to it; for
 “the conquest of Galilee hath made them too proud
 “to hearken to any conditions. And then to go
 “out suing to them for a peace as soon as they shew
 “themselves before our walls, would be an infamy
 “more insupportable than death itself. For my
 “own part, I am rather for peace than war; but, on
 “the other side, when the war is once begun and
 “inevitable, I am rather for a glorious death than
 “the life of a slave.

“But how stands the case, I beseech you, of our
 “sending to the Romans? Is it that the ring-leaders
 “have privately sent some particular persons out of
 “their own number or families? Or will you have
 “it to be a deputation as the common act of the
 “people? If this was done by a particular com-
 “mission, why are we not told the names of the
 “commissioners? Are there any letters to be pro-
 “duced in proof of this suggestion? Or hath any
 “man been taken up going or coming upon this
 “errand? How comes it that, among so many thou-
 “sands of people as we daily converse with in the
 “city, not so much as one man ever heard of it?
 “And how comes it again, that this secret, that has
 “been managed with so much caution out of the
 “city, should be only known to a few persons that
 “are locked up in the temple, and not at liberty so
 “much as to stir out of the walls? Is is not a
 “strange thing too, that this treason should never be
 “heard of, till the reporters of it were in danger
 “themselves, and in dread of being called to an ac-
 “count for their own crimes? Neither could it be
 “called the people’s act, without passing the vote
 “of a general assembly, which would have made it
 “impossible to be kept so long a secret. Or to what
 “end should there be a deputation, when the thing
 “was resolved before hand, and no room left for a
 “treaty? Then, as before observed, they would
 “have done well to have named the commissioners.
 “But drowning men will catch hold of any thing;
 “and all this prevarication is only to save them-

“selves. If it must be the city’s fate, at last, to fall
 “by treachery, none are so likely to bring it to that
 “end as our accusers themselves; for it is but ad-
 “ding treason to blood, sacrilege, and the rest of
 “the impieties they are guilty of already, to fill up
 “the measure of their iniquities.

“But since you are here upon the place with us,
 “and in arms, what can you do better than to join
 “with us in the relief of the city, and in the rooting
 “out of these tyrannical monsters? Wretches that
 “have trod all our laws under foot, to make way
 “for tumult and violence; treated our governors
 “worse than bond-slaves, or common criminals, in
 “jails, chains, nay, and with death itself, though
 “ever so innocent, and, which is worse, without so
 “much as any pretence to the contrary; and with-
 “out any place, at last, for prayers or intercessions in
 “favour of the miserable. This is no more than
 “what you may be eye-witnesses of yourselves, if
 “you will but enter the city as friends, and believe
 “your senses. There you will see the ransacking of
 “houses, and the whole town in mourning for their
 “massacred kindred and friends; your ears will be
 “shocked with cries and lamentations, and not one
 “creature to be found, upon the whole, but has his
 “part in this oppression. They have carried their
 “insolence to so extravagant a pitch, that, after the
 “barbarous robberies and outrages committed in
 “the country towns and villages, they have brought
 “the scene likewise into the mother-city itself, tho’
 “the head and glory of the nation; carrying the
 “outrage from thence also into the very temple
 “itself, which they have made the seat of the war.
 “From thence it is that they make their sallies, and
 “thither their retreats: there they keep their guards,
 “their stores, and their magazines. At this rate it
 “is, in fine, that these profligates (of our own
 “tribe and extraction too) profane, dishonour, and
 “trample upon God’s holy habitation, and the
 “place that is venerable all over the world, save only
 “among our own people. They are never so deli-
 “perate, but, in the depth of their despair, they
 “still take delight in forcing all things to extremi-
 “ties, and in setting cities and nations against each
 “other, and all in a confusion of civil broils. The
 “most righteous and reasonable thing that you can
 “do (and that which would best become you)
 “would be, to go hand in hand with us, in deliver-
 “ing the nation from these firebrands, and in taking
 “your revenge upon them for the imposture they
 “have put upon you, and for presuming to invite
 “you into their party for assistance; whereas they
 “should rather have dreaded the vengeance and
 “justice from you, that belongs to a common
 “enemy. If you take it to be matter of decency
 “and respect, to pay some sort of deference to their
 “requests, be but pleased to pass into the city as
 “friends: leave your arms at the gates, make your-
 “selves neuter, give the cause a fair hearing, and be
 “yourselves the judges of the controversy. But for
 “those people that have so many notorious crimes
 “to answer for themselves, and particularly the
 “hurrying away of so many men of quality to
 “death, without so much as the forms of either
 “charge or defence; for these people, I say, to be
 “admitted to so impartial and easy a way of trial,
 “will be a condescension very extraordinary, and
 “it will become them to acknowledge the obliga-
 “tion they have to you for the favour. But if you
 “will neither join with us in the equity of the cause,
 “or appear in the capacity of judges betwixt us,
 “withdraw from both parties, without either insult-
 “ing over honest men in their affliction, or siding
 “with traitors and usurpers against your mother
 “city. Or, if you are not as yet thoroughly satisfied
 “of our innocence, as to any secret correspondence
 “with the Romans, send out your scouts and agents
 “to spy upon the passes and avenues; and whenever
 “you find one creature of us guilty of such a prac-
 “tice, spare neither the actor or the party. That
 “will be the only proper time for you to stand up
 “for your metropolis: and there is no danger in the
 “mean time; for, as you are posted, it is not possi-
 “ble for any enemy to interpose to your prejudice.
 “If this may work upon you, it is well; but if
 “otherwise,

"otherwise, you cannot think it reasonable for us
"to open our gates till you lay down your arms."

Notwithstanding this spirited and reasonable address of Jesus, the multitude continued much enraged, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city; and the generals looked upon the very mention of laying down their arms as the highest indignity that could be offered them. Simon, however, the son of Cathlas, one of their principal officers, quieted the tumult they had raised, and standing upon an elevated place, so that the priests might hear him, spoke to the following effect:

Simon, an Idumæan general, replies to the speech of the Jewish priest.

"I do not wonder to see the defenders of our country's liberties shut up in the temple, when the very besiegers of those patriots have likewise shut up the city itself, which ought to be free and open to the whole nation; but at the same time ready enough, perhaps, to entertain the Romans with garlands and acclamations. It is enough for us, you think, to talk to us from your towers, advise us to lay down our arms, (though taken up in the common cause,) and not to trust our nearest friends with the guard of the city. But, instead of defending our capital, we are held in hand with proposals of being made judges of the matter in question; and, in the same instant, while you are laying a load upon others for destroying your fellow-citizens without any colour of law, you yourselves pronounce judgment at will and pleasure on the whole nation, and violently keep your own brethren out of a city that gives admittance, upon the account of piety and devotion, to all mankind beside. But is this your way then of acknowledging obligations? Do you call it an expedition against you, and a siding with your enemies, to make all the haste we could to your rescue? At the same rate are those in the temple your enemies; and you have just as much to say against us as against them. You have, at present, the very supporters of the commonwealth prisoners in the temple; and we are to be amused with a pretence, that the end of your keeping all the world out of the city, is to avoid their tyranny, when, in fact, the very tyranny you complain of yourselves practise. This is too gross to pass on any man who hath eyes to see. Keeping us out of the city is not all neither, for we are barred, by that exclusion, from the exercise and enjoyment of the religious rites and ceremonies of our profession. And it is the same case again with those who are besieged in the temple, for punishing certain traitors, whom you are pleased to honour with the title of honest men and persons of quality, for the credit of the confederacy. The only thing they were to blame for was, that they did not begin with you; that is to say, at the root of the conspiracy. But if they were over tender, it will concern us to act with more vigour, for the maintenance of the house of God, and of the rights of our country, as well within the city as without, and against all opposers. So that this siege we are resolved to make good, till either the Romans deliver you, or the consciousness of what you have done amiss bring you back to your duty."

C H A P. VII.

The Idumæans encamp under the city walls. A dreadful storm. Several opinions and forebodings upon it. The great concern of the zealots for the security of their friends. The Idumæans enter the city by night, and join the zealots. An inhuman massacre ensues. The priests Ananus and Jesus put to death.

THE Idumæans testified, by their acclamations, their approbation of the speech of their general; while Jesus, on the other hand, went away penfive and sorrowful, on finding the Idumæans opposed all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor were the minds of the Idumæans at rest, being enraged at the affront of-

fered them by their exclusion from the city, as well as at their disappointment with respect to the supposed strength of the zealots, together with the difficulties they had met with in their expedition. But the shame that would attend them, in case they returned without making any attempt, outweighed all other scruples, so that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment. The following night there arose an horrible storm of wind and rain, accompanied with such peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and dreadful earthquakes, as produced an universal consternation. The prodigies were deemed a manifest indication of some approaching destruction, as the system of the world appeared to be in general disorder.

The inhabitants and Idumæans were both under the same apprehension. Their opinion was, that the Almighty was displeased with them for taking arms, and that some vindictive judgment threatened them both, if they persisted in a war against the mother city.

But Ananus and his party looked upon it as a declaration from heaven in their favour; taking it for granted, that Providence would interpolate in their behalf, and give them a victory without a battle. But the event proved the fallacy of their conjecture; for that which they applied to the enemy, befell themselves in the conclusion. In this storm the Idumæans fenced one another by edging together as close as they could press, thereby keeping themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. The zealots all this while were in more pain for the Idumæans than for themselves, and therefore entered into a consultation to devise means for assisting their friends. The more daring and resolute were for forcing the guards with their arms, and, after gaining that point, bursting open the gates, and making way for the Idumæans; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt, especially as the greatest part of them were ill armed, and unskilled in military discipline. Besides, the multitude would not be easily assembled, as they were dispersed to their several habitations by the storm. They were determined, however, at all events, and in spite of every danger, to support and protect their friends and allies, who came so generously to their assistance.

But the more prudent part disapproved of this method, persuaded that the guards, at this critical time, were doubled, and that a stricter watch than ordinary was set upon the walls on account of the Idumæans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where up and down at all hours, to keep the soldiers to their duty. This, indeed, was the case every other night but that, when Ananus went to refresh himself, not through slothfulness or inattention, but rather a kind of fatality to the ruin of himself and people; for the night being far spent, and the tempest increasing, Ananus permitted the guards at the temple gates to go to rest.

At this fatal instant it occurred to the zealots, that, if they could but destroy the bars of the gates, their design would be accomplished. Upon this they took certain instruments belonging to the temple, and cut them asunder; and it fell out fortunately for them, that, through the raging of the wind, and roaring of the thunder, the noise was not heard by the besiegers. They then went privately to the city gates next to the Idumæans, which they opened as they had done the former. The Idumæans at first apprehended that Ananus and his party were making a sally, so that every man made towards the palace sword in hand; but, on finding their mistake, they entered the city, and with such rage, that, if they had discharged it upon the people, they must have put the whole body to the sword. But, as their first concern was to deliver the zealots, their friends, out of custody in the temple, according to their earnest request, and it was pointed out to them how much easier they would find the enterprize, if they began with the guards, whereas, if the inhabitants took the alarm, they would gather in multitudes, and dispute every inch of the ground upon such

such advantage, that they could never carry their point. The Idumæans were brought to coincide with them in opinion, and therefore made it their main business to pass directly through the city to the relief of their friends, who were prisoners in the temple, and waited their coming with great impatience.

They had no sooner entered, than the zealots came boldly out of the inner temple, and joined with them in an attack upon the guards. Some they killed in their sleep; but the multitude, alarmed by the outcry, arose, and, in great amazement and confusion, seized upon their arms, and stood in their own defence. Imagining, at first, that they were only a party of the zealots, they had no doubt of overpowering them by numbers, and therefore pressed on boldly; but when they found others advancing, and that the Idumæans had joined the zealots, the greater part dropped their arms with their courage, and lamented the horror of their situation. Some few, more brave and resolute than the rest, covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly encountered the Idumæans; but the major part ran up and down bewailing, in direful yell, the ruin of the city. Not a blow was struck, when it was generally known that the Idumæans were masters of the place. The streets rang with hideous outcries and doleful lamentations; the shrieks of the women were rendered more piercing by the shouts of the Idumæans and zealots, and the tempestuous violence of the winds and thunder. Such were the barbarity and fierceness of the Idumæans, aggravated by the thought of being shut out of the city, and exposed to the stress of weather, that they spared neither age or sex. Some of the distressed mortals pleaded religion, others kindred; but death stopped all mouths. There was neither place for flight, or hope of preservation; but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Nay, the very fear of death contributed as much to the execution of it as the rage of the enemy. In this extremity of distraction some of them, to avoid one death, leaped headlong down a precipice into another. Rivers of blood flowed round the temple; and, by day-light, the place was strewed, upon computation, with 8500 dead bodies.

The rage of the Idumæans was not satiated by this horrid massacre, but afterwards turned upon the city, where they pillaged all the houses indifferently, and slew every one they met. The rabble they looked upon as below further notice, and

chiefly wreaked their vengeance upon those of the sacerdotal order, which they did by taking off their heads without the least distinction, and then trampling on their bodies, deridingly upbraided Ananus with his popularity, and Jesus with his elaborate harangue upon the wall. They proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to forbid the rites of burial; though the Jewish laws, from a reverence to the dead, have provided for the taking down even of executed criminals from the very crosses, and burying them before sun-set.

I presume I shall not be found guilty of an error, if I date the destruction of this city from the death of Ananus, and affirm that Ananus and Jerusalem fell both on the same day; for, in the loss of this man, they lost the support of their government, and all hope of safety; and Jerusalem was, in fact, as much extinct as Ananus. Besides the dignity of his extraction and character, he was highly esteemed for his personal virtue and justice; and his humility was an ornament to all his good qualities. He was a zealous assertor of the cause of liberty, and ever preferred the public to private interest. His study and concern were to promote peace, well convinced of the insuperable power of the Romans, and that the only security of the Jews was to maintain a good understanding with them. To sum up the whole, if Ananus had survived, the Romans and Jews would have come to an agreement. He was a powerful orator, and endowed with the faculty of persuading his hearers in an eminent degree. He had already humbled those incendiaries called zealots; and the Jews, under such a leader, would have made a vigorous opposition to the power of the Romans.

He was so happy as to be aided in his counsels by Jesus, a person of very great abilities, though inferior to Ananus. But it seems to have been the Divine will to doom this city to destruction, and purge the sanctuary, as it were, by fire, for all the pollutions and abominations that had been committed in it. This was done by removing these two illustrious persons, who were the only means of preserving it. These who, a little before, were venerable for their sacred garments, the protectors of our holy religion, and the delight not only of their own people, but of all foreigners who had the honour to know them, were now wantonly exposed as a prey to dogs and wild beasts, to the astonishment and grief of all good men, who lamented to see virtue dejected, and vice triumphant.

Ananus put to death.

His character.

As horrid
massacre
by the Idumæans.

End of the FOURTH BOOK of the WARS.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Cruelty of the zealots and Idumæans. Zachariah falsely accused of treason. Makes an honourable defence, and is acquitted. Is afterwards murdered in the temple. The Idumæans discover the iniquitous practices of the zealots, discharge their prisoners, and leave the city. Gorion, and Niger of Peræa, put to death. Divine vengeance overtakes the tyrants.

Barbarities
of the Idumæans and
zealots.

AFTER the murders of Ananus and Jesus, the people, in general, were treated with the most horrid barbarities by the Idumæans and zealots, who carried devastations and slaughter every where before them. As to persons of rank, and those who were in the prime of life, they only kept them in custody, in hopes that, for the sparing of their lives, they might be brought over to their party; but they chose rather to die than join in a conspiracy with traitors against their native country. Death, however, might be accounted the least part of their misery, as it was brought on by the most exquisite torture: their bodies were torn and lacerated with scourges till they were covered with ulcers; and, when they could no longer sustain the torments, they had recourse to the sword for finishing the work. Those whom they caught in the day were crowded into prisons, and slain in the night; and then their dead bodies were carried out in order to make room for others. These horrid massacres excited such terror in the minds of the people, that they durst not affect sorrow, or perform funeral rites for their nearest relations: nay, they were even afraid to shed a tear in their own houses, without the utmost caution, lest any should be privy to it; for humanity was become so dangerous a crime, that it was death even to shew a tender regard for the memories of those who were departed. All they could do, was, now and then, in the night, to cast a little earth upon the body; though some few were so daring as to venture upon it in the day. There perished, in this manner, 12,000 persons of the first rank.

These inhuman monsters being almost surfeited with their barefaced cruelties, had the effrontery to set up fictitious tribunals, and constitute judicatures, under a pretended form of law and equity. The first who became amenable to this mock court was Zachariah, the son of Baruch, a man of the first rank, and a character eminent for piety and virtue. He was looked upon by the zealots as a man so dangerously popular, that, to ensure their own safety, it was necessary to remove him. Resolving, therefore, to take away his life, they put him upon his trial, and to that purpose convened seventy of the principal men amongst them, under the name of judges, but without even the semblance of juridical authority. This self-constituted court being met, the zealots exhibited a formal charge against Zachariah, of a design to betray Jerusalem to the Romans, and treating with Vespasian about it. There appeared not the least colour of a proof; nevertheless, they attempted to establish their affirmation as sufficient evidence. Zachariah, perceiving manifestly that his life was at stake, and that the whole design was fraudulent, in this state of despair, prepared for his defence with that serenity and freedom of mind which are the inseparable concomitants of conscious integrity.

He began with pointed reflections on the scandalous practices and frivolous pretences of his accusers, and proceeded to shew the evident calumnies and inconsistencies of their allegations, exposed the futility of their objections, and turned all their arguments against themselves, setting forth the whole course of their iniquities, and the dreadful consequences which had attended them. The noble and spirited conduct of Zachariah enraged the zealots to such a degree of malice, that they had certainly murdered him on the spot, if they had not been restrained by a necessary deference to their pretended court of judicature, and a design of making the experiment whether their new judges would venture their lives on so dangerous a point.

When it came to the issue, the whole court pronounced the prisoner innocent: nor was there one out-

of the seventy judges, but chose rather to run the hazard of his own life, than take away that of so good a man, by a sentence repugnant to conscience and equity. This judgment of acquittal highly incensed the zealots, who censured the judges as idiots, in not comprehending the design of their appointment. Two of the most splenetic and daring fell outrageously upon Zachariah, and murdered him in the middle of the temple, and having insolently exclaimed, "Thou hast also our verdict, which will prove a more sure acquittal than the other," cast the body down a precipice into the valley. The lives of the judges were spared: their punishment was a sentence of infamy, to be beaten out of the temple with the backs of their swords. By this means they were dispersed up and down as so many eye-witnesses of the slavery of the capital city at that time.

By this time the Idumæans repented of their coming, and were disgusted at the horrid proceedings of the zealots. While they were conferring on the subject, they had secret intelligence sent them by one of the party, of the transactions and principles of the people that invited them, to the following effect:

"That they took up arms upon the credit of a report, that the high-priests were treating with the Romans for betraying of the city; however, upon further enquiry, they found nothing at all in it; but, on the contrary, the pretended assertors of our liberties were actually the subverters of them, and they themselves the tyrants that ought to have been timely suppressed. But (said the zealot) since it hath been your unhappy lot to join with them thus far in their iniquities, it will be time for you to break off so criminal an alliance with the professed enemies of your laws and country. You took it ill to be kept out of the town: and are you not sufficiently revenged upon those that excluded you, in the death of Ananus, and so many thousands of the citizens in one night? an action which many of your people will live to repent. I speak this only to shew you the barbarity of your confidants that had the effrontery to commit these shameless cruelties even before the face of their preservers, and by doing the basest things that ever were heard of in the sight of their allies, to transfer the infamy from the zealots to the Idumæans, who, in truth, should either have hindered them, or left them. Now, since it is as clear as the sun, that the whole story of the conspiracy is nothing but a calumny, and that there is no such thing in prospect as the dread of a Roman army, beside the impregnable strength of this city, if it were true to itself, since thus it is, what have you more to do than to return whence you came, and, by abandoning these monsters, expiate, in some degree, the ill things you did in their company? Wherein you are thus far excusable, that you were rather passive under a well meaning mistake, than voluntary actors at your own liberty and choice."

These persuasions wrought so effectually on the Idumæans, that they immediately set all the prisoners at liberty, being about two thousand, left the city, and returned home. Their unexpected departure greatly surprized both the inhabitants and the zealots on several accounts. The people, who knew the cause, took courage, from the consideration of being delivered from so many of their enemies. The zealots, on the other hand, became insolent upon it, in confidence of their own strength; and, from reflecting that the check was removed which kept them in some degree of awe of the Idumæans, they were now at liberty to pursue their own measures, without the least restraint or delay, they went on without deliberation or counsel, perpetrating whatever could be either iniquitous or cruel.

But their deadly rancour was levelled at men of honour and valour, whom they persecuted to the utmost extremity; those of rank from a principle of envy, those of resolution and virtue from a principle of fear; for they could never think themselves safe so long as any of that character was living. This

was their motive for taking off Gorion, a man of birth and virtue, and a generous assertor of the cause of liberty. Niger of Peræa fell under the same disastrous fate. He was an officer who had displayed his courage against the Romans, and gloried in the wounds he had received in the service of his country as they dragged him along the streets. When they brought him out of the gates, and he despaired of life, he made them this request, that his body might be buried: but it was denied him; and they put him to death with this prophetic imprecation in his last breath, "that the Romans might come to avenge his blood: and Divine Justice overtake them with famine, sword, pestilence, and mortal divisions among themselves, in proportion to the enormity of their crimes."

Nor was it long before the Almighty, in righteous judgment, poured down all those plagues upon them, according to the good man's imprecation, beginning with their intestine broils. The removal of Niger so far dissipated their fears, that there was no part of the people but they found out some pretence to destroy. Some they put to death for pretended offences past. In other cases, where matter of fact could not be produced, bare jealousy or possibility was sufficient. If they made court to the faction, they were spies; if they kept off, it was construed into enmity and contempt; but, whether the pretended crime was great or small, the penalty was still the same, and none escaped that possessed either dignity or property.

CHAP. II.

Distracted state of the Jews. Vespasian deliberates about besieging Jerusalem. Many of the Jews desert from the zealots to the Romans. Tyranny and oppression prevail in the highest degree. Predictions verified concerning the destruction of Jerusalem.

THE ambition of the Roman officers prompting them to the capture of Jerusalem, they could not embrace a fairer opportunity for the advancement of their design, than that afforded by the present distracted state of the city. To this end they urged Vespasian, as their commander in chief, to improve the same, without allowing the Jews a proper time to concert measures of defence. They also represented to him, that the interposition of Providence evidently appeared upon these factions in favour of the Romans. The general replied to them in terms to the following effect, observing,

"That their bravery was more than their policy; and that they considered the glory of the action, in the ostentation of their courage, (as it were to fight a prize,) more than the prudence and advantage of it. For to attack the city hand over head, would be the ready way to make them all friends again, and to draw their forces upon us, which are very considerable, into a conjunction, as against a common enemy; whereas, if we do but wait with a little patience, they will do our business to our hands, in spending their numbers and their spirits one upon another. God does better for us than we can do for ourselves, in delivering up the Jews to the Romans without labour or peril, and giving us victory without so much as a battle. Are they not already involved in a civil war? (which is the heaviest of all judgments.) Who but a madman then will enter into a needless contest with madmen, and run the risk of bearing a part in the tragedy, when he may do his business better in the quality of a spectator? Those people are rash and furious, and, rather than not be destroyed, will kill one another. As for those that look upon a cheap victory to be inglorious, they would do well to set the advantages of a temperate accommodation, without blood, against the uncertain chance of war. This is not to derogate from the honour of military virtue; for, provided the same thing be done, it matters not whether it be by arms or council. Undoubtedly

Gorion and Niger put to death.

"Undoubtedly that must be the best way of doing it, which at the same time that it weakens the enemy, keeps our own men, by daily exercise, in discipline and in breath. Neither is this a time for us to propose to ourselves the fame of a glorious exploit, when the Jews are playing our game for us, and mind neither their arms, their works, or their walls, or the making of interest and friends, but are destroying one another, and doing the part of the worst of enemies one to another, till they have brought themselves into such a condition, that the best they can hope or wish for is to be our slaves. As to the prudence and honour of the matter in question, if they have a mind to plague one another, why should we hinder them? Nor is there, in fine, any reputation to be got by a victory that was rather cast upon us by the faction of the one side, than gained by the valour of the other. And this is the truth of the case."

The Jews desert in numbers to Vespasian.

Additional instance of the barbarity of the zealots.

Thus did Vespasian deliver his opinion, with which, from the sequel, the officers appeared to coincide; for deserters came over to him from the zealots, in great numbers, day after day; though the passages were so beset, that it seemed almost impossible to escape. They put every man to the sword that fell in their way, upon pretence, that he was going off to the Romans, unless he redeemed himself for a sum of money, which never failed to procure his deliverance. There was no charge of treachery where there was no want of money; so that the rich compounded; and the poor were obliged to submit not only to oppression, but even murder itself. The massacre was so outrageous, that the dead bodies lay piled in heaps upon the highways; and many, who had meditated their escape, changed their minds, and chose rather to perish in the city, from the mere hope of a little earth to cover them. But such was the inhumanity of those monsters, that they would not allow burial either to those slain within or without the city; but, like professed enemies to the instinct of nature as well as the rites of their country, they offended God and man, and exposed the bodies to rot above ground in the face of the sun. Nay, it was deemed as unpardonable a crime to attempt the burial of a friend, as to go over to the enemy; and he that had but lately buried another, wanted, perhaps, the next moment, a friend to do the same office for himself. Compassion, the most humane of affections, seemed to be wholly extinct in the hearts of these miscreants; and misery was rather a provocation to rage than a motive to pity.

The spectacle, in fine, was so hideous, that it caused the living to envy the dead; and the want of a grave was much more tolerable than the miseries of a prison. Nor did they only trample upon all that was sacred amongst men, but trifled with the Deity, and paid as little regard to the predictions of the prophets, as they did to the fabulous reports of necromancers. But, notwithstanding this contempt of the laws and precepts of their forefathers concerning the measures of good and evil, they found the predictions verified, in the conclusion, concerning themselves and their country. There was a traditional prophecy handed down to them from antiquity, that, in future time, there should break out a violent sedition in Jerusalem, and that the Jews themselves, with their own hands, should prophane the holy temple; that the city should be afterwards taken, and all that was sacred in it laid in ashes. The zealots made no doubt of the authority of this prophecy, and contributed the utmost in their power towards the fulfilment of it.

C H A P. III.

John usurps sovereign power. The faction divided into two parties, Zealots and anti-zealots. John espouses the latter. Heavy judgments fall on the Jews. An excursion of the Sicarii from the citadel of Massada. Engaddi taken by storm. Judæa becomes the seat of war. The Jews hold secret correspondence with Vespasian, and sue to him for relief. Gadara invites and

receives him. The factious betake themselves to flight. Placidus follows and puts them to the rout. The fugitives make their way to Bethennabris. Placidus rifles the place, and lays it in ashes. The country terrified with a false alarm. The Jews are forced into action, and lose fifteen thousand men.

SUCH was the ambition of John of Gischala, that nothing would content him less than sovereign power; so that withdrawing insensibly from the rest of his companions, and bringing over to his interest a party of the most abandoned miscreants, he assumed to himself a kind of despotic sway. He took upon him to impose his own orders and opinions imperiously upon others, and of treating theirs with contradiction and contempt, and this he did from a manifest affectation of sole and absolute authority. Some joined with him out of fear, and several from affection and good-will; for he was a great master of the art of persuasion, and well knew how to work upon the human passions. Many followed him for their own security, hoping that their misdemeanors would be imputed to him as the original cause, if they should be called to an account for them. But divers fell off from him; some from envy, and others from a disdain of subjection to one that had so lately been their enemy. But the grand objection was the dread of monarchy, and the despair of dispossessing him of that power if he once obtained it. Besides, they were persuaded he would never forgive those that opposed him in his pretensions at the beginning.

The people, upon these deliberations, came at last to a resolution, rather to stand the events of a war, than perish under the infamy of making themselves voluntary slaves. The faction, upon this, divided into two parties; John putting himself at the head of the anti-zealots. They stood both upon their guard one against the other, and not without some slight skirmishes; but rather with the people in general, than betwixt themselves, for the main point, which of the two parties should get the greatest booty.

Jerusalem labouring at this time under three heavy judgments, war, tyranny, and sedition, the people, taking the former to be the most tolerable of the three, quitted their habitations, fled from their own countrymen for sanctuary to strangers, and found afterwards that safety and protection from the Romans they could not obtain one from another.

The three forementioned judgments were followed by a fourth, which contributed as much to the destruction of the Jews as any of the rest. There stood a castle not far from Jerusalem, called Massada, a place of great antiquity, strength, and importance. It was erected and made use of by our kings, in former times, for a royal treasury, and a magazine of all kinds of stores and necessaries for war, and for an impregnable retreat in times of danger. It was now in possession of a band of ruffians, called Sicarii, who over-ran, plundered, and laid waste the country. It happening, at this juncture, that the Roman army lay quiet while the Jews were divided between sedition and tyranny, these assassins took the opportunity of making still bolder attempts than they had ventured on before. It was now the feast of unleavened bread, a festival celebrated by the Jews with great solemnity, in commemoration of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and translation into the Land of Promise. On that night the ruffians broke into Engaddi by surprise, scattered the people, and made themselves masters of the place, before the inhabitants could take to their arms. They drove them out of the town; and having put to death upwards of seven hundred persons, mostly women and children, rifled their houses, and seized upon all the fruits that were in season, which they carried to Massada. Indeed, they laid waste all the villages in the neighbourhood of the fortress: for their numbers increased daily by the accession of an abandoned rabble, that came flocking in to join them.

The

Great de-
viation
throughout
Judæa.

The region of Judæa now became one scene of violence; and, as it is with the human body, when any of the nobler parts are indisposed, all the rest sympathize, so it is with respect to a seditious and disorderly city. When the capital is rent by faction, the subordinate parts suffer, of course, in proportion as they are tainted by evil example. Having plundered all within their reach, those robbers marched off with the booty into deserts, joined in conspiracies, and gathered together in multitudes little inferior to armies, sufficient to destroy cities, and lay temples desolate.

The sufferers, as was very natural, availed themselves of every opportunity to revenge themselves upon their oppressors: but that was rare, for the robbers were too dexterous and active, and generally got off with their prey before the pursuers could reach them; so that there was not a spot in Judæa but what partook of the calamity of the metropolis.

The Jews
imagine
Vespasian
for their
relief.

He complies
with their
request.

The faction had guarded all the avenues with the utmost caution, so that there was no stirring without imminent danger of life. But, notwithstanding all this vigilance, deserters stole away with intelligence of the state of the city to Vespasian, and to implore his relief, in the name of the miserable remainder of distressed citizens, as great numbers had lost their lives through their attachment to the Romans, and many more were at present in danger of perishing by the same fate. Vespasian, in generous compassion for the lamentable condition of an unhappy people, advanced with his army nearer the town; not, as some imagined, to lay close siege to it, but with a view of delivering them from any siege at all, by reducing all the strong holds about it, so as to leave no obstacle to impede him in the prosecution of his design.

Enter Ca-
sarea.

When he came to Gadara, the richest and strongest city beyond Jordan, and the metropolis of that province, he entered the place on the fourth day of the month Dyflrus, upon an invitation of some of the leading men, by their deputies, to take them under his protection. This they did to save both their lives and estates, being a very wealthy people. The opposite party knew nothing of this embassy; but suspecting it, when they found the Roman general drawing near the walls, they became greatly embarrassed. They were assured it was utterly impossible for the town to hold out against so many enemies, both within and without; the majority of the citizens being against them, and the Roman army at hand. They had nothing to trust to but flight, which was a point that, in honour, could not be resolved upon, without first taking revenge upon some of the authors of their ruin. Upon this consideration they apprehended Dolefus, the first man of the city, both for rank and merit, caused him to be put to death, and ordered the dead body to be scourged, which being done, they went privately out of the town.

Upon the nearer approach of the Romans towards the city, the inhabitants met Vespasian on the way, and conducted him in with congratulatory acclamations; and, besides the ceremony of oaths of allegiance, and assurances of that kind in similar cases, they made it their own act and deed to demolish their own walls, as a farther security of their good faith and peaceable intentions. Vespasian, after this, gave them a garrison for their safeguard; and sent away Placidus, with 500 horse and 3000 foot, after the fugitives, while he himself, with the rest of his troops, went back to Cæsarea.

When the fugitives found themselves pursued, and a party of horse behind them, they turned off into a village, called Bethennabris, before the Romans could come up to them. Here they engaged a number of young men to join them, and with this party sallied out, and made a desperate charge upon Placidus, who gave way at the onset; but it was only

No. 33.

to draw his adversaries a little farther from the town. The scheme succeeded; for Placidus got them into a place of advantage, and there attacked and put them to the rout. Those that fled for their safety were intercepted by the Romans, and those that fought were cut off by their foot. In fine, they were totally defeated. When they attacked the Romans, it was to no effect; for they stood so firm and close, that there was no breaking the body; and they lay upon such a guard under their arms, that no lance or dart could touch them. Whereas the Jews, on the other hand, lay exposed to all sorts of weapons, and to all manner of assaults, till, in the end, in a fit of despair and brutal rage, they cast themselves, with the utmost fury upon the points of their enemies swords, and so perished. Some were dispersed by the horse, and trampled under foot. Placidus made it his particular care, as far as possible, that none of the fugitives should get back into the town. If any of them attempted it, he intercepted them with his horse, and forced them off again. Those within reach were slain with lances. Some, however, swifter and stronger than the rest, made their way to the very wall; so that the watch were puzzled whom to admit, and whom to exclude, deeming it hard to open the gates to the townsmen, and refuse entrance to those of Gadara. On the other hand, they were fearful, lest, by opening to all indifferently, they might endanger the loss of the place, as had like to have been the case soon after; for the Romans, having pursued some of the fugitives up to the wall, had very near fallen into the town; but, with much difficulty, they shut the gates, and thereby prevented them.

The fugi-
tives are
routed by
Placidus.

Placidus, upon this, vigorously assaulted the place, in so much that he made himself master both of the wall and the village in a few hours. The wretched common people, who had no means of defence, were all put to the sword; but the rest endeavoured to save themselves by flight, carrying terror along with them wherever they went. To finish the calamity, they first pillaged the houses, and then laid the village in ashes. The misery of the inhabitants was great in fact, but much greater in report; for it was given out that the whole Roman army was coming toward them. This alarm so terrified the people, that they quitted their habitations, and retired in great numbers to Jericho, being a garrison well fortified, and, of course, the safest retreat to which they could betake themselves. Placidus, in the career of his successes, pursued them to the river Jordan, putting to the sword all that were taken on the way.

The Ro-
mans take
Bethenna-
bris, and
lay it in
ashes.

When the fugitives came to the river side, a great fall of rain had caused such an overflow of the waters, that there was no passing, nor, as the case stood, any possibility of getting away. In this dilemma they found themselves under an absolute necessity of coming to an action. The Jews posted themselves along the bank of a river, which they made good for some time; but when once they were broken, betwixt those who were drowned, and those who were slain, the loss could hardly be computed. It was estimated at fifteen thousand killed on the spot, and about two thousand two hundred taken, besides a mighty booty of sheep, camels, and oxen. This was one of the greatest disasters that ever befel the Jews. The highways, where they marched, were all covered with dead bodies; the river Jordan so choaked with carcasses, that there was no crossing it; and vast numbers floated down several channels that led to the lake Alphatitis.

The Ro-
mans obtain
a great con-
quest and
mighty
booty.

Placidus being now in the train of his good fortune, reduced Abila, Julias, Belemoth, and other places as far as the lake, where he settled garrisons of the choicest men he could select from amongst those that came over to the Romans. His next care was to embark his soldiers, and cleanse the lake of all the fugitives that fled thither for refuge, in so much, that, by this time, the Romans were masters of all Peræa, as far as Machærus.

All Peræa
is conquer-
ed.

CHAP. IV.

Gaul revolts. Vespasian fortifies all the places he had taken in Judæa. Description of the country about Jericho. Of the lakes of Asphaltitis and Tiberias. Elisha's fountain.

Vespasian receives intelligence of commotions in Gaul.

DURING these transactions in Judæa, advice was received that Gaul had revolted from Nero, and that Vindex, and several principal men of the country, abetted the malecontents. Vespasian, on this intelligence, prosecuted the present war with more vigour, as it was probable that one revolt might be productive of another, and the whole empire at length be in danger from a civil war; whereas, if the troubles in the east were first composed, Italy would have the less to fear. But it being the winter season, all that could be done to it at present, was to place garrisons in all the towns and cities he had subdued, and order such reparations as might be found needful.

Reduces great part of Judæa.

In the beginning of the spring he marched, with the greatest part of his army, from Cæsarea to Antipatris, where he stayed two days to put things in order, and on the third day proceeded, laying all the neighbourhood waste with fire and sword, from the borders of the toparchy of Thamna, and thence to Lydda and Jamnia.

When he had peopled them with inhabitants from other towns, such as he thought he might best confide in, he advanced to Emmaus, and possessing himself there of the passage that leads to the capital city, pitched his camp, and ran a wall about it. Having left the fifth legion there, he moved with the rest of his troops into the toparchy of Bethlepton, which he burnt and destroyed, together with the neighbouring country, and the borders of Idumæa, leaving only some strong castles, which he manned and fortified. Having taken two towns in the very midst of Idumæa, called Bethabri and Capartoba, he slew upwards of ten thousand of the people, reserving near a thousand for slaves, drove out the rest, and left a considerable part of his troops to sally out and commit outrages upon the mountainous part of the country.

He returned, after this, with the remainder of his army, to Emmaus, and passing from thence to Samaria and Neapolis, (called, by the natives, Mabartia,) arrived, the second day of the month Desius, at Corea, where he encamped, and shewed himself next day before Jericho. At this place he was joined by Trajan, one of his principal officers, with the troops under his command, after the entire reduction of all the country beyond Jordan. But most of the inhabitants were withdrawn to the mountains over against Jerusalem before the arrival of the Romans. A great part, however, of those that stayed behind, were put to the sword.

Description of Jericho and its environs.

Vespasian found Jericho a desolate city. It is situate in a plain, that is overlooked by a naked and barren mountain, and of such extent, that it reaches upon the north side to the region of Scythopolis, on the south as far as Sodom, and the borders of the lake Asphaltitis, a country uninhabited by reason of its barrenness. Opposite to this, and on the farther side of the river Jordan, lies another mountain, which rises at Julias towards the north, and stretches southward up to Gomorriha, and so borders upon Petra, a city of Arabia. There is also another mountain, which they call the Iron Mountain, and runs out as far as the land of Moab. Betwixt these mountains lies a place called The Great Plain. It begins at Genabara, and stretches out to the lake Asphaltitis. The length of it is two hundred and thirty furlongs, its breadth an hundred and twenty, and the river Jordan crosses the middle of it.

The Great Plain.

There are two remarkable lakes, the one called Asphaltitis, the other Tiberias, but of very diffe-

rent, if not contrary, qualities; the former being salt and crude, without fish; the other sweet, kindly and fruitful. The summer heats there are excessive, the country being burnt up with them, and the air hot and sickly, without any refreshment, but from the river Jordan, as appears from the palm trees, which thrive much better upon the banks than at a distance.

Near Jericho there is a large and plentiful fountain, which overflows all the grounds thereabouts, and takes its rise not far from an ancient city, the first place that Joshua, the son of Nun, and famous general of the Hebrews, gained from the Canaanites by the sword. There goes a tradition that this fountain in time past was so dangerous, that it not only corrupted the fruits of the earth, as well grain as plants, but likewise caused abortions in women, and tainted with a blasting infection whatever it touched that was capable of such an impression. It is further reported, that, from the days of the prophet Elisha, the illustrious successor of Elijah, the waters of this fountain became not only innocent, but wholesome and nourishing, and upon this occasion: Elisha having been treated with great hospitality and respect by the people of Jericho, he thought himself of such an acknowledgment, as they themselves, their country, and posterity, might be the better for to time immemorial. The prophet, upon this, went out to the fountain, and causing an earthen vessel, full of salt, to be let down into the bottom of it, advanced his right hand towards heaven, and presenting his oblations at the side of it, besought the Almighty, in his goodness, to correct the waters, and to sweeten the veins that passed from them; to soften the air, and render it temperate and fructifying; to bestow children, as well as fruit, upon the inhabitants in abundance; and never to withdraw these blessings so long as they continued in their duty. Upon the offering up of this prayer, with all due form and ceremony, the quality of the fountain was changed, and, instead of sterility and famine, the waters now became an efficacious means of plenty and increase; inasmuch that the bare touching of the ground with them gives every thing a more savory relish. Besides, there is not another water in the country that runs through such a track of land.

Elisha's fountain, a large one.

The country is seven furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth; abounding with curious gardens and thick groves, with palm trees along the banks, of different kinds, names, and tastes. They press out of some of them great quantities of a sort of honey, not much inferior to other honey, which they have there also in plenty. There is great store of balsam, cypress, and myrobalanus: and it is undoubtedly a remarkable blessing from heaven for a country to produce not only the choicest of all the fruits of the earth, but the largest and best of the several sorts. Nor are they less happy than other countries in the production of other fruits, and in the improving of them, as well in growth as in virtue. This, I presume, may be ascribed to some peculiar property of the water, and to a certain kindly warmth in the air: the latter to draw out and diffuse the virtue of the subject matter it has to work upon, as in the disclosing of leaves, flowers, and the like. The other serves to bind and confine the roots, and to fortify them, by increasing the sap, against the parching heats, which are so excessive, that nothing would sprout or bud without it. In the extremity of these heats, they have likewise every morning such refreshing breezes, that the very breath of them renders the water, that is drawn before sun-rise, cool and comfortable. In the winter it is warm and salutary to bathe in. Such is the temperature of this climate, that even when the rest of Judæa is covered with snow, the natives of this place are clothed in linen. It lies an hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from the river Jordan; and the whole country, betwixt it and Jerusalem, is rock and desert. Thus much for the happy situation and natural advantages of Jericho.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

Extraordinary qualities of the lake of Asphaltitis. Sodom produces a fair fruit to the eye, that falls to ashes upon the touch.

THE nature of the lake of Asphaltitis is also worthy of description. It is bitter and unfruitful, and so light, that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it. Vespasian, having heard of the strange qualities of this water, took a journey out of curiosity to see it, and ordered several persons, that could not swim, to be thrown into it, with their hands tied behind them. They all rose as if by means of a puff of wind, and floated on the surface of the water. This lake changes colour thrice a day, according to the various refractions of the light of the sun-beams upon it. There are also to be seen, in several parts of it, large lumps of a dark bituminous matter, not much unlike the bodies of bulls without heads. The natives draw them up in their boats; but the substance of them is so viscous, and one part so glued to another, that there is no getting the vessel off again, but by dissolving the lumps, and separating that part without the boat, from the other within, which is effected by most extraordinary means. This bituminous matter is not only used for caulking of ships, but as a medicine for the cure of many disorders. The length of the lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, the breadth an hundred and fifty, and it reaches to Zoardin in Arabia.

The lake of Asphaltitis borders upon the land of Sodom, once famous for the wealth of its inhabitants, and the fruitfulness of its soil; but it is since become totally desolate, having been destroyed by a judgment of fire from heaven, for the abominations of the people. There are yet to be seen some remains of five cities that perished in that conflagration; and there are mock fruits to be seen to this day, springing out of the ashes, fair and lovely to the eye, but dissolving into smoke and ashes upon the touch; so that we have not only tradition, but ocular testimony of this history.

C H A P. VI.

Vespasian invests Jerusalem. Gerara taken by storm. Vespasian receives intelligence of the death of Nero, and, in consequence thereof, suspends his design upon Jerusalem.

VESPASIAN, being determined to invest Jerusalem on every side, raised two forts at Jericho and Adida, putting into each of them garrisons both of Roman and auxiliary troops. He then sent Lucius and Annus, with a body of horse and foot, to Gerara, which he took by storm upon the first attack. He caused a thousand young men to be slain, whom he intercepted in their flight, carried away whole families prisoners, and gave the soldiers the pillage, which done, he set fire to the place, and so went forwards. The men of power fled, the weaker part were destroyed, and whatever they took they burnt. Nothing, in short, escaped them, neither mountains or vallies, places or people; but all suffered in the outrages of the war. Those who were shut up in Jerusalem could not stir; the zealots keeping so strict a watch upon those that were friends to the Romans; and the town being so beset by the enemy, that the zealots durst not venture forth, through a fear of falling into their hands.

When Vespasian was returned to Cæsarea, and preparing to advance with his whole army against Jerusalem, he received intelligence of the death of Nero, who had now reigned thirteen years and eight days. I deem it needless for me to relate minutely and circumstantially the particulars of his history, respecting the dishonour he reflected on his charac-

ter, in suffering himself to be imposed on by Nymphidius and Tigellinus, two infamous miscreants, that attended on his person; his being betrayed by them, abandoned by his senators and guards, and being forced to fly into the suburbs only with four of his freemen; the death he inflicted upon himself; the issue of the war with the Gauls; the succession of Galba to the empire, who, upon his coming out of Spain to Rome, was calumniated by the soldiers as a pusillanimous being, and afterwards slain in the middle of the great market-place; the succession of Otho, who marched with his army against Vitellius; the troubles of Vitellius; the combat before the capitol; the defeat of the German troops, by Antonius Primus and Mucianus, who, having slain Vitellius, put an end to the civil war: these particulars I omit, as they have been accurately described by several eminent historians, both Greek and Latin, and contenting myself with this sketch, return to my own narrative.

Vespasian, upon this intelligence, put a stop, at first, to his expedition against Jerusalem, till he could learn how the government was disposed of after the death of Nero, and finding Galba appointed to the succession, he deemed it imprudent to proceed without orders. Hereupon he sent his son Titus to Galba, to congratulate his accession to the empire, and to receive instructions and commands as to his future conduct. King Agrippa accompanied Titus on the commission: but, as they were upon their passage near Achaia, they were informed of the death of Galba, who was slain after a government of seven months and seven days; as also of the succession of Otho, who reigned three months. This revolution did not hinder Agrippa from proceeding to Rome; but Titus, through an extraordinary impulse, sailed from Achaia into Syria, and from thence very seasonably got back to his father at Cæsarea. They were now both in suspense concerning the public affairs, the Roman empire being in so fluctuating a condition. They suspended their expedition against the Jews; nor was it a time to think of extending the empire, when intestine broils prevailed amongst those of their own country.

Vespasian suspends his design.

C H A P. VII.

Another war in Jerusalem. Simon commits ravages and depredations. Attempts the conquest of Idumæa. Encounters the zealots. Eleazar, one of his party, summons Herodion, and the garrison receives him. He is detected as the agent of Simon, and puts an end to his life. Perfidy of James of Idumæa. Idumæa is taken without a stroke, and afterwards laid waste. The zealots seize upon Simon's wife, but, upon his dreadful menaces, they dismiss her.

ON this revolution there broke out another war in Jerusalem. There was one Simon, the son of Gioras, by birth of Gerara, in the prime of life, and though not so dextrous and artful as John of Gischala, who had already seized upon the city, superior in bodily strength and resolution of mind. As he was found to be a person dangerous to the community, Ananus, the high priest, drove him out of his government in the toparchy of Acrabatena, and made him fly to the free booters in Masfada for refuge. At first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come, with the women he brought with him, into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. Finding, at length, his disposition and manner correspond with theirs, they reposed confidence in him, and appointed him head of a party upon an adventure, in pillaging and depopulating the country about Masfada. He endeavoured to inspire them with an ardour to attempt greater things, and seemed to affect sovereignty; but all his efforts proved abortive, till the death of Ananus.

Simon author of fresh calamities to the Jews.

Immediately upon the removal of this obstacle, he took his course into the mountainous parts of the country, and issued out proclamations of liberty to all

His proceedings upon the death of Ananus.

all slaves, and rewards to all freemen who would enlist under his banner. This brought over to him a number of licentious rabble from all quarters; and as his power thereby augmented daily, he first ransacked the villages that were situated upon the hills, and then proceeded to the plains, rendering himself formidable to all the places through which he passed. His party, in process of time, was not composed merely of slaves and robbers; for many men of power came over to his interest, and the populace seemed to treat him with the respect and reverence due from a subject to a prince. He then made several incursions into the toparchy of Acrabatena, and the Greater Idumæa, where he made choice of Nain, a town he had himself walled in and fortified, for his retreat. In the valley called Pharan, he found many caverns ready for his purpose, and others he enlarged, for granaries, stores, magazines, and, in a word, repositories for the fruits of his rapine. From these preparations it was generally taken for granted that his main design was upon Jerusalem. The zealots being of the same opinion, and finding it dangerous to suffer him to augment his strength daily, determined, by one vigorous effort, to stop the career of his ambition, before it was too late. Pursuant to this resolution, they advanced in a full body to charge him at the head of his troops. Simon met and encountered them with great valour, made a considerable slaughter amongst them, and put the rest to the rout.

He is opposed by the zealots.

Undertakes the conquest of Idumæa.

An obstinate engagement ensues.

Death of Eleazar, associate of Simon.

James, the Idumæan, betrays his country.

But not thinking his forces yet adequate to an attempt upon Jerusalem, he chose rather to begin with the conquest of Idumæa, and therefore marched, at the head of twenty thousand armed men, towards the borders of that country. Upon their appearance, the leading men, with great expedition, raised a body of twenty-five thousand choice troops, leaving a competent number to secure the country from the ravages of the freebooters in Massada. They then waited for Simon upon the borders, where, upon his advance, the two armies engaged, and the action continued from morning till night, upon terms so equal that the superiority could not be decided. It appeared, however, that both parties had sustained great loss; for Simon retired to Nain, and the Idumæans returned home.

Nor long after this, Simon took the field again, with a very considerable reinforcement, and encamping near the village of Thecue, sent Eleazar, one of his associates, with a summons to the governor of Hierodion, requiring him to deliver the castle into his hands. The officers received him, at first, with all tokens of military honour; but, upon coming to understand his commission, they all drew upon him in an instant; and Eleazar, finding it impossible to make his escape, leaped down the precipice from a wall, and was dashed to pieces.

The Idumæans were possessed with such apprehensions of the power and ambition of Simon, that they were not disposed to contend with him again, till they were perfectly well informed of the state and strength of his army. James, one of their commanders, very readily (but with a treacherous design) took upon him the office of a spy. Upon this commission he went away from Olivius, where the Idumæan army lay encamped, and thence proceeded to Simon. After some discourse upon the business, he entered into a solemn contract with him, to deliver up his country to him, upon condition of being treated, after the performance of it, as his first minister and favourite; and undertaking, in the next place, to assist him in subjecting all Idumæa. When Simon had gratified this treacherous instrument with a splendid entertainment, fair words, and large promises, he returned to his own people, and magnified every particular, as to strength, conduct, number, and order, which made such an impression not only upon the ignorant multitude, but the very officers themselves, that they came to a resolution not to dispute the point any longer by arms, but rather surrender themselves to Simon, for fear of worse consequences.

James, at that instant, dispatched messengers to Simon to come off immediately, and by no means neglect so fair an opportunity, assuring him that Idumæa would be his own without shedding a drop of blood. His assurance proved valid; for, upon the approach of the army, James was the first man that took horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted; and this struck the whole multitude with such a terror, that they dispersed several ways; and the whole army was dissolved without coming to any action.

Simon being now almost miraculously possessed of Idumæa without bloodshed, surprized the town of Hebron with corn in it, and other booty of immense value. This city is of great antiquity; not only as it respects that province, but, if we may credit the natives, of more ancient date than Memphis in Egypt, being computed to be of 2300 years standing. They have a tradition that Abraham, the original father of the Jews, took up his habitation there upon his leaving Mesopotamia, and that his posterity removed from thence into Egypt, where there are monuments of the most excellent marble, with inscriptions confirming the same. There is also to be seen, at the distance of six furlongs from the place, a very large turpentine-tree, that, according to report, has remained there from the creation of the world.

From this place Simon made his inroads throughout Idumæa; not only ravaging the cities and villages, but laying waste the whole country; for, besides those that were compleatly armed, he had a train of 40,000 followers. The progress of this multitudinous throng was as destructive to the people as locusts are to the vegetable creation. They left every place desolate behind them, nor was there to be seen the trace of any thing that contributed to human aliment. It was utterly impossible to find provisions for such an host, which, added to the natural ferocity of Simon, and the inveteracy of his rage against the Idumæans, aggravated that pinching want. In fine, from their burning, demolishing, and devouring the fruits of the earth, or trampling them to dust, Simon's troops did not leave so much even in a fruitful, well cultivated country, as the least sign or memorial of what it had been formerly.

These rapacious proceedings of Simon could not fail to incense the zealots, though they durst not bring it to an open war, but contented themselves with what they occasionally got by surprise. At length a valuable acquisition fell into their hands, for they took Simon's wife prisoner, with several of her attendants, and carried her away to Jerusalem with as much joy and triumph as if it had been the husband himself, making no doubt but he would lay down his arms, and enter into a composition. But this violence upon the woman wrought, it seems, a contrary effect upon the husband, and, instead of moving him to tenderness and compassion, enraged him into the most furious extravagance.

He hastened immediately to the gates of Jerusalem, and there vented his spleen upon all that fell in his way, causing men, women, and children, that came out of the city upon any necessary occasion, to be apprehended and scourged to death, young and old, without distinction. He cut off the hands of many, and sent them into the city to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those who had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to declare, "that Simon swore, by the Great God of the Universe, that, unless they immediately restored him his wife, he would force their walls, and inflict the like punishment upon every creature, whether young or old, guilty or innocent." These menaces terrified not only the multitude, but the zealots themselves, that they sent back his wife, and thereby so far appeased him, that he suspended the continuance of his dreadful massacres.

C H A P. VIII.

*The Roman empire rent by faction and intestine broils.
Transactions and fate of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.
Vespasian meditates the absolute conquest of Judæa.
Cerealis takes Capharis, and lays Hebron in ashes.*

SEDITION and civil war prevailed now not only throughout Judæa, but in Italy also. Galba was slain in the midst of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was declared his successor. Then started up Vitellius, who, being elected emperor by the German legions, disputed his title with him. They had two battles near Betriacum, in Gaul. Otho gained the advantage on the first day, and Vitellius the next, under the command of his two generals, Valens and Cecinna. After much slaughter, Otho, when he heard of his defeat at Brixellum, slew himself, after a nominal reign of three months and two days. Upon this event, Otho's soldiers went over to the party of Vitellius, who presently marched away with his army to Rome.

Vespasian, in the mean time, removed from Cæsarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, with a design of making an absolute conquest of Judæa, by reducing those places that yet stood out. He went first up the mountainous country, and made himself master of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabatena, possessing himself afterwards of the cities of Bethel and Ephraim, and, when he had settled garrisons in them, proceeded towards Jerusalem, in his way to which he took captive and slew great numbers of Jews.

Cerealis, one of his commanders in chief, in the mean time, with a body of horse and foot, over-ran the Upper Idumæa; took and burnt the castle of Caphetra by the way; and laid siege to Capharis, a strong walled town, and supposed capable of making a good defence; but the inhabitants opened their gates, and surrendered themselves to the assailants. Having thus carried every thing before him, he went to Hebron, the ancient town upon the mountains before mentioned, not far from Jerusalem, which he attacked and carried on the first assault. He put the people to the sword, and sacked and burnt the city. There were yet three castles in the possession of the free-booters, Herodion Malsada, and Machærus; though nothing might be laid to be wanting to put a final period to this destructive war, but the conquest of Jerusalem.

C H A P. IX.

Simon arranges the seizure of his wife upon the Idumæans. Infamous principles and practices of the zealots. The Idumæans revolt, rout the zealots, pursue them to the palace, and thence to the temple. A resolution formed to admit Simon into the city, which he enters amidst the acclamations of the people. An assault upon the temple.

AS soon as Simon had recovered his wife from the zealots, he turned his rage upon the remainder of the Idumæans, and driving them before him from all quarters, divers of them, in a fit of despair, fled to Jerusalem for sanctuary. He pursued them to the very foot of the wall, putting to death all that came within his reach; so that Simon, without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves; and the zealots within were more injurious to them than both. They seem to have imbibed these principles from the Galileans, who improved them in the arts of wickedness, by instruction, encouragement, and example. John of Gischala, having been advanced by them, made them a suitable requital from the authority he had obtained, by permitting them to live in the most licentious manner, without the least degree of con-

troul. In matters of rapine and pillage, their avarice was insatiable. They sported with the lives of men and the honour of women; and when they had sated themselves with blood and oppression, they wallowed in the very sink of brutality, gloried in the commission of horrid and unnatural crimes, and polluted the whole city with impurities that decency forbids us to mention. At the same time that they proceeded in these infamous practices, they continued their bloody massacres, and had their weapons constantly ready to slay all that opposed them. He that escaped John fell into the hands of Simon, the most inhuman monster of the two; and those who got clear of the tyrant within the wall, were destroyed by the other before the town; so that all the passages were blocked up, and there was no possibility of deserting to the Romans.

At length the Idumæans, through envy of John's power, and detestation of his horrid barbarities, revolted from the tyrant, and made head against him. An engagement ensued, and many of the zealots were slain upon the spot: the rest fled into the royal palace, which was originally erected by Grapte, a relation of Izates, king of the Adiabeniens. The Idumæans pressed in with them, and forcing the zealots into the temple, made themselves masters of the whole of John's treasure, which was there deposited under the roof of his own habitation. Upon this, the zealots, that were dispersed throughout the town, gathered together, in order to join those of their clan that were got into the temple; and John immediately prepared for a sally upon the Idumæans and the citizens. The latter were under no apprehension from the numbers of the opposite party, but fearful lest they should privately sally out of the temple, and set fire to the city. Upon this occasion they called a council, and deliberated with the high-priest what measures they should pursue. But, as if Providence designed to infatuate their policy, they proposed a remedy worse than the disease, and resolved, amongst themselves, to cast off John, and admit Simon, a second tyrant, into the city. The resolution accordingly passed; and Matthias, the high-priest, was sent to invite Simon into the town for the governor. Those also, who had been driven out of Jerusalem by the zealots, joined in this request, from a desire of preserving their houses and effects. Simon arrogantly told them that their petition was granted; and entered the city amidst the acclamations of the populace, as their protector and deliverer. He had no sooner made his entrance with his troops, than he attended to the security of his authority, as he looked upon those that invited him to be no less his enemies than those against whom the invitation was intended.

Simon got possession of Jerusalem in the third month, called Xanthicus; upon which John, with his party, being hindered from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, were in despair of deliverance. Simon, with the assistance of the people, made an assault upon the temple; but the assailants were so galled with stones, darts, and arrows, from the galleries and battlements overhead, that they were repulled with great loss, several slain, others carried off wounded; so that, upon the whole, they were fatally disappointed; the zealots having the advantage of situation, where the weapons of their opponents could not reach them. They had, besides, four large towers, of their own erecting, to annoy the enemy from above: one to the eastward, another to the north, a third upon a gallery at the corner over against the lower town, and a fourth upon the top of what they call the "Pactophoria;" a place where one of the priests stood to make proclamation, by sound of trumpet, when the sabbath began, and when it ended, that the people might know when to leave off work, and when to return to it again. The archers and slingers were posted upon these towers, with all their engines and military implements. Simon, however, persevered in his opposition, depending on his superiority in point of numbers, though he sustained very great loss from the weapons of the adverse party.

C H A P. X.

Vitellius makes the whole city of Rome his camp. Vespasian is alarmed at his promotion to the empire. The soldiers are disgusted from the same cause. The officers inveigh against Vitellius and his party, to the honour of Vespasian and Titus. Salute Vespasian as emperor. He accepts the empire with reluctance.

Great dissensions prevail in Rome.

IN the midst of these intestine broils in Jerusalem, Rome was rent by civil dissensions. Vitellius came out of Germany with a prodigious multitude of foreign troops; and, as the departments allotted for the soldiers could not contain them, was under a necessity of quartering many of them in private houses. The sparkling of the ore they had taken from their enemies, was such an attraction to those who had not been accustomed to it, as to excite a desire of pilfering or taking it by force. Such was the state of Italy at that time.

Upon Vespasian's return to Cæsarea, after laying waste all about Jerusalem, he received intelligence of strange tumults that prevailed in Rome, and that Vitellius had been declared emperor. Though Vespasian was a man of order and discipline, and as ready to obey as he was able to govern, he could not but be disgusted at the idea of subjection to a man who had seized upon the empire, without one requisite qualification. This strange turn of affairs affected him so much, that he could not attend any foreign wars at a time when his country laboured under such calamities at home. But, as his indignation spurred him to revenge on the one hand, so the difficulties of so long a journey, in order to the execution of it, especially in the winter season, restrained him on the other: besides, many mischiefs might happen before he could reach Italy.

While this was in agitation, the officers and soldiers formed cabals and parties, and consulted about a change in public affairs. The prevailing opinion was as follows:

Investive of the soldiers against Vitellius.

"That there were soldiers at Rome so effeminate and delicate, that the noise and clangor of war would terrify them: That such creatures, truly, were well qualified to dispose of empires, or rather to sell them to the best bidder: That, after the fatigue and labour of a life worn out in service, they would never submit to an emperor of their choosing, while they had among themselves one much more worthy of governing: That, if they lost the present opportunity of expressing their gratitude for the favours so generously conferred upon them by Vespasian, it was probable the like would never return: That Vespasian was in himself as much superior to Vitellius, with respect to qualification for an emperor, as they were themselves, in point of choice, to those who made him one: That they had run as many hazards, and borne as great a part in the war, as the German legion, that brought the usurper into the metropolis, and were as well skilled in military discipline as they were: That, as to Vespasian, there could be no possible competition; for the people and senate of Rome would never bear so licentious an emperor as Vitellius, when compared with a character so eminent for moderation and temperance as Vespasian: That it could not be expected, his son Titus, though a prince of extraordinary virtues, should be chosen in preference to his father; but that, however, if either maturity of experience, or vigour of youth, might be allowed a title to choice, they had the one in Vespasian, the other in Titus, with all the advantages that attend wisdom and resolution: That it was farther to be considered, that, in electing the admirable father of so incomparable a son, the three imperial legions and auxiliaries would be strengthened by the whole power of the east: That part of Europe, that lies out of the reach of Vitellius, and all the interest that the friends of Vespasian, his brother, and his son, (Domitian,) could make

"in Italy; (the one being præfect of Rome, a charge of great influence, and the other as popular,) and the flower of the nobility, would espouse him in the same cause: and that, finally, if they delayed in this point, the senate might chuse an emperor who might be obnoxious to the soldiers."

This was the topic of discourse amongst the soldiery in their several companies; and their confidence increasing with their numbers, they came unanimously to the point, and declared Vespasian emperor, requesting him, at the same time, to take the tottering state under his protection. Notwithstanding he might still be said to have been the support of the empire a long time, he wished to decline the title of emperor; nay, absolutely refused it; protesting that he had much rather spend the remainder of his days in the freedom of a private life, than amongst the snares and difficulties of a more illustrious station. The more he refused, the more pressing were the officers for his acceptance; till at length, upon perseverance in denial, they came up to him with their drawn swords, and threatened to kill him, unless he would submit to accept of the honour he deserved; so that, after much reluctance, when he found they would not be denied, he yielded to their importunity.

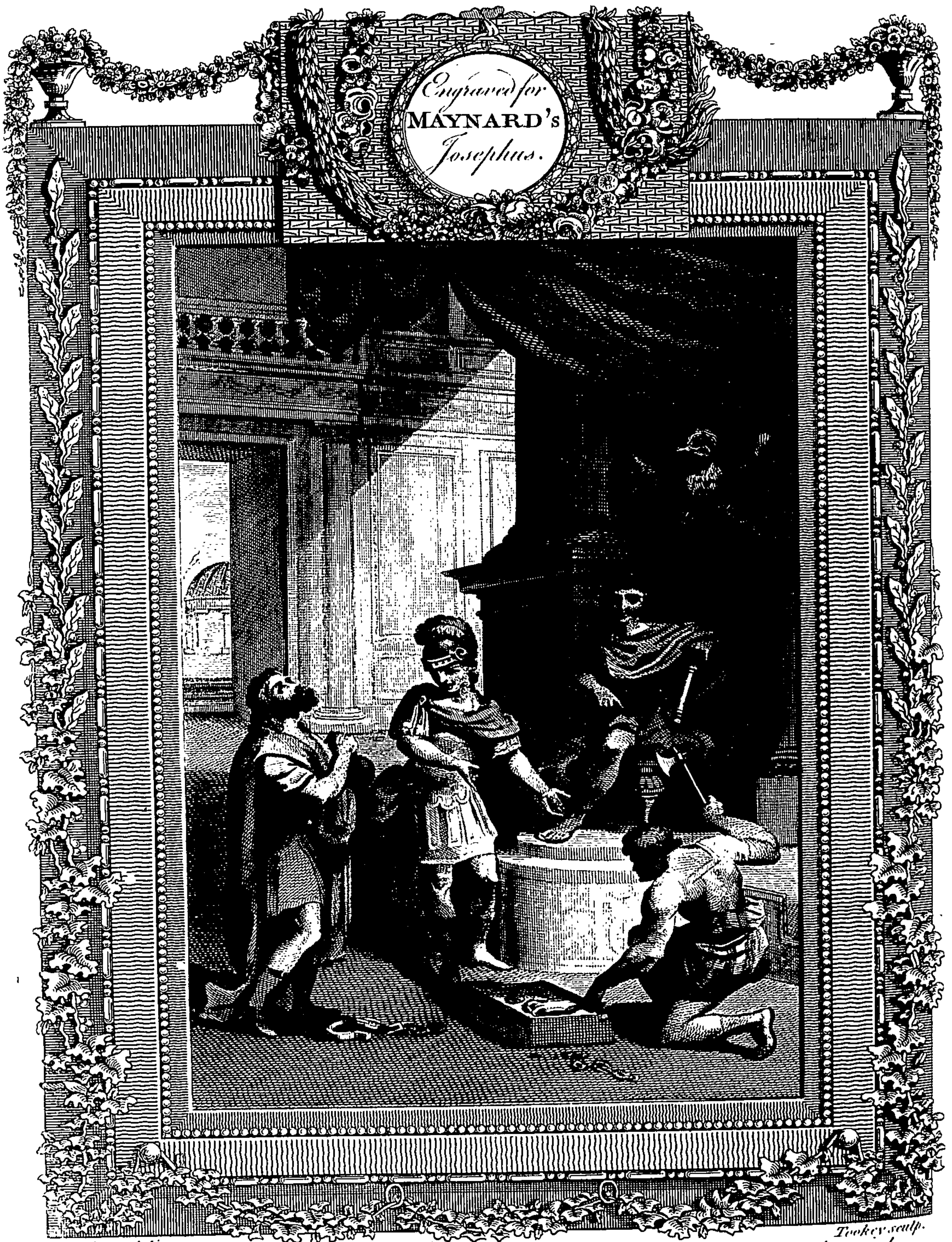
C H A P. XI.

Vespasian is urged to proceed against Vitellius; but declines it, and proposes to begin with Alexandria. Description of Egypt, and the port of Alexandria, with the Tower of Pharos. Tiberius Alexander joins Vespasian.

VESPASIAN was no sooner advanced to the empire, than Mucianus, and the rest of the officers who invited him to the government, were unanimous for his marching against Vitellius. But Vespasian thought it more expedient to begin with Alexandria. Egypt being one of the most considerable spots with respect to the corn it produces, if he could but reduce that country, he was in hopes that Rome itself would rather dethrone Vitellius than run the hazard of famine, which must inevitably be the case without relief from Egypt. He also desired a reinforcement of two legions that lay at Alexandria. He likewise considered with himself, that he should then have that country as a defence against the uncertainty of fortune.

Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and has no good port towards the sea. It is bounded on the west by the parching country of Libya; on the south, Syene divides it from Ethiopia, and the impassable cataracts of the river Nile; on the east, the Red Sea serves it for a rampart, as far as the city Coptos; and on the north, it stretches out as far as Syria, and that which they call the Egyptian Sea. The coast throughout has no havens for ships; so that nature seems to have provided for the security of Egypt in the very situation of it. Its length, from Pelusium to Syene is computed at two thousand furlongs; and the passage by sea, from Plinthine to Pelusium, is three thousand six hundred furlongs. The Nile is navigable as far as Elephantine, beyond which there is no passing for the cataracts.

Alexandria, in the fairest weather, is a dangerous port, the entrance being very narrow; and the rocks so scattered up and down in shallow water, that it requires the utmost skill in the pilot to steer without accident. On the left hand it is encompassed with a dyke; and on the right lies the isle of Pharos, which has been so celebrated for a famous landmark. The light of it is seen three hundred furlongs out at sea, and serves as an unerring guide to mariners. About this island there are great piers, against which, when the sea dashes, and its waves are broken, the passage is rendered very dangerous. But the haven, when once entered, is very safe. The length of it is thirty furlongs; and it is furnished with



Ramberg delin.

JOSEPHUS brought before the EMPEROR VESPASIAN, who orders him to be restored to LIBERTY, his Chains to be broken, and afterwards confers on him great HONOURS and REWARD.

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Tookey sculp.

with convenient store-houses both for the importation and exportation of all manner of commodities.

Vespasian requests the assistance of Tiberius Alexander, which is granted.
With great propriety, therefore, did Vespasian desire the acquisition of Alexandria, in order to settle the empire; and he immediately sent to inform Tiberius Alexander, the governor, that, being prevailed upon, by the importunity of the soldiers, to take upon him the burthen of government, he could not do better than request the favour of his assistance and advice in the administration. Alexander had no sooner read the letter, than he readily obliged the legions and the people to take the oath of allegiance to Vespasian, which they did with the utmost frankness and alacrity, being well convinced of his distinguished virtue and valour. Alexander, in the mean time, made a just and generous use of the power that was given him for the service of the public, and applied himself to the making of every necessary preparation for the reception of the new emperor.

C H A P. XII.

General joy on the advancement of Vespasian to the imperial dignity. He calls to mind the omens that foreboded the same, and particularly the prediction of Josephus, whom he sets at liberty, and treats with respect and honour.

The promotion of Vespasian gives universal satisfaction.
FAME spread the report over the east that Vespasian was emperor more suddenly than could have been imagined; so that every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations upon the auspicious event. The legions that were quartered in Mysia and Panonia, and had lately taken up arms against Vitellius for his tyrannical conduct, readily took the oath of allegiance to Vespasian on his accession to the empire.

Upon his removal from Cæsarea to Berytus, ambassadors from Syria, and other provinces, presented him with congratulatory addresses. Mucianus, in particular, assured him, with what joy the people received the news of his advancement, and with what alacrity they had professed an inviolable attachment to him.

Vespasian desires his secret assistance.
Prediction of Josephus fulfilled.
Vespasian succeeding in his undertakings to his utmost wish, began to consider that he had not arrived to the summit of human grandeur without the interposition of Divine Providence. He also called to mind several prophetic hints and tokens he had observed in the course of his life, all tending to one and the same point. But he was more sensibly impressed with a prediction of Josephus, who ventured to foretell his advancement to the empire in the very life-time of Nero. This produced such a concern for his imprisonment, that, calling for Mucianus, and several of his friends and officers, he took occasion to mention the bravery of Josephus, in the instance of the siege of Jotapata, and then related the prediction he at that time suspected to be fictitious, and suggested by apprehension and personal danger, but had now been demonstrated to be of Divine origin. From these circumstances he concluded, that "it was shameful in him to suffer the man who had foretold his coming to the empire, and been the means of conveying to him a Divine message, to be retained in the abject state of a prisoner;" and therefore caused Josephus to be sent for, and set at liberty. This instance of generosity in Vespasian towards a stranger, afforded his officers a most pleasing prospect of his future administration, as conducive to the interest and honour of the empire. Titus, however, being then present, represented to his father, that the scandal should be taken from Josephus, together with his iron chain; as barely to loose his bonds, without cutting them to pieces, would not be a sufficient reparation for the injury he had sustained. Vespasian approved the observation, and ordered the chain to be destroyed. Josephus not only obtained his freedom, but every token

of honour and respect, as a testimony of his integrity.

C H A P. XIII.

Vespasian leaves Berytus, goes to Rome, and sends Mucianus, with a great army, into Italy. The party of Vitellius go over to Vespasian at the instance of Cecinna. They afterwards desert, and seize Cecinna as a traitor. An encounter between Anthony and Vitellius, in which the latter is worsted, and, flying towards Cremona, totally routed. Cecinna is discharged, and sent to Vespasian with the news of the victory. The capitol seized by Sabinus. Vitellius is ignominiously exposed, and stabbed to death in the midst of the city. Popularity of Vespasian.

WHEN Vespasian had given answers to the ambassadors, and properly disposed of the offices under government, he declined his intention of going to Alexandria, and proceeded for Rome, where affairs were greatly disordered by Vitellius. He sent Mucianus over land into Italy with an army of horse and foot, by the way of Cappadocia and Phrygia; for he durst not venture his troops upon a winter sea.

Vespasian sends Mucianus into Italy.

Antonius Primus, governor of Mysia, with the third legion, that lay in that province, was greatly desirous of coming to an encounter with Vitellius, who, on the other hand, sent Cecinna, at the head of a strong army, to oppose him. As he was upon his march, he met Anthony upon the borders of Italy, not far from Cremona, where, after he had observed the numbers, the order, and discipline of the enemy, he thought it most prudent to decline coming to an engagement. In this dilemma he called his centurions, tribunes, and, in fact, all his officers together, and took that opportunity to descant upon Vespasian and Vitellius, derogating from the merit of the one, and extolling that of the other, with a design to draw the party of Vitellius over to Vespasian. He then observed to them, that the former had but the name of an emperor, the other the right and authority, as well as the true stamp of an imperial character in his very person; that it was therefore better for them to prevent mischief, and obtain favour; and, as there was every reason to suppose they would be overcome in battle, avoid the danger, and go over willingly to Anthony; and, lastly, that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue those who had not yet submitted without their assistance, while Vitellius was not able to protect himself, nor any party that adhered to him.

Antonius Primus marches against Vitellius.

Cecinna persuades the party of Vitellius to go over to Vespasian.

Cecinna, by these means, gained his point, and brought the soldiers over to Anthony; but the next night, through repentance for what they had done, and fear of punishment, if Vitellius should get the better, they came in a rage, with their swords drawn, up to Cecinna, to kill him, which they would certainly have done, if the tribunes had not interposed in his behalf. Though they spared his life, they kept him in chains, and sent him bound to Vitellius as a traitor.

They desert.

When Anthony heard of this, he commanded out a party to fall upon them as deserters. They made a short stand, but, after the first shock, gave ground, and took their flight towards Cremona. Anthony, with his horse, cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassing them, slew great numbers on the spot, and gave the soldiers the pillage. There perished promiscuously, in this ravage, foreign merchants, as well as inhabitants, in abundance, together with the whole army of Vitellius, to the number of thirty thousand two hundred men. There fell of those whom Anthony brought out of Mysia, no more than four thousand five hundred. He then set Cecinna at liberty, and sent him to Vespasian with the news of the victory, where he was received with great and unexpected honours, to balance the disgrace he had incurred for his treachery to his master.

Are totally cut off by Anthony.

Cecinna sent to Vespasian, and honourably received.

Upon

Sabinus
seizes the
capitol.

Upon the news that Anthony was approaching Rome, Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, took courage, and drawing together the city guards, seized upon the capitol in the night. Great numbers of persons of rank came in to him next day, and amongst the rest his nephew Domitian, who had a great hand in the glory of that action. Vitellius was not so much incensed against Anthony as against Sabinus, and those who joined with him in the revolt; but, being naturally ferocious and cruel, especially towards such as were of noble extraction, he sent a body of his own troops against the capitol, who, as well as those in the temple, gave signal proofs of valour. At length the Germans, being too numerous for their adversaries, got the hill in their possession. Domitian, and several of the principal Romans, escaped by a miracle; but Sabinus was brought to Vitellius, who ordered him immediately to be slain. The soldiers plundered the temple of its ornaments and utensils, and then set it on fire.

Sabinus is
put to death

Anthony
overcomes
Vitellius,
who is slain.

The next day Anthony came up with his army, and being met by Vitellius, they engaged in three several places, till the army of Vitellius was totally destroyed. Vitellius then came out of his palace, wallowing in gluttony and drunkenness, where he was taken up, and dragged through the street, vilified with every kind of scurrility, and, in the end, stabbed to death in the midst of the city. He had now reigned eight months and five days; and such was his profusion, that it was supposed, if he had lived longer, the revenue of the empire would not have been adequate to the charge of his luxury. This action happened on the third day of the month Apelleus, in which it is computed that fifty thousand men were slain, over and above those already mentioned.

Mucianus
enters
Rome.

Mucianus, the following day, entered Rome with his army; and, having restrained the fury of Anthony's soldiers, who were slaying all before them, whether guilty or innocent, pointed out to the people the expediency of choosing Domitian for their governor, till his father should arrive. But the people, being freed from every disagreeable apprehension, would hear of no other governor than Vespasian, whom they extolled to the skies, celebrating a double festival; one for the blessing of the accession of Vespasian to the empire, and the other for their deliverance from the tyranny of Vitellius.

fian, whom they extolled to the skies, celebrating a double festival; one for the blessing of the accession of Vespasian to the empire, and the other for their deliverance from the tyranny of Vitellius.

C H A P. XIV.

Vespasian is congratulated from all quarters at Alexandria. Sends Titus towards Jerusalem. His several stations in the course of his progress.

WHEN Vespasian arrived at Alexandria, he not only received the agreeable news of what had passed at Rome, but congratulatory addresses from all quarters, upon his advancement to the imperial dignity. Though Alexandria was deemed the largest city in the world, Rome excepted, it proved too small to contain the multitude that resorted thither upon that occasion. The state of affairs at Rome being now settled and secured, the people quiet and easy beyond all expectation, and the winter season passed, Vespasian turned his thoughts towards subduing the remainder of Judæa, and preparing for his journey to the seat of his empire. When he had put every thing in order at Alexandria, he dispatched his son Titus, with a select part of his army, upon an expedition against Jerusalem. Titus went as far as Nicopolis by land, which is twenty furlongs distance from Alexandria, and then embarked his troops, passed down the Nile, along the banks of the Mendesian Canton, to the city of Thumis, and went on shore at a small town, called Tanis. From thence he proceeded to Heracleopolis, and so to Pelusium, where he stayed two days to refresh his troops, and then marched away across the desert, and encamped near the temple of Jupiter Cassius.

The next day he went to Ostracine, a place so extremely dry, that the inhabitants have no water, but what they fetch from other places. His next station was at Rhinocorura, where he stayed awhile, and then went on to Raphin, the first city upon the borders of Syria; thence to Gaza, thence to Ascalon, so to Jamnia and Joppa, and lastly to Cæsarea, in order to strengthen himself by reinforcements.

End of the FIFTH BOOK of the WARS.



FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

A threefold sedition in Jerusalem. Eleazar begins the breach by setting up the zealots against the people. John of Gischala and Eleazar contend for power. As do afterwards John and Simon. A terrible slaughter in the temple. The deplorable state of Jerusalem. March and order of the army of Titus.

WHEN Titus had marched over the desert, which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner before mentioned, he at last came to Cæsarea, with a resolution to draw his troops together, and form his army. But while he was assisting his father Vespasian, at Alexandria, in settling the administration of the empire which Providence had put into their hands, the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and the factions split into three parties, each faction contending with the other. With respect to the faction of the zealots, which may be deemed the leading cause of the destruction of the city, we have described its rise and progress. It was, in fact, one sedition originating from another, and resembled the fury of a wild beast, that, for want of prey, satiates its ravenous appetite by devouring, as it were, its very self.

Eleazar, the son of Simon, was the first who began the separation in the temple, by setting the zealots against the people, upon a pretence of indignation at the insolent attempts of John of Gischala, while himself was guilty of the same enormities. But the fact was, that the former tyrant could not submit to the tyrant that came after him; and being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas, the son of Chelcias, Simon, the son of Ezron, and Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, all men of rank and eminence, and each of them followed by a great party of the zealots. This party took possession of the inner temple, and placed guards on the sacred porches and doors, in confidence that the provisions of the place, from the multitude of daily oblations, would supply them

with all necessaries, and making no difference betwixt things sacred and prophane.

Being thus posted, the only thing they feared was want of men for the execution of any considerable design. John was much the stronger of the two; but what Eleazar wanted in number, was abundantly made good by the advantage of the place, for he had his enemy under him. John could not attempt any thing without loss; so that through fear of a rash action on the one hand, and impatience of inactivity on the other, he was greatly embarrassed. Ambition, however, at length prevailed over discretion: he made several attacks, with darts and other weapons, till the temple was polluted with the gore of dead bodies.

Contest between John and Eleazar

On the other side, the tyrant Simon, the son of Gorias, whom the people, in their distress, had invited and entertained as their governor and protector, having in his possession the upper town, and a great part of the lower, made a vigorous assault upon John and his party, seeing how he was pressed from above by Eleazar. John had the same advantage over Simon that Eleazar had over him; so that, in fact, he had a double contest to maintain; and his efforts proved as powerful with the one as ineffectual with the other; for, in proportion as Eleazar was too hard for John, whom he had under him, so was John too hard for Simon, who was before him. He had little or no difficulty in repelling the attacks from beneath; but was obliged to repel those from above by the engines of war, while these engines did execution not only upon the people in arms, but on those who came out of devotion to worship. It must be acknowledged that these miscreants, even in the outrages of their impieties, gave admittance to all who offered themselves on religious pretences, although the Jews were more liable to examination. Notwithstanding, strangers, that were so happy as to escape the effects of a military fury, frequently fell through casualty and mischance, being cut off by stones and lances, that reached the very altar: nay, the priests themselves, in the exercise of their holy function, fell victims, together with a multitude of persons

Between John and Simon.

The temple
a scene of
laughter.

sons assembled for Divine worship. The altar, by these means, was defiled with the blood not only of the Greeks, but even the wildest barbarians, who had the greatest veneration for the rites of our holy religion. The dead bodies of strangers and of natives, persons holy and prophane, were promiscuously confounded, and their gore streamed in one common flow.

Josephus
deplores the
calamities
of the Jews.

“O wretched city! The fire and sword of the Romans, which entered by force, and purged it from the pollutions of faction and apostacy, with all the desolation that ensued thereupon, could not be compared with its present deplorable state. It was now no longer the residence of the Most High, being converted by civil broils into a common charnel-house, a just punishment for its most impious provocations. But yet it is not impossible, but that unfeigned repentance might appease the incensed justice of a righteous God, that inflicted this heavy, but deserved, judgment.” But here let me stop, and restrain those passions which I feel as a private individual, while I proceed to relate the consequences of this horrid outrage.

The rage of
the factions
against each
other.

As before observed, Jerusalem was divided into three factions. Eleazar and his party, who had the charge of the first fruits and oblations, became intoxicated, and fell upon John. John sallied out upon Simon, and the people that assisted him with provisions against himself and Eleazar. When John happened to be attacked, at the same time, by Eleazar and Simon, he divided his forces, and held those in play that assaulted him on the city side with stones and arrows from his engines. If at any time he had a little respite from those above him, he was at liberty to make stronger sallies upon Simon and his accomplices; and, as he drove him farther into the town, he burnt all before him, whether magazines or granaries, and, in fact, whatever came in his way. Upon his retreat, Simon followed him, and acted the same destructive part as John had done before. Such, in a word, were their malevolent efforts, that they seemed to have been actuated by a most diabolical spirit, as if they had entered into a conspiracy for betraying Jerusalem to the Romans, by putting it out of a condition of defence, in destroying all that was necessary to preserve it. Accordingly, all places about the temple were burnt down, the city was turned into a desert by the very natives, and intermediate spaces were opened by them for shedding the blood of each other. The provision of corn, and other necessaries, sufficient to have maintained a siege for several years, was almost consumed, which led inevitably to a famine, and the destruction of the city, which they brought upon themselves.

The lamentable
calamities of
Jerusalem.

Jerusalem now, betwixt the faction within the town, and the assailants without, was like a great body rent asunder. The aged and the women were so distressed by their internal calamities, that they prayed for the success of their very enemies the Romans, and for a foreign war in exchange for a civil one. The citizens were under terrible consternation; nor had they an opportunity of taking counsel, or changing their measures. All passages were guarded; and the heads of the factions, averse to each other as they might be in other points, were agreed in this, that whoever deserved to live should die. They suffered not an individual to escape, who was but suspected to be amicably disposed towards the Romans, but treated them all as common enemies. The clamour of shouts, and the clangor of arms, was heard day and night. The fear of evils to come was a greater misery, though present consternation prevented outward lamentation. No regard was paid to those that were living by their relations; nor was any care taken of burial for those that were dead. The cause of all this was an universal desperation, as he who hath nothing to hope for, hath nothing to fear. Every man that was not of the faction gave himself up for lost, and carried his life in his hand, as if he were to resign it the next moment. The faction, at the same time, maintained their contest, with heaps of carcases under their feet, with a triumphant ostentation, as if the horror of the spectacle had rendered the living as insensible as the dead.

They meditated mischief against themselves; and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, nor omitted any instance of torment or barbarity. John even perverted to prophane uses the sacred materials that were set apart for the service of the holy temple.

The people and the priests had formerly determined to raise the temple twenty cubits higher, and carry up an arch to support the work. To this end, king Agrippa, at incredible charge and labour, brought from mount Libanus certain curious pieces of timber, both for length and size; but the war breaking out, interrupted the design. John, having occasion for the materials, had the trees cut out into lengths for his own proper use, and then framed into turrets for his security and defence against Eleazar. They were raised along the wall to the westward, over against the great hall, as the only place capable of such a structure, as there were so many staircases in the way. John flattered himself that this impious contrivance would have laid his enemies at his feet; but Providence disappointed him, by bringing the Romans in upon him before he could perfect the work.

When Titus had collected part of his forces, and ordered the remainder to meet him at Jerusalem, he went to Cæsarea, where he had with him, besides the three legions which had formerly made such havock in Judea under his father, the twelfth legion also. They were animated by a desire of revenge for the disastrous encounter they had under Cestius. He ordered the fifth legion to meet him by way of Emmaus, and the tenth by Jericho; while he himself marched with the rest, in conjunction with a body of royal auxiliaries, larger than heretofore, and a great number of Syrians. The detachments that were sent by Vespasian, under Mucianus, into Italy, out of the four legions, he made good out of 2000 choice men of the Alexandrian army that he brought along with him, and 3000 men that followed him from the Euphrates. His best friend and counsellor was Tiberius Alexander, formerly governor of Egypt, but now appointed to command the army, being the first man that espoused the interest of Vespasian in the infancy of his government, entered into a league with him, and stood firm to it, in despite of all the hazards of uncertain fortune. He possessed, in a word, every qualification, natural and acquired, for martial undertakings.

C H A P. II.

Titus marches to Jerusalem. The Jews make a desperate sally as he takes a view of the city. Titus is miraculously preserved. His valour and conduct.

THE following was the order in which Titus marched with his army into the country of the enemy. The auxiliaries led the way. After them came the pioneers, to prepare the roads, and mark out the camp. These were followed by the officers, baggage, and a sufficient guard. Then came Titus himself, with a select body of men, and his ensign bearers about him; a body of horse following them at the head of the engineer of war. After them the Roman eagle, with the ensigns of the legions about it, and trumpets before them; the body of the army marching rank and file, six in front, and the common servants, every one following the legion he belonged to, with the baggage before them. The mercenaries and their guards brought up the rear.

In this order Titus advanced, according to the method of the Roman discipline, by the way of Samaria up to Gophna, a place that his father had formerly taken, in which, there being a garrison, he passed that night, and prosecuted his march next morning to a place the Jews call “The Valley of Thorns,” near the village of Gabath Saul, or “The Valley of Saul,” where he encamped, about thirty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

Titus advances with a party to take a view of Jerusalem.

At this place Titus put himself at the head of six hundred chosen horse, and led them toward Jerusalem, to take a view of the city, and learn what he could of the state and disposition of the Jews. Being well assured that the people were desirous of peace, weary of their oppressors, and therefore wanted nothing but strength and opportunity for a revolt, he apprehended that, upon sight of him and his army, they might be inclined to bring matters to an accommodation, rather than proceed to extremities.

Falls into imminent danger.

With this idea he marched towards the city; and, while he went forward in the ready road to the walls, nobody appeared upon the battlements. But, upon crossing over towards the turret called Psephinos, there sallied out a vast number of Jews from the gate over against the sepulchre of Helena, in the quarter they call the Womens Tower, that broke through the main body of the Romans, and cutting off the communication between the two divided parties, they could not relieve one another. Thus confused, the Jews singled out Titus, with a very small number of his people about him, in a place where there was no going forward for the enclosures, gardens, and ditches betwixt him and the wall; and his retreat was intercepted, on the other hand, by a strong body of the enemy, who had got betwixt him and his own people. The guards, not knowing the danger their general was in, supposing him to be yet safe, and in the croud, thought they had nothing to do but to follow on. Titus, therefore, finding, in this extremity, that he had nothing but his sword and his courage to trust to, called out to his fellow-soldiers to follow him, and, at the same time, rushed into the midst of the enemy, to force his way through to the rest of his men.

miraculously preserved.

We may hence learn how far Divine Providence interposes in the events of war, and in the personal preservation of princes. For Titus, who came not out to fight, but to make discoveries, had not provided himself with armour either for his head or body; and yet not one dart or arrow, out of the showers that were launched at him, touched him, but were carried off from the mark, as if they had been designed to miss it.

extraordinary instance.

Titus, in the mean time, cleared his passage on both sides sword in hand, overbearing all before him, and trampling his enemies under his horse's feet. This dauntless resolution of the Roman general drew the rage of the whole party upon him with fury and clamour, insomuch, that they cried out one to another to fall upon him, as the only check to their successes. But which way soever Titus turned the Jews fled before him; yet, at the same time, others pressed him flank and rear; whilst his guards bravely supported him. They found, at last, there was no means of coming off, but by one seasonable, resolute charge quite through the enemy. The gallant effort was made. One of the companions of Titus was slain; another overthrown from his horse, and carried off; while Titus, with the remainder of this noble few, got back to his camp, without so much as one wound. The Jews were elated by this temporary advantage, and looked upon it as an earnest of future success; but they were totally deceived in their expectation.

C H A P. III.

Titus pitches his camp. Domestic factions are united by a foreign war. The Jews sally out upon the Romans, and drive them from their camp. The Romans are alarmed at missing their general. Titus presses upon the Jews as they retire.

ON the coming up of a legion, that night from Emmaus, to join Titus, he marched away, early next morning, to Scopos, a place seven furlongs to the northward from the city. It stands low, and in a fair prospect both of the town and temple, and is therefore very properly called Scopos, or The Prospect. He ordered two legions to encamp upon that spot; and the fifth legion to withdraw three furlongs off, where they might entrench without any

danger from the enemy, being much wearied with a tedious night's march. These legions had no sooner proceeded to the execution of their orders, than the tenth legion came up from Jericho, a place lately taken and garrisoned by Vespasian. This last was appointed to encamp six furlongs to the east of Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives, which is over against the city, and the valley of Cedron betwixt them.

The factions continued to vent their fury upon each other as the bitterest adversaries, till the dread of a foreign war, and a common enemy, produced a reconciliation. Upon the very sight of the Roman camp, the three parties began to think of concord, reasoned with themselves upon the equity and necessity of a composition, and thus expostulated in their present situation: "What will be the end of this, if we suffer ourselves to be surrounded with forts and troops, and remain pent up within walls, the tame spectators of a war, to the advantage of our enemies, and our own destructions? We are only valiant against ourselves, in shedding the blood of each other, to make way for the Romans to a conquest without blood."

The factions are compelled to agree by a foreign war.

Upon this they gathered into parties; and that instant betaking themselves to their arms, made a furious excursion across the valley upon the tenth legion, with horrid clamours and outcries, as they were entrenching their camp.

The Jews sally out upon the Romans.

This sally greatly alarmed the Romans; and their surprize was much increased from an opinion they had entertained, both that the Jews durst not offer it, and that their divisions had rendered them incapable of such an agreement. The soldiers being at work without their arms, the Jews fell upon them unawares, so that every man quitted his station. Some ran away; others fled to their arms, but were cut off before they could make use of them. Flushed with this success, the Jews came flowing in still more and more; and though they were not, in truth, very numerous, their good fortune made them appear so both to the Romans and themselves.

Though the Romans, of all nations upon the face of the earth, are most expert in the art and discipline of war, and discharge their military duties with singular grace and alertness, they were struck with such astonishment at this surprize, that they turned their backs, while the Jews followed them upon the pursuit. As the numbers of the Jews increased through their sallying out of the city, so did the confusion of the Romans through the alarm, till, in the end, they were forced to abandon their camp; and the whole legion had been entirely cut off, if Titus had not come at the precise moment to their succour, and, betwixt reproaches for their cowardice on the one hand, and exemplary bravery on the other, put a stop to their flight. The general took this opportunity of joining the fugitives with a party of choice men of his own, and charging the Jews in flank, killed several of them upon the spot, wounded more, and drove the whole body down into a valley in the greatest disorder. Upon their passing the valley they made a stand, and maintained a fight with the Romans across it till mid-day. In the afternoon Titus reinforced the legion with the troops he had brought to succour it, and posting parties up and down, to secure the Romans from sallies, he ordered the remainder of his forces up the mountain to fortify their camp.

The Romans are driven from their camp.

Skirmishes between the Jews and Romans.

The Jews, that were within distance of observing this motion from the walls, took it for a direct flight; and, as the centinel gave them to understand as much by shaking a garment in the air, as a signal concerted among themselves, they rushed out, upon this intimation, with such outrageous fury, that they resembled an herd of ferocious animals, rather than a number of men. Their violence was so impetuous, that not so much as one man of the contrary party could sustain the shock; and they were all driven, as if it had been by a blow from an engine, some one way, some another, flying up the mountains for refuge.

The Romans are beaten back by the Jews, and retire to the mountains.

In the midst of the acclivity, Titus made a stand with a few of his generous resolute friends, who, from the veneration in which they held the dignified character of their general, besought him not to expose his own life any longer against the lives of a desperate rabble of Jews, whose condition was such, that death was the best thing that could befall them, but rather consult his own quality and safety. They reminded him, that he was not there in the circumstances of a soldier only, but in the character of the sovereign of the universe, in whose preservation the state of things upon this habitable earth absolutely depended.

Another instance of the fortitude of Titus.

Titus paid not the least attention to their exhortations, but stood upon his guard against all opposition, and encountered all assaults, maiming some, slaying others that pressed upon him, and forcing some again down the mountain into the valley. The vigour and resolution of the prince kept them in some degree of awe, though not sufficient to frighten them into the city again; so that opening to the right and left, they attacked his people on each hand, while Titus, by galling them in the flank, gave some obstruction to the pursuit.

A panic seizes the Romans.

When the Romans, who were fortifying their camp upon the hill, observed the havoc that was made of their companions below, it struck them with such horror and amazement, that the whole legion dispersed, taking it for granted that the Romans were not able to stand before the Jews, and that Titus himself had quitted the field, or (as they thought) his soldiers would never have forsaken him. In the midst of this distraction, an alarm was given to the whole legion, by some who had seen Titus struggling for his life in the midst of his enemies, calling upon them to hasten away to the rescue of their general. The reproach of having abandoned their commander enraged them to such a degree, that, without regard to consequences, they fell with all their might upon the Jews, and drove them before them down the brow of the mountain. The Jews, however, for a while, disputed every foot of ground they lost, till the Romans, through the advantage of the higher station, forced them all down into the valley. Titus pressed upon the Jews as they retired, and sent the legion back again to fortify their camp, slaying with those who were with him before to keep the enemy at a distance. It may be affirmed, with that truth which becomes an impartial historian, that this was the second time that Titus saved this legion in the same day, which afforded the soldiers full liberty to fortify and settle their camp.

The Jews make a running fight.

C H A P. IV.

The revival of sedition at the feast of the passover. John overcomes Eleazar. The three factions are reduced to two. Titus moves towards Jerusalem.

A sedition at the feast of the passover.

An execrable design under the mask of religion.

FOREIGN hostilities ceasing for a time, internal sedition was revived. The Paschal feast, or the feast of unleavened bread, being now at hand, Eleazar, and his party, caused the temple gate to be set open for a free entrance to all people that came up to worship. John made use of this religious pretext as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party (of whom the greater part were not purified) with weapons concealed under their garments, with instructions how they were to proceed. A tumult immediately arose both within and without; and the uproar was looked upon as a general design upon the whole multitude, by all those who were not in the plot. But Eleazar and the zealots were persuaded that the malice of this exploit was principally levelled at them. The guards drew off from the gates, others leaped down from the battlements without striking a blow, and crept into the temple vaults to hide themselves. The common people, that betook themselves to the altar, were miserably destroyed; some of them crushed and trampled to death in the crowd; others lay weltering in their blood, up and down, as spectacles of horror and despair. Many were slain

from private enmity; and to call a man a zealot was a sufficient pretence for taking away his life. But, amidst these barbarities towards the innocent, they granted a truce to the guilty, and connived at their escape out of the caverns, where they had absconded. John's party now seized upon the inner temple, and, by resolutely opposing Simon, reduced the factions to two.

Titus, forming a design of decamping from Scopus, and advancing nearer Jerusalem, in order to his removal, posted a competent number of his best troops, to prevent and encounter inroads, and gave it in charge to another detachment, to see all the ways levelled betwixt that and Jerusalem. Upon this they demolished all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves, cut down all the fruit-trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, filled up all the chasms, and plained the rocky precipices with iron instruments. The whole space was by this means levelled from Scopus, or The Prospect, to Herod's sepulchre, which adjoined to the pool, called The Serpent's Pool,

C H A P. V.

The Romans are deluded by the Jews. Titus suspects the pretence. Titus reproaches his men, and delivers them up to the martial law. The soldiers intercede for their comrades, and obtain their pardon. The siege of Jerusalem.

THE Jews at this time concerted a plot to delude the Romans. The most resolute of the seditious went out of the town a little beyond the place called The Womens Tower, on a pretence that they were ejected by those who were for peace, and durst not venture any farther for fear of the Romans, but there they kept themselves close, and as much out of sight as possible. There was, at the same time, another party upon the walls, that cried aloud for peace, and an alliance with the Romans, imploring them, at the same time, to come over to them, and assuring them that they would open the gates. To grace the imposture, they counterfeited a squabble among themselves; some pretending to press out to the Romans, and others casting stones at them to hinder them, and still persisting, in appearance, either by fair means or foul, to make their way. After several feigned attempts and repulses, they went their way, affecting the utmost chagrin at their disappointment.

The stratagem lured the common soldiers, who looked upon the tower as in their possession already, and pressed most eagerly to be in action, as if there had been nothing wanting but the ceremony of opening the gates to make them masters of it. But Titus had too much penetration and discernment to place confidence in this pretext for invitation, having made them an offer by Josephus, but the day before of what they now affected to desire, when they peremptorily rejected the proposal. He therefore commanded his soldiers in general to stand to their arms, and maintain their posts: but in the mean time, some, that were employed in the trenches, betook themselves to their weapons, and ran towards the gates. Those, who pretended to have been ejected, let them pass without any interruption; but as soon as they had reached the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews followed them close upon the rear, hemmed them in within reach of stones, darts, and other missile weapons, from their engines, plied them with vigour, and killed and wounded great numbers, being so pent up by those that pressed upon their backs, that there was no getting clear of the wall. Besides, through shame and confusion on the one hand, and the fear of punishment on the other, they were hardened into a resolution of prosecuting what they had begun. At length, after a long dispute, and with equal loss on both sides, the Romans forced their way through the body of the Jews, who yet pursued them, in their retreat, with lances,

lances, and such like weapons, as far as the sepulchre of Helena, and not without contemptuous reproaches for their foolish credulity. This they did by waving their bucklers over their heads, and exulting all the way with shouts of joy and triumph.

The Roman soldiers, in consequence of this delusion, were upbraided by their officers, and reproved by Titus himself, who, with a degree of resentment and indignation, thus addressed them :

“ How comes it (says he) that the Jews, who have nothing but their despair for their directors, should yet manage their affairs with so much consideration, stratagem, and success? The question is answered in one word : They live in obedience to their superiors, and in good will and union one with another : Whereas the Romans, that have been hitherto so famous for their excellent order and discipline, and consequently for their good fortune, are now fallen off, and destroyed by the headstrong intemperances of their own folly, in making war without officers ; and, which is worst of all, Cæsar himself to be a spectator of this. What a scandal will this be to the very rules and orders of arms ! Or what will my father say, when he shall come to hear of it ? A general that, in the whole course of a long and military life, never met with any thing like it before. Now, such is the severity of martial law, that it makes it capital for any man to depart from the strict rule of discipline, even in a small matter ; but in this case the whole army are deserters. And be it known to you all, that, according to the strictness of the Roman discipline, victory itself is a scandal when it is gained without order for fighting.”

From the manner in which Titus delivered these words, it was evident to the officers, that he determined to put the martial law into execution ; so that the whole body of offenders gave themselves up for lost, being conscious they deserved the justice they feared. The other legions, however, applied to the general with petitions in behalf of their unfortunate fellow-soldiers, imploring his pardon for the failings of a rash few for the sake of a great number that stood firm, upon assurance that they would atone, by their future services, for their past faults. Titus, upon reflection, calling to mind, that however requisite severity might be towards individuals who were delinquents, the same reason did not hold good with respect to numbers, complied with the petition of the intercessors, and forgave what was past, upon condition of their behaving in a more prudent, as well as obedient, manner in future ; and thenceforward meditated means of avenging himself upon the Jews for their treachery.

When the space between the Romans and the walls had been levelled, which was done in four days, he ordered the choice part of his army to advance towards the ramparts betwixt north and west ; the foot drawn up in seven battalions, and the horse in three squadrons, with archers betwixt them. This being a force sufficient to prevent or repel all sallies, was, of course, a security for the baggage and train thereunto belonging. Titus himself encamped at the distance of two furlongs from the city, over against the tower called Psephinos, upon that angle of the wall where it winds off from the north to the westward. He entrenched another part of his army towards the tower of Hippicos, about two furlongs from the city ; while the tenth legion continued in its former situation upon the mount of Olives.

CH A P. VI.

Description of Jerusalem. Three famous towers. A dismal conflagration. Structure of the temple. Its utensils and appurtenances. The fort of Antonia particularly described.

THE city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls on those parts which were not encompassed with impassable vallies, where there was but

one. It was built upon two hills opposite to each other, and a deep valley betwixt them covered with houses. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct, so that, from the strength of its situation, king David formerly called it “ The Citadel : but it is now called by us “ The Upper Market-Place.”

The hills on which the city was built.

The lower town is seated upon another hill, that bears the name of Acra, with a steep declivity round about it. There was formerly another hill over against this, but lower than Acra, and formerly parted from the other by a broad valley ; but the princes of the Asmonæan race caused it to be filled up, being desirous of joining the city to the temple, which by that means overlooked and commanded all the rest. The name of the aforesaid valley, that divides the upper town from the lower, is Tyropæon : it stretches as far as the fountain of Siloam, that affords an excellent water, and in great abundance.

The fountain of Siloam.

The oldest of the three walls was almost impregnable, by reason of the depth of the valley below, and the overhanging of the rock from above, upon which it was erected. Besides the natural advantage of the situation, David, Solomon, and several other princes, contributed to the further strengthening it by all the means of art, industry, and expence. This wall began on the north, at the tower of Hippicos, and extended as far as a place called the Xistus, ending at the western porch of the temple. It passed on the other side, reckoning from the same place by Bethso to the Essene-gate, and to the southward by the fountain of Siloam, where it strikes off to the eastward, towards the pool of Solomon, and thence by Ophlas to the east porch of the temple.

The three walls.

The second wall begins at Genath, a gate belonging to the former wall, and so runs on upon the north side of the city to the fort of Antonia.

The third wall began at the tower of Hippicos, and ran northward to that of Psephinos, over against the sepulchre of Helena, queen of Adiabena, and mother of king Izates, passing along by the royal caverns, from the tower at the corner, towards that which they call the Monument of the Fuller, whence it came up to the old wall in the vale of Cedron. This wall was the work of Agrippa, for the security of that part of the town he had built, which before was naked and defenceless. The city, by this time, became so populous, that its space was too circumscribed for the inhabitants, so that, by degrees, they crept out into a kind of suburbs ; and on the north side of the temple, next the hill, their building increased extremely.

There was another hill that fronted Antonia, with ditches cut out of a prodigious depth betwixt them, so that there was no coming at the foundation of Antonia to undermine it ; beside that the sinking of the trench added so much to the height of the tower. They gave the fourth hill the name of Bezeth, or Bethelda, being an enlargement only of the former. When this place came to be inhabited, the people earnestly desired to have it fortified ; and Agrippa, the father of the king of the same name, modelled his design, and ran up this wall about it that we have described. But it occurring to him that Claudius Cæsar might take some offence and jealousy at the pomp and ostentation of so magnificent a work, Agrippa went no farther than laying the foundation, and so dropped the project ; whereas, if he had pursued it, Jerusalem might never have been taken.

The stones of this wall were twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and so hard and firm, that they were proof against either mining or battery. The wall was also ten cubits thick, and would have been high in proportion, if they had persisted in the work. The Jews, indeed, carried it up afterwards to twenty cubits, with battlements of two cubits at the top, and parapets of three, which, in all, make twenty-five cubits. The wall was fortified with towers of twenty cubits square, as substantial as itself,

itself, and not inferior, for strength and beauty, to the stones and workmanship of the temple.

The towers were raised twenty cubits above the wall, with winding stair-cases leading up to them, convenient apartments at the top, and cisterns for rain water. Upon the third wall there were ninety towers of the same form, and at the equal distance of two hundred cubits one from another. The middle wall had only fourteen towers, and the old wall sixty. The compass of the whole city was thirty-three furlongs.

The circumference of the city.

The third wall was an exquisite piece of workmanship from one end to the other; but yet not comparable to the tower called Psephinos. It stood upon the angle of the wall, north-west of the city, upon that quarter where Titus had encamped. Being seventy cubits high, it afforded, on a clear day, a prospect of Arabia, the sea, and uttermost confines of the Hebrews. It was, in figure, an octagon; and over against it was the tower of Hippicos: and hard by it were two other towers, erected by Herod on the old wall, which, for magnitude, beauty, and strength, were looked upon as master-pieces. For, besides other instances of the magnanimity and magnificence of this king towards the city of Jerusalem, he caused these to be erected in so extraordinary a manner, to gratify a particular inclination, dedicating them to the memory of three persons, for whom he possessed the greatest esteem, his brother, his friend, and his wife; the two former having signalized themselves by dying gloriously in the field of battle, and the other being slain at his own instance in a fit of jealousy.

Three famous towers erected by Herod, Hippicos, Phasaelus, and Mariamne.

The tower of Hippicos, so named from one of his friends, had four angles, five and twenty cubits in breadth, and thirty in height, and the whole body of it solid. Above this was a platform of stone accurately joined, and a receptacle for rain water of twenty cubits depth. On this terrace were two stones of five and twenty cubits each, divided into several apartments; and over that building were two battlements of two cubits in height, and parapets of three cubits all round, amounting, in the whole, to the height of eighty-five cubits.

Herod called the second tower Phasael, from the name of his brother. Its breadth and height were forty cubits. It was solid within from top to bottom. Above this was a porch ten cubits high, supported with arches, and embellished with divers curiosities. Over the middle of this porch was another, with elegant baths and apartments belonging to it, suitable to the magnificence of the royal founder. On the top of it were battlements and fortifications; the whole height of the tower falling little short of ninety cubits. It had, at a distance, some resemblance of the watch-tower of Pharos, the famous land-mark to those that sailed towards Alexandria; but much larger; and at this time the residence of Simon, that oppressive tyrant.

The third tower was Mariamne, so called from the name of his queen. It was twenty cubits square, and 55 cubits high. It must be allowed, that the structure, apartments, and furniture of the other two towers were pompous and elegant; but they were as much beneath the curiosity, beauty, and ornament of this, as this fell short of the strength of the other two, being properly adapted to the delicacy of the fair sex.

Though these towers were very high, they appeared more so from the place on which they were raised: for the old wall they stood upon was itself erected upon a very high piece of ground, and those turrets were advanced upon the top of a hill that was yet thirty cubits higher than the ancient wall. Nor were they less admirable for the materials they were composed of than the structure. The stones were neither common, or of a weight to be removed with hands: they were of white marble, cut out into planks, twenty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and five in depth, and put together with such art, that there were no joints to be seen; so that every distinct tower looked like one entire piece.

As these towers were on the south-side of the wall, the king had thereunto adjoined a palace, magnificent beyond description. It was enclosed with a wall thirty cubits high, and adorned with turrets, of the best workmanship, planted around it, at an equal distance one from the other, with elegant apartments, and spacious halls for public entertainments. There was an incredible collection of the choicest marble, for variety of colours, that could possibly be purchased. The roofs were wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of apartments was very great, and they were amply furnished with whatever could tend to elegance or convenience. There were porches and galleries in abundance, leading in a kind of circle from one to another, and in each of them a row of pillars. The courts, that lay to the open air, had the agreeable prospect of divers groves, and many nurseries of plants, long and pleasant walks, beset with cisterns, fountains, pipes, and brazen figures issuing forth water, with flights of tame pigeons gathering about it for refreshment. But, indeed, it is impossible to give a complete description of this sumptuous palace: besides, it is irksome to call to remembrance the devastation that was made of it by an impious crew of incendiaries and traitors. This conflagration was not the work of the Romans, but a band of miscreants, as we have already observed, upon the breaking out of these tumults, who burnt all from the fort of Antonia, and then carrying the fire into the palace, set the roofs of the three towers in a blaze.

The temple, as before observed, was built upon a very hard rock, which was so steep, that, at first, there was scarce ground on the top sufficient for the sacred fabric, and the enclosure that was to be about it. When king Solomon erected this edifice, he commanded the running up a wall to the eastward of it to keep up the earth; and having thus far secured it, he built a porch upon the rampart. There was not as yet any other fortification; but the people carrying up mould from time to time, the banks became greatly enlarged. They broke down, some time after this, the north-wall, and took in as much ground thereto as served, at length, for the foundation of the whole temple.

The design succeeded so much beyond expectation, that they encompassed the hill with three walls, at a prodigious expence of time and treasure: for it was not only the work of ages, but the whole mass of religious oblations from all parts of the world, to the honour and service of the Most High, was expended upon this undertaking, computing the charge as well of the upper as of the lower temple, which latter was erected upon a foundation of three hundred cubits deep; but the depth did not appear, as the valley was now filled up to the very level of the streets in the city. The stones, provided for this immense work, were forty cubits in length, which proves, upon the whole, that liberality, constancy, and perseverance can effect astonishing things.

As the foundations were wonderful, so the magnificence of the superstructure was not inferior to that of the ground-work. The galleries were all double, upheld by pillars of white marble, all of a piece, and five and twenty cubits in height, wainscotted with cedar, most curiously carved, so that they exhibited a most elegant view to the spectator. They were all thirty cubits over, and six furlongs the whole compass of them, including the tower of Antonia. These entire courts, that were exposed to the air, were laid with stones of all sorts: but the second court was lined on each side with stone ballustrades of three cubits high, delicately wrought, and highly polished. In this passage were several pillars, disposed in regular form and order, with moral precepts inscribed upon them in Latin and Greek, and positively forbidding strangers to enter into that holy place; for the second court was called the sanctuary, and was ascended by fourteen steps above the first. The figure of it was four-square, with a wall peculiar to itself, which, though forty cubits within, was but twenty-five within, the place being covered with steps that led to ascend it. This wall being

being built upon an advanced ground, with steps to it, part of the inside was so obscured by the hill, that it could not be discerned. At the top of these fourteen steps there was a plain level of three hundred cubits up to the wall, and from thence five steps more to the gates of the temple. There were also four from the north, as many from the south, and two from the east.

The women had an oratory, or place of worship, by themselves, with a partition wall to it, and two gates, one to the south, and the other to the north, which were the two only passages of entrance for the women; nor were they permitted to pass their own. This place was free indifferently to women, inhabitants as well as strangers, that came hither on purposes of devotion. The west side was a dead wall, without any door at all. Betwixt the afore said gates, and over against the wall, near the treasury, there were galleries, with stately pillars to support them, single, and, excepting their magnitude, not inferior to those of the lower court.

Some of the gates were plated over with gold and silver, posts, fronts and all: but there was one without the temple of Corinthian brass, which was much the richer metal of the three. There were double doors to every gate, each thirty cubits high, and fifteen broad. They were wider within, and had drawing rooms on each hand, of thirty cubits square, after the manner of turrets, upwards of twenty cubits high, each of them borne up with pillars of twelve cubits in thickness, the other gates being of the same dimensions in proportion. As to the Corinthian portal, on the east-side of the temple, where the women entered, it was certainly the largest and most magnificent of them all, being fifty cubits high, and the gold and silver plates upon it more substantial than those that Alexander, the father of Tiberius, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen steps which led from the wall of the court of the women to the greater gate, whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

The holy temple itself, called emphatically the sanctuary, was placed in the middle, with twelve steps to ascend it. The height of it was an hundred cubits, and the breadth as many in the front; but behind it wanted forty of that number. The height of the first gate was seventy cubits, and twenty-five over; but it had no doors, being an emblem visible and open to the whole world. The front and out-sides were gilt; nor was there any thing in the middle of the temple that had not a brilliant lustre.

The inner part was divided into two partitions. The first of them in sight was open to the top, which was ninety cubits in height, forty in length, and twenty in breadth. There were lavers and branches of vines over head, and large clusters of grapes that hung pendant, between five and six feet deep, all of gold. The other partition of the temple, being ceiled above, appeared the lower of the two. The doors also of it were of gold, fifty-five cubits in height, and sixteen in breadth, with a piece of Babylonian tapestry hanging before them of the same dimensions, interwoven with blue, purple, and scarlet, in a most curious manner. Nor was this mixture of colours without a mystical interpretation, as it alluded to the four elements, either by the colours themselves, or the matter of which they were composed; the scarlet representing the fire, the silk the earth that produced it, the azure the air, and the purple the sea from whence it comes. So that this veil, or hanging, was, in miniature, an emblem of the universe.

This entrance led to the lower part of the temple; the height and length of it was sixty cubits, and the breadth twenty. This length of sixty cubits was then subdivided into two unequal parts, one of forty cubits, and the other of twenty. The former part, of forty cubits, had in it the three wonders that had been celebrated over the whole world; the candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of incense. The candlestick had seven branches all out of the same stem, with seven lights, representing

the seven planets. The twelve loaves of shew-bread, upon the table, pointed at the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the course of the year. By the thirteen sorts of perfumes in the censer upon the altar of incense, with which the sea replenished it, we are given to understand, that the Almighty Creator is sovereign of the universe, and that all things are formed for his honour and service.

The inner part of the temple being only twenty cubits in height, was also divided by a veil from the other: nor was any man permitted to enter, or so much as look into it. It was called the Sanctuary, or Holy of Holies. Upon the sides of this lower temple there were several apartments leading from one to another, with three stories over head, and passages into them out of the great portal. The upper part, being narrower than the other, could not have the convenience of the same order of chambers; but it was forty cubits higher, though the less splendid of the two. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to an hundred cubits.

The curiosity and beauty of the outside of the temple was charming to a degree, being faced every where with substantial golden plates, that sparkled like the beams of the sun, and dazzled the eye of the beholder. Where there was no gilding, the parts were so delicately white, that it appeared, at a distance, to travellers, like a marble mountain, or pillar of snow. The roof was covered with sharp-pointed spikes, to prevent any pollution by birds sitting upon it. Some of the stones of this building were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth.

The altar before the temple was fifteen cubits high, and forty square, with four angles to it, resembling horns. The passage to the altar was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool. There was a partition raised of stone-work, curiously wrought, and of one cubit in height, enclosing the temple, or the sanctuary and the altar, and separating the people from the priests. No unclean persons, either male or female, were suffered in the temple, or even in the city: nor were men allowed to enter the inner temple without being first purified, and even then also they were not to mix with the priests.

Those of the sacerdotal race, that were hindered by any defect from the exercise of their function, took their places with those that had none, and had their allowance in common with the rest, but under the distinction of a lay habit: for no man is allowed to wear the vestments of a priest, but he that actually executes the office.

The priests that ministered in the temple, and at the altar, were to be men exemplary in their lives and conversation, and without either scandal or blemish. Their cloathing was to be fine linen, and they were to be abstemious and temperate in their eating and drinking, out of reverence to their holy function. The high-priest went up, with the other priests, to the altar every seventh day, upon the first day of every month, and upon all public anniversary festivals, when he officiated in a veil girt about him, and hanging down over part of his thighs, with a linen veil under it, that reached down to the ground. On both these he wore a large violet coloured garment, fringed at the bottom, and golden bells and pomegranates interchangeably fastened to it; the bells representing the thunder, and the other the lightning. His pectoral, or girdle, that tied the garment to the breast, was embroidered with five rows of variegated colours, as gold, purple, scarlet, linen, and violet, which were the colours also of the veils of the temple.

The like embroidery was upon the ephod; but it had more gold in it, its form resembling that of a breast piece. It was bound together with two golden buckles, and set with the largest and richest sardonyx stones that could be procured, with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel inscribed upon them. There were also four rows of emeralds hanging down in the order of three and three in a row; that is to say,

The Holy of Holies.

The exterior part of the temple.

The altar.

No unclean persons admitted into the temple.

The priests men of exemplary characters.

Their vestments.

ſay, a ſardonix, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jaſper, and a ſapphire; an agate, amethyſt, and a lynx; an onyx, a beryl, and a chryſolite; with the ſame names upon them reſpectively as before. He had upon his head a ſilken tiara, with a crown over it of a violet colour, and another crown over that of gold, with the ſacred name of the Deity engraven upon it.

The high-prieſt's ordinary habit was not ſo rich and magnificent; the grand veſtments were only put on for the annual ſolemnity, and when he entered into the holy of holies, which day was ſtrictly obſerved as a religious faſt.

The tower
of Antonia.

The fort of Antonia was built in an angle betwixt the two galleries of the firſt temple, looking weſt and north. It was raiſed upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, inacceſſibly ſteep on all hands, and, in fine, the greateſt of Herod's works, both for magnificence and contrivance. The rock was faced with thin ſcales of marble from the bottom to the top, both for ornament and ſecurity, as it was ſo ſlippery there was no poſſibility of aſcending or deſcending it. This tower was enclosed with a wall only of three cubits high; and within that compaſs ſtood the fort of Antonia, of forty cubits, with the ſtate, ſplendor, and conveniencies of a court, containing apartments and offices for all purpoſes, with ſpacious halls and places of parade for the uſe and ſervice of a camp: ſo that, in point of accommodation, it might be deemed a city rather than a fort; and, in point of magnificence, it vied even with a palace. It bore, upon the whole, the reſemblance of a tower; and was encompassed with four other towers at equal diſtances from each other, and one from every corner. Three of them were fifty cubits in height; but the fourth, that looked to the ſouthward and eaſtward, was ſeventy, and from thence had a view of the whole temple. From the place where the galleries joined them were, upon the right and left, paſſages for the ſoldiers to go down to the temple. For when the Romans were maſters of Jeruſalem, there were guards poſted ſtill at that quarter to prevent ſeditious upon their public feſtivals and meetings. The temple commanded the city, as Fort Antonia commanded the temple. This place had a guard upon it; and Herod's palace was as good as a fort to the upper town. The hill Bethelda was cut off from Antonia, and joined to part of the new town, and was the only place that hindered the ſight of the temple on the north ſide. Let this then ſuffice for a deſcription of the city of Jeruſalem and its appurtenances.

C H A P. VII.

Simon's party greatly increaſed. John is poſſeſſed of the temple. The factions are as violent as ever, though the Romans are at the very gates of the city. Titus takes a ſurvey, in order to make an aſſault. Nicanor being baſely wounded, Titus meditates revenge. Orders three attacks. The factions fall heavy on the Roman engineers. Titus ſupports them. The Romans beaten back to their camp. A party of Alexandrians recover the honour of the day. Titus forces the Jews into the city.

THE party of the ſeditious Jews, under Simon, amounted to ten thouſand men, beſides Idumæans, which were five thouſand more, comprizing in the whole fifteen thouſand. The ten thouſand Jews had fifty commanders, of whom Simon was chief. The other five thouſand, under twenty officers, were the moſt daring of the whole faction. The principals were James, the ſon of Soſias, and Simon, the ſon of Cathlas.

John in poſ-
ſeſſion of the
temple.

John was now in poſſeſſion of the temple, with ſix thouſand men, under the command of twenty principal officers. There came into him alſo two thouſand four hundred of the zealots, who enliſted themſelves under Eleazar, whom they had formerly ſerved, and Simon, the ſon of Arinus.

In this oppoſition of the two parties the people were common robbers, and thoſe who were peaceably diſpoſed were plundered by both factions. Simon was now maſter of the upper town, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the eaſt, and reached down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeniens, a people beyond the Euphrates. He was poſſeſſed alſo of the hill of Acra, the ſeat of the lower town, as far as the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. But John, in the mean time, held the temple, and the places thereunto adjoining. As for Ophlas, the vale of Cedron, and what lay between him and Simon, it was all conſumed to aſhes, and could only ſerve as a ſpot for action.

Simon of
the upper
town.

Though the Romans were at this time drawn up at the very gates of Jeruſalem, internal ſedition did not ceaſe. The enemy preſſing upon them, brought them ſometimes to a degree of reflection and moderation; but, upon the leaſt ſuſpenſion of aſſault, they relapſed into factions amongſt themſelves, and contended together upon former pretenſions. They tended to the advantage of the Romans, as they treated each other with more malignity than they were treated by the common enemy, and were in ſo wretched a ſtate that they had no new calamity to fear. They were reduced to harder extremities, indeed, before the city was totally deſtroyed: but the Romans atchieved a much greater exploit than the taking of the city; for, if the ſedition deſtroyed the city, the Romans deſtroyed that very ſedition, which was a far greater work than the bare demolition of the walls: ſo that, in fact, the Jews themſelves brought this ruin on their own heads; and the Romans were only the executioners of Divine juſtice upon them for their wickedneſs.

Seditious
prevails,
with the
Romans at
the very
gates.

While affairs were in this poſture in the city, Titus, with a ſelect party of horſe, took the whole tour of the walls, to find out upon what quarter it lay moſt expoſed to an attack. It was totally inacceſſible, he obſerved, by the way of the vallies; and on the other ſide, the firſt vale was ſo firm as to repel the force of battery. After ſome pauſe, he pitched upon that part of the line towards the ſepulchre of John, the high-prieſt, as the moſt convenient place for an aſſault, the firſt wall being lower there, and likewise cut off from the ſecond wall; for they had neglected the fortifying it, the new city being but thin of inhabitants. Here alſo was an eaſy paſſage to the third wall, and ſo to the upper town; and, with the help of fort Antonia, they might take the very temple itſelf.

Titus takes
a ſurvey, in
order to
form an
attack.

While Titus was weighing theſe matters in his mind, one of his particular friends, by name Nicanor, was wounded in his left ſhoulder by an arrow from the wall, as he was endeavouring, together with Joſephus, to perſuade the Jews to pacific meaſures. Titus was ſo tranſported at this inſtance of ingratitude towards thoſe that endeavoured to perſuade them to what tended to their own preſervation, that he immediately determined on a moſt vigorous proſecution of the ſiege. He alſo, at the ſame time, gave his ſoldiers leave to pillage, and ſet the ſuburbs on fire, ordering them to make uſe of the rubbiſh and ruins for works and platforms. He divided his army into three bodies, aſſigning to each diviſion their employments and ſtations. He diſpoſed of his archers and ſlingers in the miſt of the banks that were then raiſing, with engines to caſt javelins, darts, and ſtones before them. This ſerved for two purpoſes, either to repel the enemies ſallies, or to hold them in play upon the walls. The trees were all cut down, the ſuburbs laid naked in an inſtant, and the timber employed in raiſing the banks. The whole army, in fine, were buſily engaged in their works, nor were the Jews idle at ſo important a criſis.

Nicanor
baſely
wounded
for ſuſ-
taining
a party.

Titus
ſolves to
continue
the ſiege.

Thoſe of the citizens of Jeruſalem, who had been formerly expoſed to robberies and murders, finding the faction ſo wholly taken up in their own defence, began to flatter themſelves with ſome proſpect of eaſe, in the very hope that the Romans themſelves,

if they obtained the victory, would be avenged on those who had been the authors of their miseries.

John's party made a resolute defence against the assailants; but he himself durst not stir out of the temple, for fear of Simon. Simon, being posted next the enemy, was never out of action. He planted all along the wall the engines he had formerly taken from Celsus, and out of the fort of Antonia. But they were of little advantage to the people, through a want of understanding the right use and management of them, as all the skill they had was derived from the information of a deserter. They plied them, however, so as to gall the enemy from the ramparts with arrows and stones, falling out also in small parties, and entering into skirmishes with the Romans, who, on the other side, covered their workmen with hurdles.

The Roman legions had engines of wonderful contrivance to repel the efforts of the enemy, and especially the tenth, not only for the casting of large stones, but throwing them more forcibly, and to a greater distance. Every stone cast by these engines was of a talent weight, and did execution not only at hand, but at the top of the walls and ramparts, though at the distance of a furlong, and where it fell it carried a whole file before it. The Jews were several ways apprized of these stones: first, as they were white, and easily discerned in their passage; secondly, by the noise they made in the air; and, thirdly, from the notice given them by the watchmen placed upon the walls, who had instructions to observe the playing these engines, and when any of them was discharged, to exclaim, in the mother tongue, "The stone comes." This gave every man time to secure himself. The Romans, after this, discoloured the stones, that they might not be discovered in their course, and, by means of that invention, sometimes slew several Jews at one blow. But all was not sufficient to divert them from opposing the progress of the enemy in raising their banks; for they persisted, night and day, in doing all that was possible to be done, by policy and courage, to obstruct their proceedings.

As soon as the Romans had completed their works, they measured the distance from the bank to the wall by the lead and line, for it could not be done otherwise, as there was no approaching it on account of the arrows and darts that were showered down from above. When they found the engines could reach the walls, Titus ordered them to be brought up, and placed at proper distances, but under the objects, that they might have more liberty to play. Hereupon they set three batteries to work at a time upon three several parts of the wall. The terrible noise of the engines was heard throughout the city: the citizens exclaimed with horror at it, and the factions trembled with apprehensions. The divided members of this sedition, finding themselves exposed to one common danger, deemed it expedient to join in one common defence. They were now sensible that, as they went on, they were furthering the design of the enemy; and that, if they could not come to a final accommodation, it was indispensably necessary, at present, to join unanimously against the Romans.

Simon, upon this, dispatched a messenger to those who had shut themselves up in the temple, and commission to tell them, that to many of the Jews were disposed to come out, and advance to the wall, had free liberty to do. John, however, placed no confidence in the good faith of the messenger, but left his party to their own freedom.

The factions coalesced immediately upon this posture, and laying aside particular quarrels, they set up to the walls in a full body. When they had posted themselves for their purpose, they fast their fires and torches upon the Roman engines, pressing furiously upon those who had the direction of them, with darts and other weapons without intermission. Nay, in the heat of their rage and resolution, the Jews leaped down desperately from the walls in troops upon the very engines, tore off their covers, and broke in upon the clouds that were to defend them.

No. 3.

Titus, in this confusion, dispatched, with all expedition, a party of horse and archers upon the guard of the engines, to keep off the fire, and, by holding the Jews in play upon the walls, leave the engineers at liberty to do execution. But all this bartering made little or no impression. One ram, of the fifth legion, indeed, shook the corner of a tower, but without any damage to the wall itself; for the tower being much higher than the wall, it fell without drawing any part of the wall after it.

They are supported by Titus.

The Jews having, for a short time, intermitted their sallies, the Romans imputed it either to fear or weariness, and so became indolent and inattentive, as in a state of security. But when the Jews observed this from the town, and that they were scattered and out of order, they made a furious sally from the tower of Hippicos, set fire to their works, and, in the heat of this success, forced the assailants back to their very camp. The alarm spread immediately throughout the whole army, and the Romans, far and near, drew presently together, for the relief of their companions. The grand conflict was about the engines, how to burn them on the one side, and save them on the other. The air was rent with outcries from both parties, and many brave men fell in the encounter; but the Jews were much the bolder and more adventurous. The fire at length seized the engines, and they had certainly been destroyed, with all that belonged to them, had they not been supported by a choice party of Alexandrian troops, who performed wonders upon the occasion, and had a great share in the honour of the action.

The Romans surprised, and repulsed to their camp.

A great conflict about the engines.

This was the state of things, till the general himself, with a select body of horse, attacked the enemy, slew twelve men with his own hand, and drove the rest before him into the city. This exploit was the saving of the engines. It happening in this encounter that a Jew was taken alive, Titus ordered him to be crucified before the wall, to try how far such an exemplary terror might work upon the rest. But after the Jews were retired, John, a principal officer of the Idumaeans, as he was talking with a soldier before the walls, was shot with an arrow through the heart by an Arabian, to the great grief of all that knew him, being a man eminent for his valour and wisdom.

CHAP. VIII.

The Romans are alarmed by the fall of a tower in the night. The Jews are greatly annoyed from the towers. They behave with great intrepidity, and make several bold sallies; but the Roman discipline prevails against their temerity. Attackment of Simon's men to their leader. Extraordinary fortitude of Longinus.

THE next night a dreadful tumult in the Roman camp. Titus had given orders for the raising three towers, of fifty cubits, upon three several ramparts, so as to have the command of the town wall. In the dead of the night one of these towers fell down to the ground with so dreadful a noise, that the surprize alarmed the whole army. Supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, they all ran to their arms, which occasioned a great tumult and disturbance amongst the legions. Some fancied the Jews might have a hand in it; various, indeed, were their conjectures; till, in the end, they became jealous of each other, and every one demanded of his neighbour the "Watchword" with great earnestness, and with the same formality and strictness, as if the Jews had invaded their camp. They lay under the consternation of this panic till Titus was informed of the whole matter, and made the truth of it public by proclamation. This, with some difficulty, put an end to the commotion.

The Romans alarmed by the fall of a tower.

The Jews stood firm against all difficulties but those of the towers, which could not be disputed, nor avoided. From thence they were palled by all kinds of engines, archers, &c. while they had no remedy

The Jews are annoyed from the towers.

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remedy against them; for it was impossible for them to carry up the platform to the height of these turrets: they were also too strong and heavy to be overturned; nor could they be burned, as they were plated with iron. The Jews had, therefore, only to retire out of reach of the darts, arrows, and stones, without endeavouring to oppose the force of the battering rams, which, through the shock of repeated strokes, at length prevailed.

The Romans had one formidable engine, which the Jews called Nikon, or the conqueror, and it was this that made the first breach. The besieged were, by this time, so spent with watching and fighting, (having been upon duty all night,) that, betwixt disposition and ill advice, they came to an agreement among themselves to quit the first wall, having two others yet to trust to.

The Jews retire from the first wall, and the Romans get possession of it.

Upon this they retired, and the Romans mounted the breach that the Nikon had made, and after that opened the gates to the whole army, the Jews being all withdrawn to the second wall. Thus did the Romans get possession of the first wall on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemesius, when they demolished great part of it, as they did of the northern parts of the city, which Cestius had ravaged before.

Titus, being now removed to a place they call the Camp of the Assyrians, possessed himself of all betwixt that and the valley of Cedron, something more than a bow-shot from the second wall, resolving from thence to begin his attack, and accordingly immediately entered upon it. The Jews posted themselves upon the wall, and made a gallant resistance. John, and his party, engaged in the fortrefs of Antonia, and at the north side of the temple, from the sepulchre of Alexander. Simon, and his party, maintained the passage from the monument of John, the high-priest, to the gate, by which water is conveyed to the tower of Hippicos. The Jews made several desperate sallies, and fought closely with the Romans a considerable time; but the discipline of the latter overcame the inexperience and temerity of the former, who were therefore repulsed with great loss; only upon the walls they had the better of them. The Romans had both fortune and conduct on their side; but the Jews supported themselves by a kind of despairing ferocity, and a hardiness against fatigue and danger.

Make bold sallies.

Effects of the Roman discipline.

It is farther to be considered, that the Jews fought for life and safety, the Romans for victory and honour; and they were neither of them to be tired out; for approaches, assaults, sallies, and combats of every kind, were their daily exercises. They began with the dawn of the day, and so continued till night parted them, when both sides were kept waking; the one from fear of their walls, the other from fear of their camp; all night in arms, and the next morning, by day-light, ready for a battle.

Intrepidity of the Jews.

The Jews valued themselves so much upon contempt of death and danger, that they made it a point of emulation, who should dare most, as the only way to ingratiate themselves with their superiors. Such were the fear and reverence they had for Simon, that all and every man of his party would have died at his feet, if he had but said the word; nay, would have been their own executioners. As to the Romans, they were so accustomed to victory, that they scarcely knew what it was to be overcome; so that they needed no other incentive to behave gallantly than experience and success. Besides, war was familiar and habitual to them, by the continual exercise of arms in the service of a glorious empire, which, with the presence and assistance of a martial prince, over and above all the rest, could not but inspire them with more than ordinary courage. What could be more infamous than cowardice under so gallant a leader? Or what more glorious, on the other hand, than the bounty and esteem of a leader famed for great and noble exploits? Such ardour and ambition have transported heroic spirits to soar to daring attempts almost beyond human power.

The Romans invincible.

There was, at this time, a strong body of Jews drawn up before the walls, and they were come with-

in distance of exchanging weapons with the Romans. While they were engaging, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, rode into the midst of the enemy, and slew two of their bravest officers. One of them he struck through the jaw with his lance, and ran the other through the body with the same weapon, coming off to his party without a wound. He gained renown by this action, and inspired others with a generous emulation of following his example.

Heroic action of Longinus.

The Jews, at this time, were so intent, through despair, of doing mischief, that they were heedless of what they suffered, and let death itself at defiance, if they had but one life in exchange for another. But Titus, on the other hand, had regard to the lives of his men as well as the obtaining of victory, and justly looked upon an inconsiderate temerity as another kind of desperation. Nor would he deem any exploit truly valiant that was not directed by caution or prudence.

CHAP. IX.

Castor, a bold, crafty, and treacherous Jew, imposes on the humanity of Titus. Makes his escape through the very flames. Mercy misapplied, bad policy.

TITUS having ordered one of his engines to be pointed against the middle of the tower, on the north-side of the city, it poured in such showers of arrows upon the besieged, that they all quitted their posts; but a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, and ten others like himself, lay in ambush behind the battlements. Being alarmed by a violent shock, that caused the tower to totter under them, they arose, and Castor, in behalf of himself and the rest, addressed Titus, in the posture and language of an imploring supplicant, for mercy and pardon. The Roman general, from a principle of moderation and candour, thinking that the Jews repented of their rashness and obstinacy, ordered a stop both to the engine and the archers, and gave Castor to understand that he was disposed to hear what he had to offer. The subtle Jew submissively assured him that he desired nothing so earnestly as a treaty. Titus cordially assented, and told him, that, if his companions were of the same mind, he was ready to grant them his pardon. Five of the ten dissembled with their principal: the other five exclaimed, that, while they could die free, they would never live slaves. This occasioning a suspension of the attack, Castor, in the interval, sent privately to Simon, and informed him that he had now time to deliberate on future measures, as he would delude the Roman general, under the pretext of advising those of his associates, who remained inflexible, to come into terms of peace.

Perfidy and treachery of Castor and ten associates.

The artful Jew performed his part with admirable adroitness; swords were drawn by the contending parties, blows given, and men apparently slain. Titus, and those about him, were amazed at the obstinacy and hardiness of the Jews; nor could they refrain from compassionating their miserable state: but being upon the lower ground, they could not see so distinctly what was done above. While this passed, Castor, being wounded with an arrow upon the nose, drew it out, and held it up to Titus, as an appeal to him for justice. The noble Roman relented the seeming injury to such a degree, that he ordered Josephus, who stood by him, to go to Castor, with assurance, in his name, of amity and fair quarter. Josephus begged to decline the commission, and dissuaded his friends from going upon it, telling them, that the pretended submission was founded on a fraudulent design. Eneas, however, one of the deserters to the Romans, undertook to go upon the invitation of Castor, who promised him a gratuity for the execution of his commission. Allured by these terms, Eneas hastened, and had no sooner put himself in a posture to receive the present, than Castor dropt a huge stone down from the wall, which Eneas with difficulty avoided; but it wounded a soldier who stood near him. When Titus, by this

this means, detected the delusion, he was convinced of the danger of humanity misapplied, and, persuaded that rigour was the best defence against fair words and plausible pretences to avenge himself upon Castor and his companions, he ordered the engines to be plied with greater violence than before. The treacherous accomplices finding the tower totter, and ready to sink under them, let it on fire, and made their escape into a vault through the very flames. From this last exploit the Romans were as much astonished at their resolution, as they had been incensed at their treachery.

Castor and his associates escape through the flames.

Titus made himself master of this part of the wall within five days after taking the first; and now finding the way open to the second wall, he drove out the Jews before him, and, with a thousand choice men, entered the town, and passed through the cloth-market, and other avenues, up to the wall. If Titus had immediately demolished the greater part of this wall, as by the martial law he might have done, he would have obtained the victory at an easy rate. But considering the miserable state of the Jews, on the one hand, if they stood it out, and the security of their retreat, on the other, if they were disposed to fly, he once again relented, in confidence that they would be duly sensible of his clemency, nor treat again with treachery and ingratitude, the man to whom they owed the preservation of their lives.

C H A P. X.

Extraordinary humanity of Titus. Malice and calumny of the faction. The Jews overcome the Romans in an encounter. Titus recovers the day. The Romans gain the second wall, but are quickly repulsed. Famine a greater calamity to the Jews than the war. Titus carries the second wall on the fourth day of assault.

How the Jews and Romans were treated by Titus.

THE Roman general, having entered the town, would not permit his soldiers so much as to put to death one prisoner, or set fire to one house: nay, he was so candid to the very faction, that he left them at liberty to contend the point in dispute, provided they did not force or oppress the people. He promised the inhabitants also, at the same time, to maintain them in their lawful possessions, and to restore to them what had been taken from them.

Malice and calumny of the faction.

These proposals were generally acceptable; some desiring the city might be spared for their own sakes, others that the temple might be spared for the sake of the city. But this humanity and tenderness was imputed, by the obdurate and relentless faction, to pusillanimity in the general, whom they represented as having offered these conditions, because he was apprehensive he could not perfect his design of reducing the city. They also threatened those with death who should even throw out a hint of a surrender.

The Jews and Romans were treated by Titus.

The Romans were no sooner got into the town, than the Jews annoyed them by divers means, such as blocking up the narrow passes, galling them from the tops of the houses, and forcing the guards, by sallies from the walls, to quit their towers, and retire to the camp. Never was greater confusion and outcry than betwixt the soldiers within the town in the midst of their enemies, and those without the town for fear of their companions within. The Jews, being more numerous, and better acquainted with the bye-ways and secret passes, than the Romans, had the advantage of them in their encounter; and the breaches not being wide enough to march out many a breast, they were so hampered in the crowd, that they would have been cut to pieces, if Titus had not come to their relief. By posting a body of archers at the end of every street, and taking place himself where there was most danger, with Domitius Sabinus for his second, (a man eminent for his valour,) they held the Jews in play

with their darts and lances, till they brought off their men under cover of that diversion. Thus were the Romans, after gaining the second wall, again repulsed.

The resolute part of the citizens flattered themselves into an opinion, upon their success, that the Romans would never venture into the city again, and that if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered. But these devoted objects seem to have been judicially infatuated, or they would have considered, that the Romans, whom they had lately worsted, bore no comparison, in point of numbers, to those with whom they had to encounter; nor did they foresee the dreadful famine that approached. They had hitherto rioted on the public, and drank, as it were, the very blood of the city. Many excellent members of society fell into extreme necessity, and not a few died even of famine itself. But the loss of men of candour and moderation afforded joy to the factious, who only wished such to survive as were for carrying on the ruinous war with the Romans. The rest they looked upon as an useless burthen, so averse were they to their own real interest.

Famine more calamitous.

The Romans made another attempt to recover the wall which they had failed in before, and for three days, without intermission, plied the assault, attack upon attack, and were as valiantly repulsed: but, on the fourth day, Titus gave so furious a charge, that they could resist no longer, and by that means got possession of the wall, demolished the northern part of it, and immediately placed garrisons in all the towers to the southward.

Titus carries the second wall after an assault of three days.

C H A P. XI.

Titus prepares for the prosecution of the war. Tries the effect of advice and argument with the Jews. Deputes Josephus to reason and remonstrate with his countrymen on the blessings of peace and miseries of war, as deducible from the history of their own nation. His generous resignation for the good of his country. The Jews accessory to their own destruction.

A RESOLUTION was taken by Titus to relax the siege for a short time, and afford the factious an interval for consideration, in order to try whether the demolition of their second wall would not render them more compliant, or whether they were not fearful of a famine, as the booty they had obtained by rapine would not long suffice them. Upon a day of general muster, he commanded his troops to be drawn up, and paid in sight of the enemy; the foot advancing with their swords drawn, and the cavalry with their horses elegantly caparisoned. No sight could be so grateful to the Romans, or so tremendous to the Jews, who were assembled in multitudes upon the old wall on the north-side of the town. The houses were crowded, and the whole city covered with people, gazing at this pompous display of the power and greatness of the Romans. A consternation seized the boldest of the Jews, and would probably have brought them over to the Romans, had not a consciousness of their provocations and affronts worked them up to a despair of pardon. Assured, therefore, that immediate death would follow surrender, they rather chose to fall in the contest; but it seems to have been so ordered by the great ruling power, that the innocent should fall with the guilty, and the city itself with the faction.

The siege intermitted.

A general muster of the Roman troops.

When Titus had passed four days in mustering and paying his army, without any act of hostility, but found no disposition in the Jews towards peace, he divided his legions, and began to raise banks at the fortrefs of Antonia, near John's monument, in order to gain the upper town from that quarter, and make himself master of the temple from Antonia; for he knew that, without taking the fort, the city was

The siege renewed.

was not to be maintained. At each of these parts he raised banks, each legion raising one. Those that worked at John's monument were annoyed, and, in some degree, obstructed by the Idumæans and Simon's party, who made occasional sallies upon them; while John's faction, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the same to them that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews had the advantage of the Romans, not only as they stood upon higher ground, but, through constant practice, had attained a perfect knowledge of the use of the engines. They had three hundred engines for darts, and forty for stones, by which means they greatly annoyed the Romans, and impeded their design of raising the banks.

Titus, however, assured that the city, whether saved or destroyed, would eventually fall into his hands, not only prosecuted the siege with vigour, but tried again the effect of advice and persuasion to bring the Jews over to reason and reflection. Being sensible that exhortation is sometimes more prevalent than force, he counselled them to surrender the city, in a manner already taken, and thereby save themselves; and sent Josephus to address them in their own language, imagining that they might yield to the arguments and remonstrances of their countryman.

Josephus, pursuant to commission from the noble and generous Roman, went round about the wall, and finding a place secure from weapons, and convenient for hearing, delivered himself in words to the following purport:

Exhortation
of Josephus
to the Jews.

"I am now to beseech you, my dear friends, as you love your lives and liberties, your city, your temple and your country, let your tenderness appear upon this occasion, and learn to be merciful to yourselves from your very enemies. The Romans, you see, have so great a veneration for holy things, that they make conscience of laying violent hands upon any thing that is sacred, and without pretending to any part or interest in the communion; whereas, instead of defending the religion you were brought up in, you are engaged here in a direct conspiracy to suppress it. Do you not see that your strength is all beaten down already, your weakness exposed, your walls defenceless, and that, in this condition, it is morally impossible for you to hold out any longer against so formidable a power? Neither is it a new thing (in case of the worst) for the Jews to be subject to the Romans. It is truly a glorious cause when liberty is the question, provided it be early enough, and before that liberty is either forfeited or lost; but for people to talk of shaking off the yoke, after they have once submitted to it, and continued in that obedience till they became slaves by prescription, is not the way to live free, but rather to die with infamy. It would be a scandalous bondage, indeed, to serve a master that a man of honour would be ashamed to own; but it is another case to be subject to a people that have the whole world at their feet. As where is that spot in the universe that has escaped the dominion of the Romans, saving only where extreme heats or colds have rendered the places intolerable and useless. Fortune is effectually gone over to them; and the Great Disposer of Empires himself hath, in his providence, at present made Italy the seat of the universal monarch. Beside that, it is according to the sovereign law of nature, that governs in beasts, as well as in men, to give way to the stronger, and submit quietly to the sword. It was this that made your ancestors, though, in power and politics, much your superiors, pay allegiance to the Romans; which they would never have done, if they had not been thoroughly convinced that it was God's will to have it so. But to what end is it for you now to dispute a point any longer that is the same as lost already? For if the walls were yet entire, and the siege raised, famine alone would do the work. It has begun with the multitude, and the soldiers turn will be next, and every day still worse than the other: for the calamity is insuperable, and

"there is no fence against hunger. Wherefore you would do well to bethink yourselves in time, and to take wholesome advice before it be too late. The Romans are naturally a generous enemy, ready to forgive and forget all that is past, provided you do not carry on the affront to an unpardonable extremity. They are not a people to sacrifice their interest to their revenge, and to charge themselves with the incumbrance of a depopulated city, and a desolated province, but rather for receiving you with open arms into their friendship. But if ever you come to be taken by storm, you must expect to be put to the sword every man; those especially that, in defiance of the emperor's grace and mercy, shall continue obstinate to the last. As for your third wall, what have you to look for from it, but the fate of the other two that are gone before? Or what if your works were absolutely impregnable? the very want of bread, as I have before observed, would do the office of the sword."

This exhortation had so little effect upon the obstinate contumacious Jews, that they not only derided and reproached the speaker, but discharged weapons at him from the wall. Desirous, however, from a principle of genuine patriotism, if possible, to avert their impending destruction, he proceeded thus to expatiate on many historical facts, that he might terrify, if he could not persuade.

"Ah miserable and ungrateful wretches, to forget your best friends, and encounter the Romans with common weapons, as if the victories you have formerly obtained had been the effect of your own wisdom and virtue! Can you say that the Great Creator of heaven and earth ever failed of protecting the Jews when they were oppressed? Will you never be wiser? Do but consider whence you come, where you are, what you are doing, and how glorious a Protector it is that you provoke by these outrages. Do you not call to mind the divine exploits of your illustrious ancestors, and the wonderful deliverances that God hath wrought for them by the sacredness of this holy place? It gives me horror to think of exposing the history of God's miraculous dispensations to a people so unworthy of the blessing; but yet, upon this occasion, I shall dispense with that scruple, to shew you that the war you are now engaged in, is not so much against the Romans as against God himself.

Josephus
turns or ex-
horts the
Jews.

"Pharaoh Necho, king of Ægypt, carried away, with a mighty army, Sarah, the queen and mother of us all. You would have thought, perhaps, that Abraham, the husband of Sarah, and our common father, having, at that time, the command of three hundred and eighteen lieutenants, and troops innumerable under them, should have attempted the righting of himself by arms: but he chose rather to lie quiet; and offered up his prayers towards this holy place, which you have polluted, to implore God's assistance. What came of it, but the king's sending the queen back again untouched to her husband, the second night after she was taken away; the Ægyptian, in the mean while, contracting a veneration for the place, which you have defiled with the blood of your countrymen, till, in the end, finding himself haunted with frightful dreams and visions, he posted back again to his own country; but first scattered large donations of gold and silver among the people, in token of the reverence he had for a nation so much in God's favour.

"What shall I say of our predecessors transporting themselves into Ægypt, their four hundred years bondage under a foreign tyranny, and their submitting with patience and resignation to God's good pleasure, even at a time when they were strong enough to have redeemed themselves by force? If I should tell you now how the Ægyptians were infested with serpents, and tainted with all manner of diseases; how the fruits of the earth were blasted, the Nile corrupted, and ten
"plague"

“ plagues succeeded one another, it would be no more than what every body knows : but those of our ancestors that God had designed to the priesthood, were conducted out safe and sound, without either blood or danger, under the guard of a special Providence.

“ So when the Assyrians forced away from us the holy ark, how did Palestine, Dagon, and the whole nation fare that was concerned in the seizure of it ? their bowels became putrid, and their pain intolerable ; inasmuch that their bowels and blood came away together. What was the end of it, but the bringing of the ark back again to us with the sound of musical instruments, and with the same sacrilegious hands that took it away, to expiate, in some degree, for the wickedness ? This was the work of God himself in favour of our ancestors, for casting themselves entirely upon his Providence and mercy, without having any recourse to common means.

“ What became of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, and that prodigious army of his, when he sat down before this place with the whole strength of Asia at his command ? Was he cut off by the arm of flesh, or any human power ? No. But when the Hebrews were quietly at their prayers, the angel of God confounded in one night that mighty army ; and the Assyrian found 185,000 of his men dead upon the place next morning, and the rest flying in consternation from the unarmed Hebrews that had no thoughts of pursuing them.

“ You know likewise that our people were seventy years captive in Babylon, without making any attempt towards the recovery of their liberty, till God put it in the heart of Cyrus to discharge them, and dismiss them to their own country, where they began to offer sacrifices again to God, as their only deliverer and preserver. To be brief, what great thing did our forefathers ever bring to pass, either with arms or without, but by God’s particular direction and assistance in the execution of his orders ? If they stayed at home, they were victorious without fighting ; it being God’s pleasure that it should be so : and when they fought in confidence of their own strength, they never succeeded. For instance, when the king of Babylon laid siege to this city, our king Zedekiah gave him battle, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah ; what was the event, but the routing of his army, the taking of Zedekiah prisoner, and the destruction both of city and temple before his face ? Do but observe the difference now betwixt the moderation of that prince and people, and yours. The prophet told them plainly, that they were fallen under God’s displeasure for their wickedness ; and that, if they did not deliver up the city, it should be forced from them by assault ; yet for all this foreboding, neither prince, or people, offered him any violence. To say nothing of what passes within your walls, (an iniquity, in truth, not to be expressed,) I shall only take notice how barbarously I myself have been treated by you both in words and actions ; and what is my crime, I beseech you, but the honest liberty of telling you your faults, and advising you for the best ?

“ It was much the same case too, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, laid siege to this city. Our forefathers, having by many ways incurred God’s high displeasure, pressed the enemy to a battle, without waiting for his Divine direction and assistance : the Jews were totally defeated, the town taken and pillaged, and the sanctuary, for three years and six months, wholly abandoned. In few words, what was it but the contumacy of our own people that first irritated the Romans against the Jews ? Whence are we to date our slavery but from our own seditious countrymen ; when the two factions of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, in an ambitious heat of competition, brought Pompey into the city, and made the Jews,

No, 37.

“ that were unworthy of liberty, slaves to the Romans ? When they had held it out three months, they surrendered the place, though in a much better condition to defend it than you are, and infinitely short of what you are to account for to the laws and religion of our country. We all know what was the end of Antigonius, the son of Aristobulus ; in whose reign the Jews were punished with another judicial captivity for the sins of the people. Did not Herod likewise besiege Jerusalem with the assistance of Sosius, a Roman general, and at the head of a Roman army ? After six months the town was reduced, and rifled by the enemy, as a just judgment upon the party for their iniquities.

“ Enough has been said to shew that this way of arms and sieges hath ever been fatal to our brethren ; and that the end of such a war would be certain ruin. Therefore it seems reasonable to me, that those, who are in possession of this holy place, should entirely submit themselves to the conduct of God’s providence ; who will never be wanting to them that serve him, and keep his commandments. But you lead lives in direct opposition to his holy will, leaving undone what you are commanded to do, and doing what you are forbidden. How much have you more to answer for, than those that you have seen taken off by a vindictive justice in the career of their wickedness ? As for the secret sins of theft, fraud, treachery, and adultery, you look upon them as trifles. But you value yourselves upon oppression, murder, and other sins of the first magnitude, that were hardly ever heard of. Nay, you have made the holy temple itself the scene of your wickedness ; a place so sacred, that the Romans themselves have a veneration for it, notwithstanding the inconsistencies of their religion : yet this place, that the very Romans have so great a reverence for, is polluted and blasphemed by those who have been trained up to the temple worship. With what face now can you pretend to expect assistance from a power that you have so daringly provoked ? But taking it for granted that you are just, humble, and righteous, and your hands as clean as our king’s were when he stretched them out to implore succour from heaven against the Assyrian, and when the return of his prayer was, the next night, the utter ruin of the enemies army, if you will have it that the Romans behave themselves as the Assyrians did, you may expect that God will deal with them after the like manner. But this is quite the reverse ; for the Assyrian compounded for a sum of money to save the city, and then broke his oath, and set fire to the temple : whereas the Romans only demand a yearly tribute ; and no more either than what had been paid them formerly time out of mind. Let this be made good to them, and the temple and city have nothing to fear : you shall enjoy your families, your liberties, and your estates, with the free exercise of your religion, and under the regulation of your own laws. You must be frantic to imagine that God will treat tyrants and murderers, and men of moderation and justice, alike, especially when punishment and vengeance are but the work of a moment to the Almighty.

“ The Assyrians, you see, were destroyed the first night they came before the town ; and if it had been the will of God to set the one free, and to chastise the other, he would have poured down his wrath upon the Romans as he did upon the Assyrians ; either when Pompey first forced Jerusalem, or Sosius after him ; or when Vespasian harassed Galilee ; or now, at last, upon the attack of Titus. But neither Pompey or Sosius met with any signal opposition from heaven ; and they both succeeded in their enterprizes upon the place. As for Vespasian, he advanced himself to the empire upon the credit of the war he made upon us. And what do you think of (almost) a miracle, wrought in favour of Titus ? Siloam, you know, and other fountains without the city,

5 R.

“ were

“ were drawn so low before Titus came hither, that
 “ water was hardly to be got for money; but since
 “ his arrival here, the springs are grown so quick
 “ again, that there is sufficient for the Romans for
 “ all manner of purposes; and not only for them-
 “ selves and their cattle, but for the gardens too.
 “ The same thing happened at the time when the
 “ king of Babylon, before-mentioned, marched up
 “ to Jerusalem with his army, took the town and
 “ city, and laid them both in ashes. This prodigy
 “ was the forerunner of that ruin and conflagration.
 “ Not that I take the wickedness of those days to
 “ have been comparable to that of the present age;
 “ but it looks as if God had abandoned his own
 “ house and people in favour of the enemy. Make
 “ it the case now of the master of the house, with a
 “ vicious and debauched family. If he be a virtu-
 “ ous man he will shift his quarter, and never en-
 “ dure to be under the roof with that sort of people.
 “ How can you imagine then that God will coun-
 “ tenance your abominations? An all-seeing God,
 “ that searches your inmost souls, and reads your
 “ thoughts in their very conception? But, alas! you
 “ have no reserves, but make your very enemies
 “ confidants of all you do. You live in a kind of
 “ competition who shall be most abominable, and
 “ value yourselves upon an ostentation of wicked-
 “ nefs.”

“ God is not inexorable to those that confess their
 “ misdoings, and truly repent; which is the course
 “ that you must take, if ever you hope for mercy.
 “ Wherefore cast away your arms; let your hearts
 “ bleed for the judgments you have brought upon
 “ your country. Do but look well about you, and
 “ consider the beauty of the place, the glory of the
 “ city, and the majesty of the temple, that you are
 “ now about to betray, with the inestimable mass
 “ of treasure that is there deposited, in donations
 “ and oblations from all quarters. Can any man
 “ have the heart to think of exposing those magni-
 “ ficent curiosities to fire and pillage? or of seeing
 “ those excellencies destroyed, which, of all things
 “ under the sun, are best worth preserving? If
 “ you were not harder, and more insensible, than
 “ stones, this reflection would move you: or, if
 “ nothing else will work upon you, bethink your-
 “ selves of your parents, your wives, your chil-
 “ dren, and your families, that are at this instant
 “ upon the brink of perishing, either by famine or
 “ the sword. It will be said perhaps, because I
 “ have a wife of my own, a mother and a family,
 “ (of some credit formerly) concerned in the com-
 “ mon hazard, that it is for their sakes, and my own
 “ interest, that I give this counsel; but if either the
 “ sacrificing of their lives, or mine, or both, may
 “ conduce to your safety, I am ready to deliver up
 “ all, upon condition that you will be wiser and
 “ honest after my death.”

The people
are for go-
ing over to
the Romans

This recapitulation of historical events was heard
 by the factions with the same unfeeling disregard as
 the preceding exhortation; but the multitude were
 disposed to desert to the Romans. Accordingly,
 some of them sold what they had, and even their
 most valuable effects, which they had treasured up,
 for a trifling consideration, and swallowed down
 pieces of gold, for fear of being robbed in their
 way, by which they supplied themselves with neces-
 saries when they got over to the Romans. Titus
 gave many of them free liberty to go whithersoever
 they would, which was a great inducement to them
 to desert, as they were thereby not only freed from
 the miseries they endured in the city, but also from
 slavery to the Romans. John and Simon, with
 their factions, however, as carefully watched their
 exit as they did the entrance of the Romans, and
 death was the immediate consequence of the least
 shadow of a suspicion.

The mis-
eries of the
Jews daily
increase.

The rage of faction, and the pinch of famine, in-
 creased daily. No man appeared publicly: the plun-
 derers searched private houses, and, if they found any
 corn, abused the tenants for denying them what they
 had: if they found none, they abused them the

more, from a supposition that they had concealed
 it. The indication, whether they had any or not,
 was taken from the bodily state of these miserable
 wretches. If they were in good case, they supposed
 they were in no want of food; if wasted, they went
 off without further search. Nor did they think it
 necessary to put such to death, as they would soon
 die of themselves with famine. Many, indeed, sold
 what they had for one measure, that is, of wheat, if
 the richer sort; but of barley, if the poorer. When
 they had so done, they shut themselves up in the
 most retired part of their houses, and eat what they
 purchased; some without grinding, through extre-
 mity of want; and others making bread of it, as ne-
 cessity or fear dictated to them. A table was no
 where spread for a regular meal; but they snatched
 the bread out of the fire half baked, and devoured
 it most greedily.

A more shocking spectacle never presented itself
 to human view, where the stronger had more than
 sufficient, and the weaker were bemoaning absolute
 want: starving being certainly of all deaths the most
 deplorable, as it takes away all sense of shame, ten-
 derness, and respect. Wives tore the meat from the
 mouths of their husbands; children did the like by
 their parents; and, what was yet more barbarous,
 mothers by their infants, taking from them, as they
 lay languishing in their arms, the very last support
 of life. Nor could this be done so privately but
 some one was still at hand to take away that from
 them which they had taken from others. Wherever
 they saw a house shut up, they concluded there was
 food within, and therefore broke open the door, ran
 in, and took the meat from them by force, as they
 were rapaciously devouring it. They had mercy for
 neither age or sex; but beat the old men who offer-
 ed to defend what provision they had got; and
 dragged the women by the hair for endeavouring
 to conceal the least trifle. Nor did sucking infants
 escape their fury, but were torn from the breast,
 and dashed against the ground; so that children
 and grey hairs had the same quarter. But, if pos-
 sible, they were more barbarously cruel to those
 that prevented their coming in, and had actually
 swallowed down what they were going to seize up-
 on, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their
 right. They also invented dreadful torments to
 discover where any food was; and a man was for-
 ced to bear what is too horrid to relate, in order to
 make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread,
 or that he might discover an handful of barley that
 was concealed. All these cruelties were perpetrated,
 not from the compulsion of hunger, which had
 been some degree of palliation, but merely to keep
 their savage practices in exercise, as rapine and mur-
 der were the very soul of their existence.

This was the treatment the common people suf-
 fered from these tyrannical guards; but persons of
 dignity and opulence were carried before the usurp-
 ers themselves. Some of them were put to death
 for treason, and a design of betraying the city to the
 Romans, upon the testimony of false witnesses; and
 this was sure to be one of the articles, that they had
 an intention of going over to the enemy. Those
 whom Simon had pillaged were carried to John, as
 John's prisoners were to Simon, as if they had been
 carousing together, and sharing the prey between
 them. The contention was who should be upper-
 most, though they were perfectly well agreed in the
 methods of their tyranny and usurpation. They
 divided the spoil they took; and it was deemed an
 unpardonable crime in every one to deprive his
 companion of his moiety, as it was his just claim
 according to contract.

It would be needless to recount the iniquities of
 these miscreants, or the miseries of our nation at
 this time: to be brief, therefore, I am persuaded
 there never was so wretched a city and people upon
 the face of the earth. In order to palliate their in-
 humanity to strangers, they reviled the very name of
 the Hebrews, and confessed themselves, as in truth
 they were, slaves and vagabonds. At length they
 laid the city in ashes; nay, the very burning was, in
 effect

effect, their own act, as they forced Titus, against his inclination, upon these extremities. As the upper town was in flames, the Romans indicated a generous compassion; but not a sigh was heard, or a tear seen, amongst the hardened Jews.

C H A P. XII.

The Jews are crucified before the walls of the city. Instances of their malice and resolution. The Romans raise four mighty works in seventeen days. The Jews set fire to the bulwark. The Romans are driven from their works, and their batteries destroyed. A sharp encounter upon mounting the engines. Titus begins to despair of carrying his point.

THE banks were now far advanced, notwithstanding the Roman soldiers had been much annoyed from the walls. Titus then sent out a party of horse, and ordered them to lay in ambush for those Jews who went abroad for provisions. The greater part of these were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were in for their relations; nor durst they take their families with them for fear of a discovery. Hunger had rendered them desperate, so that they went out, and fell into the ambush of the enemy. When they found themselves hampered, they were compelled by necessity to fight, through fear of some punishment worse than death itself: besides, it was now too late to think of suing for mercy. In fine, they were overpowered; and, after being exposed to all manner of torture, they were crucified in sight of the besieged. Titus was not gratified by these rigorous proceedings; but he did not think it safe either to discharge so many obstinate prisoners, whom he had now at mercy, or spare men enough to look after them from the service of the army. He likewise entertained hopes that the terror of such examples might move them to bethink themselves, lest it should come to be their own case. They were all crucified, but in several ways and postures: some to express rage, others hatred, and others contempt and mockery. The number of unhappy persons thus put to death was so great that room was wanting for the crosses.

So far was the horror of this dreadful scene from softening the faction, that it produced a contrary effect. The friends and relations of the fugitives, and those who had but the least inclination to peace, were dragged out to the walls, in order to shew them what they had to trust to that went over to the Romans, while they endeavoured to persuade them that the men they saw in chains were not prisoners of war, but deserters that sued for mercy. This device kept many from going off till the truth came to be known; though some immediately escaped to the enemy to avoid starving, which, on a comparative view, appeared much the more miserable death of the two.

Titus, upon this, caused several of his prisoners hands to be cut off, and sent away to John and Simon in such a plight, advising them, at the same time, to put an end to the war, without forcing him upon the destruction of the city; as it was not yet too late, upon a seasonable submission, to preserve their lives, their country, and the temple. Titus, however, at the same time advanced his works, quickening and encouraging them, being resolved very suddenly to follow those works with effect, and gain his point by force, if he could not compass it by reason and persuasion.

The factious Jews, notwithstanding their desperate situation, cast out curses from the walls against both Vespasian and Titus; declared, one and all, their contempt of death; and how much dearer their liberties were to them than their lives. They had the hardiness to add, that, provided they could plague the Romans, they cared not what became either of themselves or their country, which Titus assured them were in danger of perishing. As to their tem-

ple, they looked upon the world to be a much more magnificent structure; but made no doubt of its being preserved by him that inhabited therein, in despite of all the threatenings of the enemy.

Antiochus Epiphanes, in the mean time, came up with a train of armed troops; one company of which was composed of men in the prime of life, accoutred and disciplined after the Macedonian manner, from whence they took the name of Macedonians.

Arrival of Antiochus Epiphanes from Comagena.

Of all the princes that were ever subject to the Roman empire, the king of Comagena was undoubtedly the most prosperous and successful for the former part of his life; but, in his latter days, his fortune forsook him, and verified the old adage, "That no man can be pronounced happy before death." He had a son of a martial enterprising spirit; robust, firm, and daring to the utmost degree of rashness. This son observed, upon a certain occasion, that he wondered the Romans stood trilling before the walls, and did not push the attack with vigour. Titus replied, that the way was open; and had no sooner uttered these words, than Antiochus led up his Macedonians to the assault, and gave proof both of his valour and conduct in the action. But his select company were almost all killed or wounded. Having boasted before of the feats they would perform, they could not in honour recede. From this it was evident that Macedonian courage would never conquer without Alexander's fortune: so that they were forced to give up the attempt, and bring off the remainder of the men as they could.

The Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, and finished them on the twenty-ninth, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days; for there were now raised four great banks. There was one at the fortress of Antonia, raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of the Struthian pool. There was another, cast up by the twelfth legion, within twenty cubits of the former. The tenth legion, which was more considerable than the other two, threw up another work to the north, opposite the pool called Amygdalon; and at thirty cubits from the last was another, raised by the fifteenth legion, not far from the monument of John, the high-priest.

The Romans finish their banks in 17 days.

These works were no sooner finished than John caused a mine to be wrought under that which looked towards Antonia, and several wooden props to be set up along the trench to keep the weight of the earth above from falling, plastering the wood-work with a bituminous matter that would take flames immediately. John had now no more to do than to set fire to the pillars, which, when the props were gone, brought down the whole bulwark with a most hideous noise. There was no fire to be seen at first, but only a smothering dust and smoke, till the flame burst through all opposition, and shewed itself. This was such a surprize to the Romans, that they were much embarrassed as to their future proceedings, especially as it would answer no purpose to quench the fire when the ramparts were gone.

John contrives a method of destroying the bulwarks.

Two days after this, Simon and his party, made an attempt to destroy the other banks, where the Romans had planted their engines, and began to play. There was one Jephthæus, of Galilee, Megassar, a domestic of queen Mariamne, and one of Adiabena, the son of Nabataeus, who, from an accident, was called Agiras, which signifies, lame. These three, with torches in their hands, flew directly to the machines, and breaking through the enemies troops with no more concern than if they had been among their friends, set fire to them, and, in despite of all opposition with darts and arrows; pursued their design till the engines were all in a flame. These were reputed three of the bravest men that appeared in that war.

The Jews attempt to destroy the Roman engines.

Upon the mounting of the fire, the Romans dispatched a detachment from the camp to the relief of their companions; but the Jews, in the mean time, poured their shot upon them from the walls, and, without any regard to their own lives or persons, fought it out hand to hand with those that were endeavouring

The Romans are drawn from their works, and their batteries destroyed.

deavouring to put a stop to the fire. The Romans did all they could to save their engines, the covers of them being consumed already. The Jews ventured into the very flames to hinder them, and would not let go their hold, though the iron-work was burning hot. The fire passed from thence to the ramparts, nor could it be prevented. The Romans at length, finding themselves encompassed with flames, and no hopes left of saving the works, withdrew into their camp. The Jews had so many reinforcements out of the city, that the increase of their numbers rendered them more and more pressing and inconsiderate; insomuch, that, in the heat of their success, they advanced to the very camp itself, and attacked the guards.

The office of these guards, according to the rule of the Roman discipline, was to do duty by turns, and relieve one another; and not a man, upon pain of death, without mercy, to quit his post under any pretence whatsoever. These people, having this charge before-hand, either to fall like men of honour, or suffer an infamous death as deserters, made a gallant resistance, and brought several of those back again, who, betwixt shame and necessity, had abandoned their stations, and, with their engines, put a stop to the excursions of the Jews from the city. They made their sallies without any guard of defence for their own security, encountering all they met at a venture, and casting themselves as frantic upon the enemies pikes. It must be confessed that the Jews gained more upon the Romans by a rashness and fool-hardiness than by real courage; and that the Romans, on the other hand, gave way rather to the outrageous boldness of the Jews, than any apprehension of mischief they could do them.

A sharp encounter on the dismounting of the engines.

Titus, at his return from Antonia, where he had been to find out a commodious spot for advancing his attacks, severely reprimanded the soldiers for suffering themselves, after gaining the enemies works, to be distressed in their own, and, in a manner, besieged by those that were no better than prisoners themselves. Upon this, with some of his choice troops, he surrounded the Jews, and charged them in the flank, while they, on the other side, maintained their ground with amazing intrepidity. This encounter raised such a dust and clamour, that there was nothing to be seen or heard distinctly, nor friend or foe to be known asunder. Neither were the Jews thus obstinate out of any confidence in their own strength, but out of despair of safety; while the Romans were so enraged on the other side, betwixt the punctilio of military honour, and the regard they had for the person of their general, which was then in danger, that, if the Jews had not retired into the town just as they did, they had undoubtedly been all cut to pieces. But the Romans were greatly chagrined at the loss of their bulwarks, and to find it the work of but one hour to destroy what had cost so much labour and time in raising. This disappointment, together with the dismounting of their engines, caused them to despair of gaining the place.

C H A P. XIII.

Titus calls a council of war. The result of their deliberations. A wall is built round Jerusalem in three days by the Roman army.

Titus deliberates on his future operations.

Various opinions of the council.

IN this situation of affairs Titus called a council of his great officers, to give their opinion and advice respecting future operations. The most resolute and active were for a general assault, and falling on with the whole army; observing, that hitherto nothing had been done but in skirmishes and parties, and that if once it came to a main action, the Jews would never be able to stand the shock of the very darts and arrows. The cooler, and more considerate, part were for renewing and repairing the ramparts. Others were for having no works at all, and recom-

mended a strict guard to prevent the Jews from bringing provisions into the city, as a famine would do the business of the sword without striking a blow.

Titus, indeed, did not think it honourable to continue inactive at the head of a formidable army; nor was he for fighting with a people so bent upon their own destruction. He pointed out to the council the impracticability of casting up any more banks for want of materials, and the difficulty of encompassing the whole city with his army, on account of its magnitude, situation, and the sallies they had reason to expect from the enemy. For though they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet the Jews, when they found them under the greatest embarrassment, would find out private conveyances, as being well acquainted with all the different avenues; so that carrying provisions by stealth, the siege would be considerably protracted. He confessed his fear, that delay would diminish the honour of the conquest; and therefore gave it as his opinion, that if they aimed at expedition, joined with security, they must run up a wall round the whole city, by which means all excursions would be prevented, and the Jews compelled either to deliver up the place in the extremity of their despair, or, weakened by pinching want, into an incapacity of defending themselves. He added, that this should not hinder him from giving orders for repairing the works, more especially when the situation of things should render it necessary; but that, at the same time, the difficulty of the project respecting the wall should not deter them from undertaking it, as great things were to be brought about by exertion, and the assistance of an Almighty Power.

These arguments prevailing with the council, Titus gave orders to his officers to attend immediately to the erecting this wall, and to enter upon it with a regular distribution of the whole army into their proper stations. The word was no sooner given, than the soldiery seemed transported into a generous emulation of out-doing one another; for, after measuring the ground, and dividing the legions, the same spirit of competition ran through the whole body, insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each tribune his superior officer, and all this in subordination to their noble general, who was so intent on the design, that he surveyed the whole works, by taking his rounds several times every day.

The wall was begun at a place called the camp of the Assyrians, where Titus took up his quarters, and carried forward to the lower Cenopolis, and so by the way of Cedron to the mount of Olives, which was enclosed, on the south, as far as the rock Peristreon, together with a neighbouring hill that overlooks the vale of Siloah. From thence it turned a little to the westward, and so on to the valley of the fountain. It then went on to the sepulchre of Ananus, the high-priest, and so enclosing the mountain where Pompey had formerly encamped, turned again to the northward, and went to a village called Erebinthonicus, took in Herod's monument towards the east, and there joined one end to the other where it was begun.

The compass of this wall was nine and thirty furlongs. Thirteen forts were built on the outside of it, the circumference of each amounting to ten furlongs. That which might have required some months, was completed in three days; so that it might be deemed a work of incredible dispatch. When Titus had encompassed the city with this wall, he posted guards upon it every night under arms. He went the first round himself, Tiberius Alexander went the second, and the commanders of the legions the third. The soldiers and the watch slept by turns, so some or other were still upon the guard in the forts all night.

C H A P. XIV.

A famine amongst the Jews, attended with a great mortality. The Romans make ostentation of their plenty, to reproach the Jews in their extreme necessity. Four ramparts raised at the tower of Antonia larger than the former.

THE Jews, by the raising of this wall, were not only cut off from all hopes of escape, but driven to the utmost degree of despair by a most outrageous famine, that swept away whole families. The houses were strewed with carcases of women and children, and the narrow lanes with the bodies of old men that lay dead there; while the younger part of the inhabitants wandered about like shadows, being wholly emaciated through hunger. There was no burying the dead. Some wanted strength to perform the office, others wanted will, as being discouraged partly by the great number of them, and partly by an apprehension that their own turn might be next. Some expired in the very act of burying others; and some hastened away to the grave before their time, to ensure a resting place while they were yet living. Yet, in the extremity of all this misery, there was not heard so much as a groan or an outcry, as all other passions were stifled in the pain of a tormenting hunger. Those that were ready to expire stood gazing, with dry eyes and ghastly looks, upon such as were gone to rest before them. The city was wrapt in profound silence, and enveloped in a kind of deadly gloom. But the most deplorable part of the calamity was the insolence and brutality of robbers, who broke into houses, put to death all they met with, stripped them, and made wanton sport with their naked bodies. If any one called for an hand or a sword to dispatch him, the kind office was refused, and the sufferer left to perish by famine. As they came to the point of death, they directed their eyes towards the temple, grieving to the heart that they should leave these miserables among the living, who had so abominably profaned that sacred place.

When the seditious were no longer able to endure the stench of the carcases, they gave orders for their interment at the public charge; but, for want of room to dispose of them, these monsters in inhumanity caused them to be cast down headlong from the walls into the valley, which was so horrid a spectacle, that Titus, upon taking the round of the place, finding the ditches so infected with pestilential vapours, stretched out his hand in an appeal to heaven, that it was against his will to have it so. Such was the miserable state of the city at that time.

While the faction was thus pent up within the walls, and laboured under the complicated calamities of famine and despair, the Romans passed their days in ease and jollity, and were abundantly supplied with provisions from Syria and the neighbouring provinces. Some of them, from an invidious ostentation of their stores, came up to the very walls, to augment the wants on the one side, by exposing the plenty on the other. But all this had no effect upon the insensible hearts of the seditious, insomuch that Titus, in pure compassion to the remainder of a miserable people, resolved to expedite the casting up new works as much as possible. The only difficulty was the providing materials, for the wood near the city was cut down already, so that they were now forced to fetch timber, for a second supply, at ninety furlongs distance from the place; and there were four ramparts erected at the fortrefs of Antonia, larger than the former. Titus lost no time, and rendered his dispatch apparent to the faction; but they went on without remorse, as regardless of themselves as others, and delighting in whatever was derogatory and shocking to human nature.

C H A P. XV.

Simon causes Matthias to be put to the torture, and afterwards to be massacred, by Ananias, upon the bodies
No. 37.

of his three sons. Ananias is put to death, and the father of Josephus made a prisoner. Judas lays a plot to destroy Simon. Simon surprizes the town. Josephus wounded, and reported to be slain. Is rescued by Titus, and recovers. The Jews swallow their gold. Two thousand ripped up in one night. Titus is alarmed at so horrid an outrage. Force of the love of money.

THE tyrant Simon, having first put Matthias to the torture, afterwards put him to death, notwithstanding he got possession of the city through his means. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, a priest in high esteem, and universally beloved by the people. The multitude were distressed by the zealots; and, upon John's joining them, Matthias moved the calling in Simon to their assistance, but without the necessary caution of previous conditions. Simon was no sooner in possession of the town, than he treated Matthias as one of his greatest enemies, and imputed the advice he gave to gross simplicity and oversight. Upon this pretence Matthias was arraigned, and accused of holding correspondence with the Romans; and sentence of death was passed upon the father and his three sons, (the fourth having escaped to the Romans,) without so much as hearing what he had to offer in his own vindication.

Matthias, and his three sons, condemned to die.

The only favour this venerable old man had to desire of Simon, in return for the obligation of letting him into the town, was, that he might die first himself; but the inhuman monster refused that grace, and commanded the father to be executed last, to keep him so much the longer in pain. Matthias, in the conclusion, was put to death upon the bodies of his three sons, and in the sight of the Romans, according to Simon's order to Ananias, the son of Bamadas, the most barbarous of all his party. Nor did he content himself barely with the execution of this detestable sentence, but, in a frolic of insolence and derision, when he was just upon the point of striking the stroke, reviled the old man, by telling him he might now see whether the Romans, to whom he intended to go over, would send him any succour to bring him off. In fine, to consummate the inhumanity, the bodies were all refused burial, by the special command of Simon himself.

The father murdered upon the bodies of his three sons.

Ananias, a priest, the son of Masbalus, nobly descended, and Aristeus, a native of Emmaus, and secretary to the sanhedrim, with fifteen men of rank, were all put to death. The father of Josephus was made prisoner, and proclamation issued that no man should presume to associate with him upon pain of death.

Various slaughters and punishments.

It fell out after this, that Judas, the son of Judas, an officer of Simon, and commander of one of the turrets, feeling for the oppression of a miserable people, and anxious at the same time for his own security, took occasion to address a select party of his most trusty friends upon that subject, to the following purport: "How long shall we crouch under the burthen of this tyranny? or what hope of safety can we have in the service of so merciless a monster? We have sword and famine to encounter; and the Romans, in a manner, in possession of the city. Simon, of all men living, is the vilest and most ungrateful: the Romans, on the other hand, are men of faith and honour; so that we have only to deliver up the walls, and preserve ourselves and our country. Nor has Simon any cause of complaint, unless it be that he will be brought to justice a little sooner than he expected."

Judas lays a plot to destroy Simon.

The friends of Judas being prevailed on by these arguments, he sent the rest of those that were under him several ways, to prevent the discovery of his design; and, about the third hour of the day, called out to the Romans from the turret, and gave them to understand the resolution they had taken. Some gave no credit to it; others were for delaying the matter, from an assurance they should get possession of the city in a short time without hazard. But as Titus had just drawn some troops up to the wall,
Simon

Simon at that instant surprized the town, and killing the guard in the sight of the Romans, threw the bodies down the wall.

Josephus wounded, and reported to be slain.

Is rescued by Titus, and recovered.

While Josephus was going round the city, and doing the Jews his best offices, by encouragement and advice, it was his fortune to be wounded by a stone from the battlements, upon which the Jews made a desperate sally, and would have carried him off prisoner, if Titus, at that instant, had not sent a party to his rescue. During this skirmish they bore off Josephus before he was well recovered from the shock of the blow, so that the faction exulted in the hope of his being slain. The rumour passed current through the city; and gave the inhabitants infinite concern for the loss of their mediator and patron amongst the Romans. The tidings of the death of Josephus being brought to his mother in prison, she told her guards she had heard the same, and should never see him more. Upon this occasion the women condoled with her; and she deplored her own misfortune, that, in bearing a son, whom she hoped would have buried the mother, she was now deprived of the power of performing the funeral rites for her son. The report, however, did not long give his mother pain, nor his foes pleasure; for the danger of the wound was quickly over; and, upon returning to his post, he gave the seditious to understand, that they should pay dearly for what they had done, while he exhorted the people to continue their allegiance to the Romans. The sight of Josephus animated his friends as much as it dispirited the faction.

In this extremity several deserters went over to the Romans. Some leapt the wall, and made their escape that way; others got off under colour of pursuing the enemy with stones. But, instead of avoiding one calamity within the town, they fell into a worse without; and the surfeits they contracted by gorging in the Roman camp, were much more mortal than the famine they left at home; for being empty, and puffed up with a dropical distemper, without a prudent restraint on their appetites, they were in danger of bursting. But the most miserable circumstance remains yet to be related.

There was a fugitive surprized, among the Syrians, in the very act of searching for gold that had been swallowed and passed through him. Now the faction put all to the search; and there was such plenty of gold in the city, that as much was now sold (in the Roman camp) for twelve attic drachms, as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered, the Arabians and Syrians ript up two thousand of their bellies, in one night, for their treasure, which was one of the greatest barbarities the Jews ever suffered.

2000 Jews ript up to get the gold that was in their bellies

Titus is incensed at this practice.

Titus was so enraged at the brutality of this action, that he had certainly ordered every man that was concerned in it to be put to death, if the number of the guilty had not been so much greater than that of the slain. Hereupon he called his officers together, both Roman and auxiliaries, and entered into an expostulatory reproof with them on the subject. He asked if it were possible that any Roman soldier could be guilty of so unmanly a cruelty for an uncertain advantage, and not blush at the thought of so infamous a purchase? Turning to the auxiliaries, he demanded, if they thought it reasonable, that the murder and inhumanity of the Syrians and Arabians, in a foreign war, should be imputed to the Romans?

But as some of his own soldiers were supposed to have been guilty of this infamous practice, he threatened death, without mercy, to any man that should presume, in future, to commit such outrages; appointing the legions also, at the same time, to make strict search after all suspected persons, and bring them before him to stand their trial. Avarice, however, overcame all fear of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain appeared to be unconquerable.

Other passions have certain bounds, while that alone is unlimited. When a people are given up to a spirit of reprobation, the ordinary means of security turn to their destruction; so that what Titus so severely prohibited in public, was nevertheless executed upon the Jewish deserters in secret. Their custom was, upon any fugitives coming over, first to make sure that none of the Romans should be within sight, and then dissect them for the execrable booty. This horrid practice at length terrified the Jews from deserting, and kept them from going over any longer to the Romans.

C H A P. XVI.

Instances of John's sacrilege. The race of the Jews is extirpated. Six hundred thousand dead bodies carried out of the city.

WHEN John could no longer plunder the people, he had recourse to sacrilege, appropriating to his own use and service several donations and oblations consecrated for the worship of God in his holy temple; such as cups, dishes, tables, together with the vessels which were presented by Augustus and his empress, who held that sacred place in the highest veneration. But this miscreant, on the contrary, prophaned it, and stripped it, of the very bounties of strangers; encouraging his associates to take all manner of liberty with holy things, and alledging, that it was reasonable those who fought for the temple should live by it. He made no scruple of distributing, among the people, the sacred wine and oil that was reserved in the inner part of the temple for sacrifices; and as John made the distribution, the multitude took their parts of it, drinking and anointing without any difficulty. I cannot relate these circumstances without horror: and I am persuaded that if the Romans had delayed calling these abandoned wretches to account any longer, this city would either have been deluged by water, or swallowed up by an earthquake, or destroyed, like Sodom, by thunder and lightning; the Jews, if possible, being more abandoned; inasmuch, that, for their notorious profligacy, the whole race of them was extirpated. It would, indeed, be endless to recite the several instances of their misery.

Manneus, the son of Lazarus, who had the command of one of the city gates, gave them the following account: that, from the time of the Roman army's encampment before the town (that is from the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, to the first of the month Panemus) there passed through that gate 115,080 dead bodies; and this was no more than what fell to his share to notice by virtue of a commission for that purpose; besides those that were buried by their relations, or, in other words, thrown out of the city; for there was no other mode of burial.

After this, upon the computation of divers men of rank who came over to Titus, there were no less than 600,000 poor people carried out of the gates; besides others innumerable, that, for want of friends to remove their carcases out of the city, were piled in heaps, and shut up in large houses. Wheat, at this time, was estimated at a talent, or medimnus, the bushel; and, since walling up the city so close, they were cut off from all provision, and brought to that pinch of extremity, that they were glad to search the common sewers for sustenance, and to feed upon the most nauseous articles. The very relation of these calamities drew pity from the Romans; but the faction in the city, who saw and felt their sufferings, were wholly insensible that their own rebellious obstinacy had been the cause. They persisted under the fatality of a blind infatuation, that led them into the irreparable ruin of themselves, their city, and their country.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

WARS of the JEWS.

B O O K VII.

C H A P. I.

The Jews proceed to carry on a civil war. Jerusalem and its environs desolated. The Romans are terrified by the Jews, who attempt firing their engines, but fail. The Romans attack the tower of Antonia, which is gallantly defended by the Jews. The Romans fall to mining. Titus harangues his army. Sabinus signalizes himself by his bravery.

THE miseries of Jerusalem daily increased; and the faction became more and more fierce and turbulent, as they became more and more wretched; the famine now preying upon great and small, without distinction. The multitude of carcases, that lay in heaps one upon another, afforded an horrid spectacle, and produced a pestilential stench, which hindered them from making sallies out of the city upon the enemy. But all this excited in them neither terror or pity; so that after destroying one another, they proceeded, in their endeavours, to oppose the Romans, as Providence had deemed them to destruction; for they did not contend so much from any hope they had of victory, as from a degree of rage and despair.

The Romans were greatly distressed for materials to finish their works: however, by means of cutting down all the woods within ninety furlongs of the city, they raised their platforms in the space of one and twenty days. Never was a more dismal reverse of appearance than the present. That spot, which was once deemed a paradise, was now become a desert; and, instead of the most beautiful country upon the face of the earth, for curious gardens and fruitful plantations, not a tree was left standing, or any thing to be seen, but the marks of desolation and ruin; insomuch that strangers could not forbear weeping to see the difference between the former Jerusalem and the present; for war had so defaced its beauty and glory, that it was hardly to be known;

and the place that was once so peculiarly distinguished for its grandeur, was now nothing more than a scene of desolation.

Upon finishing the works, the Jews and Romans were equally solicitous for the event. The Jews were either for destroying them by one decisive effort, or losing the city; and one disappointment on the other hand, would put them out of condition to repair them; for no more wood could possibly be procured, and the soldiers were harrassed out with fatigue of the service. The Romans, however, were more afflicted for the calamity of the city than the Jews themselves, who maintained their resolution in spite of every thing. When the Romans found themselves over-reached by stratagem, their inventions eluded, the wall proof against their engines, and themselves foiled at every manœuvre, their courage failed, especially as they found they had an enemy, that, instead of sinking under the pressure of faction, famine, and war, rather gathered spirit from the opposition. They inferred, from their bravery, in defiance of every disadvantage, that they would achieve wonders if they had fortune on their side. From these considerations the Romans doubled their guards.

John and his party, in the castle of Antonia, did all that could be done, before the engines were mounted, to prevent the danger of a breach. But it was only labour lost; for the design they had of setting fire to the engines was frustrated. In fact, they wanted union and vigour, and so were forced to a retreat. As the Jews fell short of themselves on the one hand, so the Romans exceeded themselves on the other, in planting so strict a guard on the bulwarks, that there was no possibility of doing any execution by fire: besides, they were resolved every man to die upon the spot, rather than submit to so irreparable a mischief, as the losing of that post. Nothing, indeed, could put soldiers more on the mettle, than to see brave men deluded, their courage baffled and injured by an audacious temerity, military discipline and experience confounded by popular outrage, and the Romans, in fine, worsted by the Jews.

The Romans are terrified by the Jews.

The Jews fail in their attempts to fire the engines.

The Jews
reproach
each other.

Jews. While the Jews advanced, the Romans were ready with their darts to encounter them; and the foremost that fell, not only hindered his next man, but the exemplary danger of the one served as a warning for the other. Some of those that pressed upon the enemies weapons, were surprized at the dignity of the Roman order; others at their numbers; and some again marched off with their wounds. At length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing.

The Romans
attack the
tower of
Antonia.

The attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus; and the Jews having now retreated, the Romans advanced with their engines towards Antonia, in defiance of all they were able to do by fire, swords, stones, and all other implements of hostility. Though the Jews depended much upon the strength of their walls against the battery of the engines, they exerted their utmost efforts to keep the Romans at a distance from fixing them. The inference they drew from this exertion of the Jews was, that they were conscious to themselves, Antonia was in danger, and this apprehension was the cause of it. They continued the battery, and the wall stood hitherto firm; but the Romans fortifying themselves, under the defence of their bucklers, against the weapons from above, they applied themselves to digging and mining; and when, with indefatigable labour, they had loosened four stones under the foundation of the work, they betook themselves, when night drew on, to rest. In this interval that part of the wall which John had undermined for the destruction of the former works, fell down on a sudden. This unexpected accident alarmed both parties. The Jews, who had reason to be troubled at it, especially when they might have foreseen and prevented it, were yet in as high spirits as if Antonia had been still standing; and the joy of the Romans, on the other hand, for an accident that appeared so seasonable, was as quickly dashed upon the sight of another wall, that John had carried up within the former; only the latter seemed to be the least defensible of the two, both as the ruin of the one facilitated the passage to the other, and as the work of the new wall could not yet be so firm and settled as that of Antonia. But no one durst scale it, from a conviction that whoever attempted to scale it must certainly be killed.

Titus now considering that the alacrity of soldiers in military exploits was to be excited by hopes and fair words, and that exhortations and promises frequently cause men to forget the hazards they run, and sometimes to despise death itself, summoned the flower of his army, and thus addressed them:

Address of
Titus to his
soldiers.

"My brave fellow-soldiers, there can be no room for encouragement where there is no danger. Exhortations are more properly for doubtful cases, wherein all brave men will advise themselves. It will be a hard work, I must confess, to master the wall we have here before us; but great souls are given us for great and glorious exploits; and death is desirable, when it is followed with immortal fame for a reward: besides, it shall be my care to reward those that deserve it. In the first place, I would have you think of that for your encouragement, that works a contrary effect upon others. I mean the insuperable patience and constancy of the Jews in the worst of fortunes. What can be more ignominious than for the military Romans, that study war in peace, and are so wont to conquer, that it is almost natural to them to be victorious; for these, I say, to be beaten out of their strength and courage by the Jews; and at the end of the day too, with God's providence most evidently on their side, and the enemy nothing to support them, but the fury of their own extravagant despair? besides, that they suffer daily under the judicial vengeance of God's high displeasure in our favour: witness their factions, famine, siege, and the ruin of their walls, even without battery; which are but so many declarations from heaven against them, to our advantage. It will not become us, therefore, to crouch to our inferiors, and to cast off the Divine protection.

"Shall the Jews, that have been trained up to slavery, and consequently have little or no credit to lose upon that account; shall these people, I say, have the bravery to charge into the middle of the Roman troops, and look death in the face, rather than run a risk of the same condition over again; and all this in a frolic of ostentation and vanity, without the least hope or prospect of success? And shall we, on the other hand, that are effectually the lords and masters of the universe, and in a manner entitled to a right of conquest, shall we, I say, lie still and inactive, without so much as one bold attempt upon our adversaries, waiting only in our arms, till hunger and fortune shall give up the enemy, without any difficulty, into our hands? It is but taking Antonia, and the town is our own. Or, in case we shall meet with any resistance from within, (which I do not expect,) it would not be worth mentioning; for the advantage of the higher ground lays the enemy at our feet, without all hope of recovery. I do not take upon me here to celebrate the history of those heroes, that, having ended their days in the field of battle, yet live in the memory of future ages to perpetuity. As for those worthless wretches that think of going down body and soul into the grave together, I wish them a death suitable to so abject a mind. Since death is inevitable, and that the sword, compared with any disease, is the easier death of the two, how mean and degenerate a cowardice would it be to withdraw the use of a life from the service of the public, which is an indispensable debt to nature, and a man's country?

"This may look, perhaps, as if I took the storming of this wall to be certain death; but resolution is above danger; and he that fears nothing, despairs of nothing. The fall of the first wall has opened a way to the rest; and the second will be easily over-borne, if you do but encourage and support one another: only stand firm, and your very numbers will do the work: and who knows at last, but you may carry your point without blood too? You are to prepare, however, for a vigorous opposition, and to assure yourselves, that upon any advantage, either by stratagem, or by force, they will never be able to withstand us. As for him that first mounts the breach, it shall be my care, whether he lives or dies, to crown him with honours and rewards."

This address of the general cast such a damp upon the soldiers, that only one person was animated by it. His name was Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, one of the guards, and a man eminent both for courage and execution. He had not a military appearance, being short in stature, and of a wan complexion, but possessed a soul capable of valiant enterprises. This man, bowing to Titus, thus addressed him: "I do here tender myself to the general as the first man to give the assault. May the result answer my good will. If I should miscarry in the attempt, I shall have the honour of laying down my life for my master, which renders it indifferent to me whether I live or die."

Upon these words, with his sword drawn in his right hand, and his shield over his head in his left, he advanced towards the wall about the sixth hour of the day, with a train of eleven men, that followed him purely in emulation of his magnanimity. Sabinus, in this action, encountered the enemy's weapons with a resolution more than human; and several of his followers were wounded in the attack: nevertheless, he pressed forward, amidst darts and arrows, till he had well nigh mounted the wall, and forced the Jews to abandon their station for fear of a reinforcement of greater numbers to overpower them. But, alas! an accident frustrated this heroic attempt; for, when this valiant soldier had nearly gained his point, he was unfortunately overborne by the fall of a stone. The noise alarming the Jews, they looked behind, and finding Sabinus lying alone, they all fell upon him with their darts. He defended himself upon his knees, with his buckler over his head,

as long as he could, and avenged himself upon his enemies with his sword, killing some, and wounding others, till, in the end, being able to strike no longer, he breathed his last covered with wounds.

The valour of this man deserved a more propitious fate, though he died as great as he lived. Three of his companions were dashed to pieces with stones from the top of the wall; and the remaining eight were carried off wounded to the camp. This action happened upon the third day of the month Panemus.

CHAP. II.

The Romans march up to Antonia, find the guards sleeping, and slay them. An action attended with great slaughter ensues.

SHORTLY after this, twenty of the Roman vanguard upon the works, the ensign of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter, made a silent march over the ruins up to Antonia, in the dead of the night, without any opposition, and finding the enemy's advance guard fast asleep, slew them, got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpet to sound. Upon this alarm the rest awoke, and fled without waiting to see what numbers had entered the place; but, betwixt fear and fancy, they took it for granted they were very strong.

Titus, upon intelligence of this exploit, put himself at the head of a chosen band, and advanced up to the ruins. The Jews were so startled at this surprise, that some of them made for the inner temple, and others towards the mine that John had wrought to supplant the Roman works: but the two factions of John and Simon giving up all for lost, if the Romans should once get into the temple, there followed a fierce and obstinate contest before the very doors of the place; the one fighting for life, the other for victory. Lances and darts being of no use on either side, the matter in dispute was decided by the sword.

In this confusion they fought at random; the men being intermixed one with another, without order or discipline, by reason of the narrowness of the place; and a medley of outcries prevented their hearing any word of command. The slaughter was great on both sides, and the ground covered with arms and carcases. There was no room either to fly or pursue; but, as they had the better or the worse, they advanced or retired, exulting on the one hand, and lamenting on the other. There was a necessity for the front of both armies either to kill or be killed, for there was no distance left betwixt them for a retreat.

The battle lasted ten hours; that is, from the ninth hour over night to the seventh next morning. The furious obstinacy of the Jews carried it from the resolution and conduct of the Romans; and happily for them it was so, as their last adventure was at stake. But the Romans were content, for the present, with getting possession of the tower of Antonia, with only one part of their army; for the legions upon whom they chiefly depended were not as yet come up.

CHAP. III.

A gallant exploit of one Julian, a centurion. The Romans are shut up in the tower of Antonia. The names of the Jews that signalized themselves in this action.

THERE was in the Roman army one Julian, a native of Bithynia, and a centurion. He was a man as eminent for dauntless resolution and martial skill, as any that had signalized themselves in the course of the war. Standing by Titus at the tower of Antonia, and observing the Romans give way to the Jews, he took an opportunity of leaping on a sudden into the thickest of the enemy, and gave them chase in his single person up to the innermost

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court of the temple. The multitude fled from him in crowds, being, as it were, thunder-struck at such amazing exertion of strength and resolution, which seemed to them to be more than human.

Julian pursued his course; some he overturned; others he overtook, and put to death: nor, indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Titus, or more terrible to his enemies. But this gallant man was at length himself pursued by fate, which, as mortal, he could not escape; for having his shoes shod with iron nails, according to the fashion of other soldiers, as he was running on the pavement near the temple, he slipped, and the Romans, upon the clash of his armour, brake into an outcry, fearing he might have done himself a mischief. The Jews fell upon him at the same time with swords and darts, while he fenced himself with his buckler; but, as he attempted to rise, he was borne down by multitudes. Such were his valour and agility, that, even at his length upon the ground, they had some difficulty to dispatch him, till at last, through loss of blood, and none to succour him, he gave up the ghost.

He is slain.

Titus was deeply affected to see so brave a man made so public and deplorable a spectacle, and especially to find himself under an utter impossibility of saving so valuable a life. There were others, indeed, who might have relieved him, if they had had the courage to attempt it. Julian, in fine, after a long struggle with human frailty, and leaving several of his murderers wounded behind him, departed this life to his immortal honour both with friends and foes. The Jews at last carried off the dead body; and, after giving another check to the Romans, shut them up in the tower of Antonia.

The Romans shut up in Antonia.

The Jews that signalized themselves in this action, were Alexas and Gyptheus, of John's party; and of Simon's faction, Malachias and Judas, the son of Merton; James, the son of Sozas, commander of the Idumæans; and of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jair.

CHAP. IV.

Titus gives orders for the demolition of the tower of Antonia. Provokes John to an engagement. Josephus reasons with the Jews according to commission from Titus. Memorable instance of the piety and prudence of Jeronias. The fate of Jerusalem near at hand. The Jews are punished by the hands of the Romans. The general and whole army of the Romans hold the temple in veneration.

TITUS now resolving to give orders to his soldiers to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, to make a ready passage for his army, called for Josephus, and (being informed that on that day, which was the seventeenth of the month Panemus, the solemnity of their daily sacrifice could not be performed for want of a congregation, and that the people were much troubled at it) sent him a second time upon the same errand. The purport of it was, "that if John was inclined to fight, he might bring what numbers he pleased, and put matters to the decision of a battle, provided only that the city and temple might not be exposed to the common ruin, and that he would cease to prophane the name and worship of the Almighty: or, if he was desirous of reviving the religious services that had been for some time discontinued, he might appoint which of the Jews he pleased to officiate."

Titus clears the way for his army.

Provokes John to an engagement

Josephus, not thinking it sufficient to acquit himself of this commission to John alone, mounted an eminence, and then communicated to the multitude the pleasure of Titus, in the Hebrew language, and in the loudest tone of which he was capable, begging the Jews to have compassion on their country, and prevent the burning of the temple before it was too late, by solemnizing their prayers and sacrifices as formerly. The people kept a melancholy silence upon the occasion; but the tyrant John, after

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ter reviling Josephus with the bitterest invectives, superadded this irony, "That there was no danger of Jerusalem, if it was the city of God." Josephus interrupting him, thus replied:

Josephus, as the interpreter of Titus, beseeches the people to save the city and temple.

"Doubtless you have made conscience of keeping every thing pure and holy, and of paying your duty to that God from whom you pretend to look for help. What would you think of that man, but as the worst of enemies, that should rob you of your daily bread? Yet, at the same time, you make no difficulty of robbing Almighty God of his daily sacrifices and oblations. What is your quarrel with the Romans, but for standing up in defence of your own laws and worship, which you yourself suppress? Never was there so miserable a change in religion and state! Strangers and enemies to do the office of your best friends! and the Jews themselves more cruel than barbarians one to another! As in the instance of Jechonias, king of the Jews, who, when the Babylonians made war upon Jerusalem, quitted the town upon choice before it was taken, and gave up himself, mother, and relations, for hostages, to save the holy city and temple from being laid in ashes. The name and honour of this prince stands upon record to this day, in an anniversary solemnity to the memory of that illustrious action. I cannot recommend you to a more pertinent or reasonable precedent. Let your distress or offence be what it will, my life for yours the Romans will pardon it. Wherefore consider well with yourselves who it is that advises you, what they are to whom I pass this promise, what moves me to it, and in whose name I undertake it. Heaven forbid that I should ever submit to be so mean a slave as to forget what I owe to the place of my nativity, and to the laws of my country. After all this, what do I get for my good-will, but fresh indignities, railings, and injuries? Yet all this is not so bad as I deserve, for endeavouring to preserve a sort of people that fate and Providence are resolved to destroy. What can be clearer than the frequent predictions we meet with in history, pointing at the destruction of this miserable city? and that the time of it is near at hand, when the Jews are tearing out the hearts one of another? This is so far come to pass, that not only the houses, but the temples, are polluted with the blood of your own tribes. What is all this but the divine judgment of God, punishing the Jews by the hands of the Romans, which will probably end in purging the city by fire?"

Josephus was interrupted by an overflow of tears, which caused the Romans to compassionate his affliction, and admire his humanity: but the more he lamented the deplorable state of his country, the more implacable were John and his confederates against the Romans, as well as desirous of getting Josephus into their power. But his address had great influence with the better sort. Many of the faction also, finding the case desperate, and giving up all for lost, would have gone over to the Romans, but durst not stir through fear of their own guards. Others there were who took opportunity of eluding the vigilance of their companions, amongst whom were the high-priests, Joseph and Jesus, the three sons of Ishmael, who was beheaded at Cyrene, four sons of Matthias, and one son of another Matthias, who made his escape to the Romans, after Simon, the son of Gioras, had put the father and three of his sons to death, as before-mentioned. There were many persons of condition that deserted with the priests, who were graciously received by Titus Caesar, but sent away to Gophne for the present, with a promise of large possessions to be distributed amongst them at the end of the war. Titus gave them this assignment apart, to avoid the unbecoming of mixing with people of different manners, laws, and customs; and they were highly pleased with their allotment.

When they were all withdrawn to their colony, and none of them seen any longer in the city, the

faction spread a report, that these deserters were slain by the Romans, to deter the rest from making their escape. This device succeeded once again as before; but Titus, being aware of the design, recalled them from Gophne, and ordered them to take the tour of the walls with Josephus, and shew themselves to the town, which brought over more proselytes to the Romans than ever. As they were assembled upon this occasion, they stood before the Romans; and pressing the faction with importunities and lamentation, intreated them either to receive the Romans into the city, and deliver their country, or otherwise quit the temple, to prevent the firing it, which the Romans would never agree to but upon the last extremity. This rendered the faction more outrageous against the fugitives with their stones, darts, arrows, slings, and engines, which being planted at the very gates, the temple resembled a repository of arms more than a place of religious worship; and the dead bodies lay as thick every where about it as if it had been a common burial ground.

Those sacrilegious wretches rushed into the holy sanctuary with their arms still warm and reeking with the blood of their countrymen: nay, they went to the extremest degree of impiety and prophaneness; while the Romans, to the eternal scandal of the Jews, paid a greater reverence to their rites and ceremonies than they did themselves. There was not a man in the army of Titus who had not a veneration for the temple itself, and the Supreme Being that was there worshipped; and that did not heartily wish for the repentance of the faction, while mercy was yet to be obtained.

Titus was so deeply affected with the state of these wretched people, that he once more endeavoured, by appeal as follows, to bring the faction to reason.

"Tell me, inhuman miscreants! what were all the bars and partitions for about this holy place, with the Latin and Greek inscriptions upon these pillars, forbidding all people, upon a penalty, not to pass this enclosure? Nor have we ourselves been less tender of your privileges, in making it death for any man to pass these bounds, not excepting the Romans themselves. How comes the sanctuary, after this, to be prophaned with assassinations and murders, and the temple defiled with blood, foreign and domestic? I appeal to all the gods of my country, and to the late patron of this holy temple, (who hath now forsaken it,) to my army, to the Jews that have joined with me, and finally to yourselves, that I am innocent of all these abominations: and I do sacredly promise, that if you will but comply in quitting this holy place, no man shall offer it any indignity; for I will preserve and protect your temple."

CHAP. V.

The besieged are still refractory, and Titus proceeds on the war. He forms his party, and posts himself upon Fort Antonia. An attack in the night followed with dismal uproar and confusion. The Romans and Jews contend desperately, till at length it comes to a dramatic battle. Several Jewish officers signalize their valour. Four banks raised. A bloody contest. A wonderful exploit of one Pedanius. The Jews fire the temple galleries. A fantastical challenge of one Jonathan, and the result of it.

TITUS, upon this occasion, had Josephus for his interpreter; but the faction erroneously construed his generous application to them into timidity, and thereupon grew more insolent and outrageous. The noble Roman therefore, finding they had no regard either for the preservation of the temple or themselves, took a resolution, though against his inclination, to prosecute the war. As there

Many of the principal Jews desert to the Romans.

They are courteously received.

was not space sufficient to draw up his whole army, he detached thirty out of every company, with a tribune at the head of every thousand, and appointed Cerealis commander in chief. With this detachment they were to have fallen upon the enemy's guards about the ninth hour of the night, and Titus himself was to have led on the attack. But, upon a council of war, the officers were all of opinion, that it would be more advisable for him to post himself upon Fort Antonia, where he might see and observe how his men acquitted themselves, without running the risk of danger in his own person; beside, that it would inspire his people to display their bravery in the fight of their general.

Titus submitted to the opinion of his officers and friends, and withdrew to a watch-tower on Fort Antonia, where he might see and judge of the whole action; charging his officers, at the same time, to observe minutely who did well or ill, that they might be rewarded or punished accordingly. These matters were no sooner settled, but orders were given, and an hour appointed for the attack. The Romans did not find the guards asleep, as was expected; so that the parties, on the advance of both sides, came presently to action, with a confusion of clamour, which awakening their companions, brought them on in multitudes to second them. The Romans stood the first shock; but the numbers that followed fell indifferently upon their own people, without knowing friend or foe at under; for, betwixt the noise of the uproar, and the darkness of the night, they knew neither voices or faces apart, but following the impulse of a blind rage, fell foul upon whatever came in their way at a venture.

Some Romans, who kept themselves in order under the cover of their bucklers, and knew one another by the word or signal, made a tolerable shift in the scuffle; whereas the Jews were in perpetual confusion, and, by mistaking foes for friends, and friends for foes, destroyed more of their own men than the Romans did. But at break of day, when light revealed their error, they proceeded more regularly, and plied their darts and arrows on both sides with as much vigour as if they had not been engaged in the night. The Romans, who had Titus for the judge, the witness and spectator of their behaviour, looked upon the valour of that day's action as the foundation of their future fortunes, and fought, one and all, with a noble emulation; while the Jews, at the same time, had their lives and their temple at stake, with the tyrant John at the head of them, exhorting some with fair words, and treating others with names or blows. This fight was mostly hand to hand, but with various changes backwards and forwards; for there was scarcely room either on either of parties. Antonia was, in effect, a kind of theatre of war, and Titus and his friends the spectators; calling out to the actors to follow their leaders, at other times to stand their ground, as the occasion required; and nothing passed that escaped their observation.

The contest lasted from the ninth hour of the night to the fifth the next day; both sides maintaining the ground till it came, in the conclusion, to a general battle. Several noble Romans behaved like heroes, and those who signalized themselves amongst the best were the following; Judas, the son of Mercurius; Judas, the son of Jochanan; Jacob, the son of Sela; Eleazar, the son of Cathas; who were Idumæans. On the Jews' party were Cepheus and Alexas; and of the Romans was Simon, the son of Jair.

In the course of seven days the foundations of the temple were thrown up, and a broad way cut for the soldiers to march up to the wall, where they immediately fell to work upon four banks. The first was on the corner of the inner temple, that lay to the north and east; the second against the gallery, to the northward; between the two gates; the third towards the west porch of the outward temple; and the fourth towards the north porch. But the bringing up the materials an hundred furlongs from the place was attended with infinite charge and labour; besides the many surprizes they met with in the way;

for the Romans were too confident and careless, and the Jews rash enough to attempt any thing.

It was the practice of several of the Romans, when they went out to forage, to turn their horses loose to graze; and it was as common for the Jews to fall out upon to find an opportunity, and carry them off. This happened so often, that Titus imputed it, at last, rather to the negligence of the Romans, than the daring efforts of the Jews. Nor did he judge erroneously; for, upon punishing some of the soldiers for the loss of their horses, it secured all the rest, as they were all more wary in future.

When the Romans had raised their banks, and put themselves in a posture to begin their attacks upon the temple, many of the faction was to pressed by famine, on the failure of their ravages, that they assembled in a body, about the eleventh hour of the day, and made an assault upon the Roman guards towards the mount of Olives, in hopes of either taking them unawares, or finding them withdrawn. But the Romans, apprized of their intention in due time, drew out all the strength they were able to make, and put a stop to a most desperate attempt they had projected upon the wall. It came, in fine, to a bloody contest, and both sides achieved wonders; the Romans valuing themselves upon the reputation of their prowess and military conduct, and the Jews vaunting on a fool-hardy and mistaken valour. The one for shame, the other from necessity: for it appeared disgraceful to the Romans to suffer the Jews to escape, as they were now entrapped; and the Jews had no hopes of saving themselves, but by forcing the Romans.

An instance of the fortitude of one Pedanius, a noble Roman, upon this occasion, is worthy of being related. The Jews being routed, and pursued by the besiegers into the valley, this Pedanius pressing full speed after them, overtook a copulent man, heavily armed, spurring on for life. Such were his strength, agility, and skill in the equestrian art, that he took the fugitive Jew off his horse by the leg, and carried him as his prisoner to Titus, who admired the fortitude of the young Roman, but ordered the prisoner to be punished with death, for his attempt against the Roman works; after which he prosecuted his design of besieging the temple, and raising the bank.

The Jews finding themselves every day become more weak, as the war grew more hot, and advanced to the very temple itself, followed the example of men in pestilential distempers, by cutting off the infected parts to save the body. According to this allegory, they began with setting fire to that part of the gallery that, reaching from the north to the east, faced Antonia, where they made a gap of near twenty cubits, and thereby made a beginning of destroying the sanctuary with their own hands.

On the twenty-fourth day of the month Panemus, the Romans put the same gallery in a flame; and when the fire gained fourteen cubits, the Jews took down the roof, and so went on, still cutting off all communication with Antonia. They might have stopped the progress of the flames, had they not deemed their breathing to tend to their own advantage. However, there passed all this time daily skirmishes and encounters, every where about the temple.

There was at this time a man among the Jews, low of stature, mean in appearance, of neither birth or character to claim respect, whose name was Jonathan. This satirical mortal went out to the monument of John, the high-priest, and there in a vain-glorious tone, challenged any man of the whole Roman army to raise him sword in hand. No individual appeared to take him up; some despaired, and others feared him; at last, they were not disposed to encounter with a man in distress, and desirous of death, who parted neither God or man, and where consequently no honour could redound from victory, as a man and a brute could not be supposed to be upon equal terms. When this insolent Jew had waited a considerable time for a companion, despairing upon the cowardice of the Ro-

A resolute encounter at the mount of Olives.

The fortitude of Pedanius.

The Jews set fire to the temple galleries.

One Jonathan, the satirical mortal.

A brilliant battle between the Jews and the Romans.

A drawn battle.

Fort I raised the Romans.

Jonathan
slays Pu-
dens.

mans, one Pudens, of the equestrian order, incensed at his taunts, stood forth, and accepted the challenge. The contempt in which he held the insignificant Jew rendered him rash and careless; so that unfortunately stumbling, Jonathan took the advantage, and slew him when he was down; and then standing on the dead body, brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, triumphing over his antagonist at his feet, and deriding the spectators in the Roman army. While the Jew was in the height of his exultation, Priscus, a centurion, shot him through the heart with an arrow, which laid him dead upon the body of his enemy, and was deemed a just judgment upon him for assuming merit from an action not founded on genuine courage, but intemperate zeal.

C H A P. VI.

An open war betwixt the temple and the banks. The Jews destroy the Romans by a stratagem. Titus compassionate his soldiers. The fortitude of Longus, and craft of Artorius.

A stratagem
of the Jews
pernicious
to the Ro-
mans.

THE faction in the temple now openly endeavoured to beat off the Roman soldiers that were upon the banks; and, on the twenty-seventh of the month aforesaid, the Jews contrived the following stratagem. They filled the roof of the western porch, betwixt the top and the timbers, with a quantity of dry wood, sulphur, and bituminous matter, and then pretending to give way upon an attack, suffered themselves to be beaten out, as if they had not been able to maintain it. Many of the rash and inconsiderate among the Romans followed them close upon the pursuit, and set up ladders to make good what the others had quitted; but the cool and dispassionate among them conceived it to be a stratagem, and remained in their former situation. Upon the Romans crowding into the porch, the Jews set fire to it, and all was immediately in a blaze, to the astonishment of those that were out of the reach of it, and most desperate horror and confusion of the rest. Some plunged themselves into wells and pits, others leaped headlong down the houses; some were smothered in the flames, and others ran upon their swords, to prevent one death by another.

Titus gene-
rally com-
passionates
the fate of
his soldiers.

Titus could not but commiserate those who thus miserably perished, though they rashly ventured upon the attack without orders, and thereby subjected themselves to the penalty of death by their own law, if they escaped it by the stratagem of the enemy. They had this comfort in their distress, that, to balance the loss of their lives, they had the love and pity of their prince for whom they died, as they could see him calling and labouring up and down to do all that was possible for their relief; and every instance of his affection was looked upon as a memorial to his immortal honour. Those who survived the fatal catastrophe were beset by the Jews, and, after a stout resistance, every man of them put to the sword.

The forti-
tude of
Longus, a
Roman.

Many brave men fell in this desperate adventure; but none more valiant than one Longus, who, in justice and honour, cannot be passed over in silence upon so memorable an occasion. This Longus was a Roman, and in the vigour of his youth. The Jews found him a daring and dangerous man, and had no way of cutting him off, unless they could get him down to them, upon honour that he should return safe again without any violence to his person. His brother Cornelius taking notice of this, called out to him on the other hand, adjuring him not to do any thing that either his country or himself should have reason to be ashamed of. Longus upon this drew his sword, and slew himself in the sight of both parties.

Craft of
Artorius.

There was one Artorius that delivered himself from the fire by his subtlety. Being reduced to an extremity, he called out to Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers, solemnly declaring, "that if he would catch him in his arms, and break his fall, he would

make him his heir." Artorius accordingly took his leap; and the other disposing himself to receive him, the weight of the one dashed the other with such violence on the stone pavement, that he immediately expired.

This melancholy accident greatly affected the Romans, but it kept them afterwards more upon their guard against the frauds and stratagems of the Jews, by which they had been most essentially injured, in divers instances.

The porch was burnt as far as the tower that John erected in his war with Simon; and the Jews, after burning of the Romans, brake down the rest. The following day the Romans set fire to the north porch, and carried it before them to that on the east, that overlooks the valley of Cedron from a stupendous precipice. Such was the state of the temple at that time.

C H A P. VII.

A dreadful famine in Jerusalem, with the miseries that attended it.

TO add to the distress which befell a devoted nation, a dreadful famine now raged in Jerusalem, and the miseries that attended it were inconceivable. The city was well nigh depopulated. The bare mention of food was sufficient to create family discord, and dissolve friendship cemented by the dearest ties. Those that were evidently expiring with hunger, could scarcely be believed at the last gasp; and they would search the very bosoms of the dead for bread. If they were disappointed in their expectation, despair hurried them up and down, raging like mad dogs, and staggering like drunken men, ransacking the same houses over and over again. Their hunger was so intolerable, that they gathered and eat such things as the most filthy animals would not touch; nor did they abstain from their girdles, shoes, nor the very leather which belonged to their shields. An handful of old hay was sold for four attics. But why should I point out their dreadful judgment by referring to things inanimate, when I have a personal instance to cite, that cannot be equalled in history, either among the Greeks or Barbarians? As the fact cannot be related or heard without horror, I was inclined to suppress it; but, upon reflection that there were so many living witnesses to confirm it, I hold it my duty to hand it down upon record to posterity.

The ex-
treme of
famine.

C H A P. VIII.

Mary, a woman of rank and quality, is so tormented with hunger, that she eats the flesh of her own infant. Solemn protestation of Titus upon the occasion.

THERE was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, whose name was Mary. Her father was Eleazar, of the village of Bethzab, which signifies the house of hyssop. She was opulent, as well as nobly descended, and had fled to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, where, at this time, she was with them besieged. The tyrant stripped her of her most precious treasure which she had brought out of Perea; and her house was daily broke open and rifled by the soldiers, for either goods or provisions, which she had concealed. In consequence of such outrages, she reviled the faction in the most opprobrious terms, but could not work them up to such a pitch of indignation as to put her to death. When she found herself brought to the last extremity, totally deprived of the means of supporting existence, the pains of a tormenting famine having already seized her, she seems to have given herself up to all the fury of the direst want, and formed the most horrid and unnatural resolution that can either be conceived or expressed.

She had an infant sucking at her breast, which snatching up, and looking tenderly upon, she burst out into this rhapsody: "What shall I say to thee, my son?"



Corbould delin.

Grignon sculp.

The DAUGHTER of ELEAZAR during the SIEGE and FAMINE at JERUSALEM, after having killed her sucking infant, and eaten a part of it to prevent herself from perishing. Offering the remains to the persecuting Band who had entered her House to demand her provisions. — Published as the Act direct by J. Cooke No 7 Paternoster Row

"unfortunate child, who art brought into the world under a complication of three such dreadful judgments as war, famine, and rebellion? In which of the three shall I reserve thee? The Romans will give thee thy life, perhaps, but not thy liberty. Famine will also prevent slavery: but thou wilt find our present tyrants incomparably worse than the other two. Be thou then my food; and finally compleat the history of the Jews with the only execrable abomination that is yet wanting to perfect their misery." With these words she slew her child, dressed it, and having eaten one part herself, set by the remainder, and kept it covered. Some of the faction entering her house, and smelling a nauseous scent, threatened her with immediate death if she did not bring out her provisions. Upon this she produced the remainder of the inhuman repast; and the robbers being thrilled with horror at the sight, she thus addressed them. "This is really my child, and this the food I have myself prepared. I have eaten one part; do you eat the other. You will not, I presume, be more scrupulous than a woman, or more tender than a mother. If, however, you loath the offering I present you, as I have eaten one part, let the other also be reserved for me." They then departed, struck with horror and amazement, as the only instance of humanity they had ever shewn.

The report of this horrid deed soon spread throughout the city, and it became the subject of equal terror and detestation, as if each individual had a part in the crime. The miseries of famine excited an aversion to life; and the living envied the dead that were taken away before they were brought to an extremity of woe. The dreadful story soon reached the Romans, some of whom pitied the miserable people, others detested them, and others gave no credit to it.

Titus, to acquit himself of having been accessory to so horrid a deed, solemnly protested, as in the presence of God, that he had proposed to the Jews peace and liberty, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices; but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and instead of plenty and abundance, famine. That they had begun with their own hands to burn that temple which the Romans had hitherto preserved, and that therefore their miseries were what they deserved. That he was determined to bury their iniquities in their ruin, and not leave a city standing upon the face of the earth, where mothers devoured their own children, and the fathers, more impious if possible, persisted in a war, after so many demonstrations of the Divine vengeance." Titus, reflecting on the incorrigible obstinacy of these people, gave them for lost, as, if they had any sensibility, the calamities they had suffered must have reclaimed them.

C H A P. IX.

The Jews boldly oppose all the efforts of Titus. The Romans behave themselves bravely. Two treacherous deserters go over to Titus. He suspects and pardons them. The temple is set on fire. Titus calls a council to deliberate concerning the temple. They are divided in their opinions. The Jews make a desperate sally upon the Romans. Titus brings them off, and forces the Jews into the temple. Jerusalem a second time burnt on the same day of the month.

WHEN two of the legions had finished their works, on the eighth day of the month, Titus ordered the battering rams to be planted against the western gate of the outward temple, having played the last piece of battery he had for six whole days without intermission, but to no purpose, for the edifice was proof against the engines. There were others, at the same time, sapping the foundation on the north-side; and when they found that, with incredible labour, they could only loosen

No. 38.

some of the outward stones, without moving any of the rest, (for the porch yet stood firm,) they perceived that nothing effectual could be done by digging and mining, so that the Romans betook themselves to their scaling ladders.

Though the Jews could not hinder them from planting their ladders, they made a brave resistance, where places would admit of it, encountering those that got up hand to hand, before they could put themselves upon their guard, casting others down headlong as they were mounting, cutting off some as they were advancing with relief, and sometimes overturning ladders, men, and all together. The loss of the Romans upon this encounter was very considerable, especially in the disputes they had for defending or recovering their colours: but, in the conclusion, the Jews kept the ensigns they took, and killed the ensign-bearers, which terrified the rest, and forced them to a retreat. To do justice to the assailants, it must be confessed, there fell not a man of them but died like a Roman. Those of the faction who had acquitted themselves bravely in former encounters did so still, as did Eleazar, the nephew of Simon, the tyrant. But Titus, finding, by this time, that, in sparing a foreign temple, he sacrificed his own men, ordered his people forthwith to set fire to the gates.

In the mean time there deserted to him Ananus, of Emmaus, the most bloody and inhuman of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadathes, hoping forgiveness from the late successes of the Jews. Titus was so well informed of the infamous characters, and barbarous practices, of those pretended converts, that he was once inclined to have both put to death, notwithstanding this pretence, being fully convinced that it was necessity and design, not affection or good-will, that brought them over. Nor did he think those deserving of life, who had first set their country in a flame, and then abandoned it. However, upon second thoughts, he overcame the provocation, and forgave them, tho' with a resolution never to trust them.

The gates of the temple were by this time in a blaze; the silver-work over them melted, and the timbers all in a flame, insomuch that the fire caught hold of the galleries. The Jews were so surprized to find themselves wrapped up in flames, that they stood gaping at each other in astonishment, without so much as attempting any thing toward their relief, or concerning themselves either for what was already consumed, or saving the rest. They had, in short, neither heart nor strength left them; and the fire prevailed all that day and the night following, till, by degrees, it burnt down the galleries.

Titus gave orders next day for the quenching of the fire, and levelling the ways for the march of his army. After this he called a council of his general officers. It consisted of Tiberius Alexander, his lieutenant-general, Sextus Cerealis, commander of the fifth legion, Larcus Lepidus, of the tenth, Titus Trigius, of the fifteenth, Plutinius Fronto, Julianus, governor of Judæa, with other officers of the first rank. This respectable council being called to deliberate on what measures were necessary to be taken in the business of the temple, some were for maintaining the rigour of the law of arms, as, so long as that temple stood, and the numerous meetings therein continued, the Jews (they said) would never be quiet: others were for saving the temple upon condition of the Jews quitting it, that there might be no farther quarrel about it; but that, if possession should be obtained by the sword, by all means to burn it; not as a temple, but a castle; for, in that case, the blame would be theirs that forced the burning it, not theirs that did it by necessity.

Titus interposing here, made some remarks on the impropriety of turning a temple into a citadel, tho' the Jews were obstinate, revenging the stubbornness of a rebellious people upon stocks and stones, and laying the most glorious fabric in ashes for their sakes. He added, it would be an affront to the dignity of Rome itself, to think of depriving the empire of so illustrious an ornament.

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When

The Jews make about resistance.

The Romans lose their ensigns.

Two of Simon's party desert to Titus.

The temple is set on fire.

Titus calls a council of his principal officers to deliberate concerning the temple.

Titus gives his opinion for saving the temple.

The Jews
make a des-
perate sally
upon the
Romans.

The Ro-
mans force
the Jews
into the
temple.

Jerusalem
burnt a se-
cond time.

When Alexander, Cerealis, and Fronto, found how Titus was disposed, they came over to his opinion; and the council was dismissed, with orders to the army to rest and refresh themselves to be the fitter for action; several choice battalions being ordered out, in the mean time, to look after the fire, and cut out ways over the ruins. The Jews, being much fatigued and harrassed, remained inactive this day; but the day following, when they had gathered strength, and recruited their spirits, they made a desperate sally, about the second hour, through the eastern gate, upon the guards of the outward temple. The Romans stood the first shock, under cover of their bucklers, with great resolution; but they could not long have opposed such vast numbers, so resolutely bent, if Titus, who saw the action from Antonia, had not seasonably come up, with a select body of horse, to their relief, before they gave ground. The Jews shrunk upon this charge; and the Romans breaking in upon their front, the rest betook themselves to flight; but when the Romans drew off in their course, the Jews rallied, and came on again. In this manner they took their turns interchangeably, one after another, till about the fifth hour of the day, when the Jews were forced into the temple, and shut up there. Titus retired to the tower of Antonia, with a resolution to storm the temple, with his whole army, early the next morning; as it seems to have been doomed by Providence to fire; and, in course of time, the fatal day was now at hand, according to the revolution of time. It was upon the tenth day of the month, and the very same day whereupon it was formerly burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. But this was a conflagration which the Jews brought upon themselves, for Titus had no sooner left them quiet, than the rebels made a sally upon his guards, as they were at work, by his order, to extinguish the fire. But the Romans put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to the temple itself.

C H A P. X.

A soldier, under pretext of a Divine impulse, sets fire to the temple. Titus gives orders to have the fire quenched. A terrible slaughter of the Jews.

A soldier
sets fire to
the temple.

AT this time one of the Roman soldiers, without staying for any orders, or without any concern or dread upon him for so impious an act, and being hurried on, as he afterwards pretended, by a certain Divine impulse, mounted the shoulders of one of his comrades, and cast a flaming brand into the golden window, that looks towards the apartments on the north side of the temple. The place took fire immediately, which raised such an hideous outcry among the Jews, that they hastened with all possible expedition to prevent its progress; for this was not a time to consult their personal security, when all that was dear and precious to them was at stake.

Titus in
vain endeavours
to put
a stop to it.

The news of this conflagration being brought to Titus, as he was reposing himself in his tent, after the fatigue of the combat, he arose in great haste, and immediately taking his chariot, passed to the temple, in order to have a stop put to the fire. His great officers followed him; and the legions after them, in such confusion as is natural to a vast multitude without discipline. Titus did all that could be done, by words and signs, towards quenching the fire; but it was ineffectual; for the greater noise drowned the less; and they were as blind to the signals he gave with his hand, as they were deaf to the words he uttered from his mouth. Nor were the soldiers to be swayed by menaces or commands, but followed the impulse of rage and passion. Some were trampled to death in crowds, others choaked in the fultry ruins of the galleries over the porches; and it was the same, in effect, whether they overcame, or were overcome. The common soldiers in the temple pretended, in excuse of their disobedience, that they could not hear the word of command from their

general; and those who followed, gave the word forward to throw fire.

The faction were in too great distress to afford any assistance, for, wherever they turned themselves, they saw nothing but blood and destruction. The poor, the sickly, and unarmed, were put to death in every quarter: mountains of dead bodies were piled upon the altar, and streams of blood flowed down the steps leading to it, with numbers of miserable wretches weltering in their gore.

When Titus found there was no restraining the enthusiastic fury of his soldiers, and that the fire continued to gain more and more, he took some of his chief officers with him into the inward temple, where, upon strict examination of matters, he found the glory and magnificence of the place even beyond the very fame of it, or at least equal to the report of the Jews themselves. But as the flames had not reached, and there was therefore ground to hope it might yet not be too late to save, the Holy of Holies, Titus, in person, endeavoured to persuade, nay earnestly besought, his soldiers to do their utmost to stop the progress of the fire, giving it in charge to Liberalis, a centurion of his guards, to press his commands, and inflict corporal punishment upon those that disobeyed. But, through ungovernable rage, that approached phrenzy, neither fear nor respect were sufficient to keep them within the bounds of duty. There was others whose hearts were set upon booty, not doubting but, where the doors were plated with gold, they should find the inside filled with hidden treasure.

While Titus was so very intent upon saving the temple, one of the soldiers at the same time set fire to some of the door-posts; whereupon the general, and his officers, were forced to withdraw out of distance of preventing the mischief; so that the temple was destroyed at last, in despite of whatever Titus could do to hinder it.

This desolation was a calamity sufficient to melt the most obdurate heart, if we duly consider the ruins of the most stupendous fabric that ever was seen or heard of, both for structure, bulk, state, magnificence, the honour of religion, and of holy things. But it is to be remembered, to our comfort and instruction, that an uncontrollable fatality attends all terrestrial works, animate and inanimate, and that all things must have their period. It is a most remarkable revolution also, that this second conflagration should so exactly answer the very month and day of the former under Nebuchadnezzar, as already observed. We reckon from the beginning of the first temple by Solomon, to the destruction of this, in the second year of Vespasian, one thousand, one hundred, and thirty years, seven months, and fifteen days; and from the second building of it by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus, six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

C H A P. XI.

The distresses in which the Jews were plunged upon the conflagration of the temple. Several priests are engaged in the quarrel with the Romans. The destruction that was occasioned by the advice of a false prophet.

WHILE the temple was in flames, the soldiers plundered all that came to hand, and slew all they met, without respect to age or sex, both young and old, sacred and profane, priests and laicks; all went together; and men of all sorts and conditions were involved in the common calamities of the war, and, whether they resisted or submitted, whether they stood it out, or begged for quarter, they all fared alike, falling victims in the common destruction. As the fire advanced, the crackling of the flames was heard in unison with the dying groans of people at their last gasp; and betwixt the depth of the hill, and the extent of the conflagration, the whole city seemed to be but one continued blaze. The tumult and

and uproar were so dreadful, that nothing more terrible can possibly be conceived. The raging outcries of the Roman legions, the howling of the rebels under the devastation of fire and sword, and the dismal lamentation of distressed wretches in the temple, betwixt the enemy and fire, could not but pierce the ear and wound the heart of the most obdurately petrified. The adjacent mountains and places beyond Jordan, echoed the same complaints and grievances over and over again, and the calamity exceeded the noise. The flames were so impetuous and violent, that the very mountains, upon which the temple stood, appeared as one body of fire from the bottom; and the blood in proportion was answerable to the flame; for the number of the slain was superior to that of those who did the execution. The ground was covered over with carcases, and the soldiers pursued the living over the bodies of the dead. But, in the end, a band of rustians beat back the Romans, and having forced their way into the outward temple, made their escape into the city, and the rest of the multitude got into the outward porch.

There were several priests engaged in the quarrel with the Romans, that used the temple spikes instead of darts, and discharged them at the enemy; but when they found that this availed nothing, and that the fire burnt out upon them, they covered themselves, for a while, under a thick wall, that was eight cubits in breadth. Two of the principal men of this number, which were Meirus, the son of Belgas, and Joseph, the son of Daleus, that might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, chose rather to stand or fall with their companions, and so plunging themselves into the flames, shared in the common fate.

When the Romans found the temple itself reduced to ashes, they looked upon the rest of the buildings as trivial, and so fired all at once, except one of the galleries on the east side, and another on the south; but they soon after followed the fortune of the rest. They burnt also the treasury and the wardrobe, with jewels, money, and costly habits, to an immense value. The place, in fine, was the repository of all the Jews had that was precious.

There were now assembled, in one gallery, yet standing, women, children, and a mixed multitude, that fled from the rabble, to the number of near six thousand persons. But before Titus had determined any thing concerning these people, or given the officers any orders relating to them, the soldiers, in a rage of brutal fury, set the place on fire, and plied it so closely, that, betwixt those that were burnt to death, and others that had cast themselves headlong down the ruins to save themselves, there was not one that escaped death.

A false prophet was accessory to all this mischief, by making proclamation in the city, that it was the will of the Almighty they should go immediately up to the temple, with an assurance that there they should have an infallible proof of his Divine favour and protection. It was, indeed, a common practice of the faction, to pretend to revelations, in order to keep the credulous multitude firm against all dangers, and to secure them from deserting. But men in adversity are apt to hope the best, especially where they are promised relief, though it be only upon the credit of a false prophet.

C H A P. XII.

The portentous signs which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. A comet resembling a sword. An extraordinary light about the altar. An heifer brings forth a lamb. The brazen gate of the temple opens of itself. Various conjectures about its signification. Chariots and armies in the air. A voice crying in the temple "Let us be gone." A strange exclamation of one Jesus, a plebeian and husbandman, with his death.

The prophecy of an emperor to come out of Judaea fulfilled in the person of Vespasian.

THUS were these miserable people deluded by impostors, while they did not attend, nor give credit, to signs that were most evident, and plainly foretold their future desolation. Indeed, like infatuated mortals, with neither eyes capable of seeing, nor minds capable of reflection, they could not perceive the denunciations of the Almighty against them, amongst which were the following. There was a star, resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet that continued a whole year.

Thus also, before the Jews revolted, and before these commotions, which preceded the war, when the people assembled in multitudes to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Xanthicus, and at the ninth hour of the day, to great a light shone round the altar and the sanctuary, that it appeared to be bright day. This prodigy was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen; but it was expounded by the more discerning as the forerunner of a war, and the mystery unfolded before it came to pass.

At the same festival also an heifer, as she was led by the high-priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple.

Moreover the eastern gate of the inner temple, which was of brals, and very ponderous, and had been, with difficulty, shut by twenty men, rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to open of itself about the sixth hour of the night. Upon notice given of it to the proper officer, he came immediately to look after it, and with much difficulty fastened it again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be an happy prodigy; but the wiser formed a contrary judgment, and supposed that the opening of the gate was in favour of the enemy, and foretold the desolation of the city.

A few days after the festival was over, on the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, there appeared to extraordinary a vision, that I would not undertake to record it, if I could not produce several witnesses, yet living, to confirm the truth of it, and if the calamities, that were foretold, had not come to pass. There were seen, up and down in the air, before sun-set, chariots and armed men, all over the country, and surrounding several cities.

At the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going, by night, to officiate in the inner temple, according to custom, they heard, at first, a kind of confused murmur, and, after that, a voice, calling out articulately, "Let us be gone, let us be gone."

But what is still more extraordinary, one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian and an husbandman, who, four years before the commencement of the war, and at a time when the city enjoyed peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, brake out into this exclamation: "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice to Jerusalem, and a voice to the temple, a voice to the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice to the whole nation." This was his cry day and night, from place to place, through every street of the city. Several persons of eminence were so offended at this dire yell, that they caused the man to be apprehended, and severely punished; to which he submitted without a murmur, or alledging a word in his own defence, but still persisted in the exclamation before-mentioned. The magistrates suspecting (as the case proved to be) that he was actuated by an extraordinary impulse, caused him to be brought before Albinus, at that time our procurator, who ordered him to be scourged with the utmost rigour. He submitted in the same manner as before, without either tear or supplication; but cried out at every stroke, in the most melancholy tone, woe, woe to Jerusalem! When Albinus demanded of him what he was, whence he came, and why

A comet resembling a sword.

A light by night about the altar.

An heifer brings forth a lamb.

The brazen gate of the temple opens of itself.

Chariots and armed men seen in the air.

A voice heard in the temple.

Exclamation of one Jesus, an husbandman.

why he uttered these words? He made no manner of reply, but continued his doleful ditty, till the procurator dismissed him as a lunatic.

From that time, to the beginning of the war, he was never known to hold intercourse with any of the citizens, but every day uttered these lamentable words, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem." He never gave an ill word to those that scourged him, or a good one to those that fed him; but this was his reply to all men, and, indeed, no other than a melancholy preface of what was to come. He was observed to be much more clamorous upon festivals than upon other days; and in this manner he continued to proceed, nor did his voice or strength fail him, till the siege of Jerusalem verified his predictions. After this he took the tour of the wall once again, vehemently exclaiming, "Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people!" and adding, by way of conclusion, "Woe, woe to myself!" At this instant he was taken off with a stone from an engine, in the midst of his forebodings.

Reflections
of Josephus.

These circumstances tend to prove that the destruction of mankind is from themselves; and that a benevolent Creator, in his all-wise providence, is wanting in nothing that may conduce to the common good and benefit of universal nature. But when we are cautioned of future events, and will take no warning, our ruin lies at our own door. Why did the Jews, after the taking of Antiochia, make the temple square, when they were conscious to themselves of a prediction, that both temple and city should be taken, when it should be reduced to that form? But they were chiefly stimulated to this unfortunate war by the misconstruction of a preface, importing that, in those days, there should one come out of Judæa that should have the command of the whole world. This they applied to their own nation, and many great men fell into the same error. But this prophecy, in fact, related to Vespasian, who was created emperor in Judæa. But fancy suggests divers interpretations; and thus it was with the Jews, till, in the end, they suffered for their errors, by the irreparable destruction of themselves and their country.

The prophecy of
an emperor
to come out
of Judæa,
fulfilled in
Vespasian.

C H A P. XIII.

Titus is saluted emperor, according to ancient custom. The force of hunger and drought in extremity. Titus orders certain priests to be put to death. Simon and John, the heads of factions, desire a conference with Titus. The emperor agrees to it, and makes a suitable speech upon the occasion. The Jews reject the terms he offers. Titus resolves on the total demolition of the city, but, on the supplications of some royal intercessors, abates of his rigour, and demonstrates his clemency.

Titus proclaimed
emperor by the
army.

THE faction having fled into the city on the burning of the temple, and all the buildings about it, the Romans lodged their ensigns against the eastern gate, where they offered sacrifice, and, with great shouts and acclamations, proclaimed Titus emperor. The soldiers acquired such immense booty, that gold in Syria was reduced to one half of its former value.

Necessity
suggests in-
vention.

There was a boy among the priests, upon the wall, that begged permission of the Roman guards to descend, and get some water to quench the parching thirst under which he laboured. The guards commiserating his tender years and extreme necessity, gave him their right hands as a security for his life. The boy accordingly descended, drank, filled a vessel he had with him, and returned to his friends with such expedition, that the guards could not overtake him. The Romans, upon this, charged him with perfidy; but he ingeniously pleaded that he covenanted only for liberty to fetch the water, not to continue with them when he had it, and conse-

quently had not violated any agreement. The plea was admitted, and the delusion looked over on account of his tender years.

On the fifth day after this, the priests, urged by outrageous hunger, came down from the walls, and being conducted by the guards to Titus, cast themselves at his feet, and implored his mercy. But he told them the time of pardon was over; for the temple being destroyed, it was but reasonable they should follow, since the priests and their temple should be inseparable; and upon this he ordered them to be put to death.

The heads of the faction, finding themselves so encompassed, that there was no possibility of escaping, desired a conference with Titus, who, with his natural generosity, was inclined to grant it; partly from a desire to save the town, and partly at the instance of his friends, in hopes that the rebels might be brought to better terms for the future.

Titus then made a stand on the west side of the inner temple, near the gates that led to the gallery, where there was a bridge of communication betwixt the temple and the upper town, which, at this time, parted the Romans and the Jews. The multitude on both sides gathered about their generals; the Jews about Simon and John, to learn what hopes there were of pardon; and the Romans about Titus, desirous of seeing the manner in which he would receive the supplicants. Having commanded silence, and an intermission of all hostilities, he delivered his mind to them, by an interpreter, to the following effect:

"Is not your country wretched enough? Will you never be brought to a sense either of your own weakness, or of the Roman power, but, like to many madmen, ruin your people, city, and temple, at once, and yourselves too most deservedly in the conclusion? When were you ever out of broils and tumults, since Pompey laid your city in ashes? Nothing will serve you now but open war against the Romans. Is it your numbers you depend upon? You have seen the time that one half of our army have been able to cope with you. Do you value yourselves upon the faith of your auxiliaries and allies? Where is that people under the sun, that is not more or less in our allegiance? or that would not rather have the Romans as friends than the Jews? If you reckon upon the strength of your bodies, take notice that the Germans are our subjects. And as to the firmness of your walls, are they stronger than the Britons' wall, the ocean? and yet those people, with that fence, have not been able to withstand us. If you rely upon the address and resolution of your leaders, we have been too hard, you know, for the Carthaginians themselves. But it is the humanity of the Romans that hath raised up enemies to themselves; first, in giving you lands in possession, and then setting up kings out of your own tribes to govern them. We have also granted you the freedom and exercise of your country's laws, and permitted you to live, both at home and abroad, according to your own liking. And, what is more than all the rest, we have allowed you the privilege of collecting, receiving, and employing contributions and tributes, for the maintenance of your religion and God's holy worship, with all freedom to yourselves and your friends. What's the use you have made of all these benefits, but to enrich yourselves into a capacity of doing us the more mischief, in the employing of our own money against ourselves? You do, in truth, behave yourselves like the worst of serpents, that practise upon the lives of those that take them into their bosoms.

"It is agreed, that the contempt you had for the spiritless disposition of Nero, made you forget the quiet that at the same time you enjoyed, and put you upon ambition and extravagant designs."

"My father, you must know, did not come into Judæa to call you to an account for your defection from Cestius, but rather to reform you by admonition and good advice. If the depopulating of this nation had been his business, he would have struck at the root, and begun with Jerusalem, rather than Galilee, and those parts, which he did on purpose to give you room and leisure to repent. But his liberality passed for weakness, and our lenity hath given you a boldness that you take for courage.

"After the death of Nero, according to the custom of other wicked men, you took advantage of our divisions; and my father and myself were no sooner gone to Egypt, than you took the opportunity of our being absent, to lay the foundation of a war against us; and, notwithstanding all the proofs we have given you of our tenderness and humanity in the government of those provinces, you had yet the effrontery to enter into practices against us, even when my father was already declared emperor, and myself Cæsar. Nay, it went further yet; for, after the very establishment of us, by common consent, in the quiet and peaceable possession of the empire, and the congratulatory compliments that were paid us by foreign ministers, upon our accession to the government, who but the Jews were still our enemies? as appeared by their dispatches of embassies and deputations beyond Euphrates, for assistance in their revolt. To say nothing of your new fortifications, factions, and competitions, till it came, in the end, to a civil war; an ingratitude that none but the wickedest of men could have been guilty of.

"When my father sent me (though with great difficulty and reluctance) to call this stubborn rebellious city to account, how pleased I was to hear that the people were disposed towards a peace! how did I beg of you to prevent a war before a blow was struck! Can you say that I did not make it as easy to you afterwards as I could? Did I ever refuse any man of you that offered himself? Did I ever break faith with any man that came over to me? How tender was I of your prisoners! or was I ever hard upon any man that did not inflame the quarrel? With what reluctance did I come to the battering of your wall! I avoided all bloody executions as much as possible. When did I ever get the better of you, and not sue for peace, as if you yourselves had been the conquerors? Whenever I came near your temple, I took no advantage of the right I had, by the law of arms, to destroy it; but only made it my request to you, to spare yourselves, and all that was holy that belonged to you. Did I not offer you free leave to depart, and upon terms of security too? Or, if nothing but fighting would serve your turn, I gave you the choice of your own time and place. What is the fruit now of all this tenderness, but the burning of the temple with your own hands, that I would so willingly have preserved? Have you the hardness now at last to invite me to a parley, as if you had any thing left to atone for what you have destroyed? How can you expect a pardon for yourselves, that would not so much as pardon your own temple? You present yourselves in arms too, without so much as pretending to be supplicants. But to come to the ground of this miserable confidence; your people are wholly disheartened, your temple is gone, the city mine, and yourselves all at my mercy: and yet you would be thought to insist upon terms of honour at last. Not to stand expostulating any longer with you on your follies, lay down your arms, and surrender yourselves, and I am yet content to give you your lives. When I have once done necessary justice upon the principal rebels, you shall find me a gentle master to the rest." The faction returned him this answer, "That they could not deliver themselves up upon any promise or assurance he could give them, because they were under an oath

No. 38.

"to the contrary; but that they were ready to be gone, if he pleased, with their wives and children, into the desert, and leave the town to the Romans." Titus was so incensed at prisoners giving law, and imposing conditions upon the conquerors, that he caused proclamation to be made, that no Jew should presume, for the future, to make any further application to Titus, or expect either protection or quarter; but that they might now defend themselves by arms as well as they could; for Cæsar was resolved to govern himself by the rules of war."

Titus then gave orders to the soldiers to plunder and burn the city; so that on the day following, they set fire to the repository of the archives, to the council-chamber, and a place called Ophlas; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra. The lanes were also consumed, as were the houses that were full of the dead bodies of those who perished by famine.

On the same day the sons and brethren of king Izates, with several other persons of rank, preferred a petition to Titus for their lives, which, according to his wonted benevolence, he granted, though they had justly incurred his indignation. He ordered them, indeed, to be kept in custody; and the sons and relatives of Izates were sent bound as hostages to Rome.

C H A P. XIV.

The faction move to the palace-royal, where they slay about 8400 persons, and seize all their treasure. A nice point of honour amongst the Romans. The affection of Josephus for his country. Dreadful ravages of war and famine. Miserable resources of the faction.

THE faction now rushed into the palace-royal, where many had deposited their effects on account of its strength, drove the Romans out of it, slew about 8400 persons, and plundered them of all their treasure. They took, upon this occasion, two Roman soldiers alive, the one belonging to the infantry, the other to the cavalry. The former they slew, and had him dragged throughout the city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. The latter, on pretence of having something to communicate relative to the interest of the faction, was brought before Simon; but the pretence appearing frivolous, he was delivered up to Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, to be punished. He was brought out with his hands bound behind him, and a band over his eyes, in order to be beheaded within sight of the Romans; but as the executioner was preparing for his office, the prisoner started away, and made his escape to the Romans.

Though Titus could not think of putting him to death for thus escaping from the enemy, yet, as he deemed it unworthy of a Roman soldier to be taken alive, he was disarmed cashiered; an indignity to a man of honour more piercing than the loss of life.

A point of honour among the Romans.

The next day the Romans drove the rebels out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers, indeed, had the pleasure of seeing the city destroyed; but they missed the plunder, for the Jews had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city. Such was their obstinacy, that, so far from repenting of the mischiefs they had done, they became insolent, and beheld the conflagration of the city with joyful countenances, in expectation of death, as they declared, to end their miseries. The people were now wasted, the temple burnt down, and the city in a blaze; so that there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do.

In this utmost extremity, however, Josephus did all that could be done to save the miserable ruins of a

Patriotism of Josephus.

desolated city. He remonstrated with them on their barbarity and impiety, and gave them advice as to their future proceedings. But they derided his counsel; as they were bound on oath not to surrender themselves, as well as so accustomed to slaughter, they could not refrain from the commission of it.

Dire effects
of famine.

In this distracted state of things they dispersed themselves throughout the city, and laid in ambush amongst its ruins, to surprize those that might attempt to desert to the Romans. Accordingly many of them were taken; for they were too much reduced by famine to escape by flight. Their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs: but of all deaths famine was the most frightful and ghastly, inso-much that many went over to the Romans, despairing of mercy, and merely to exchange one death for another. The streets were strewed with dead bodies from one end of the city to the other, that had been either murdered or starved.

The vanity
of the ty-
rant's hopes.

The last hopes of the faction were in their recesses in subterraneous caverns, from a vain fancy that there they might lie concealed till the Romans were gone, and that then they might make their escape, not considering that no recess could hide them from the all-seeing eye of Divine justice. They depended, however, on these subterfuges, and did more mischief than the Romans by fire, killing and robbing all they could meet, that came for sanctuary to those caverns. Nay, they now fought one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, if their destruction had not prevented it, their barbarity would have induced the living to eat the flesh of the dead.

C H A P. XV.

The Romans begin to raise banks against the upper town. The Idumæans offer their services to Titus, who accepts the same, and grants them pardon. Simon puts the deputies of the Idumæans to death. Men, women, and children, sold like herds of beasts in a market. Titus sets 40,000 of the populace at liberty. Phineas, treasurer of the temple, makes a valuable discovery.

Titus re-
news the
project of
raising
banks.

TITUS observing that the upper town was seated on such crags and precipices, that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, entered upon that arduous undertaking the twentieth day of the month. The conveyance of the materials was attended with much difficulty, as all the trees within the distance of an hundred furlongs from the town were cut down for the former works. The four legions threw up a bank on the west side of the city, over against the palace royal. The auxiliaries, and the rest, cast up another towards the gallery with the bridge, and a fort that Simon built in his war with John, known by the name of Simon's Tower.

The Idumæans,
by deputies,
offer their
services to
Titus.

The deputies
are put
to death by
Simon.

At the same time the Idumæan officers concerted a plan of desertion to the Romans, and sent five deputies with a tender of their services to Titus, and a petition for mercy in the name of the rest. Though the application was rather late, Titus, from an opinion that the rebel tyrants, John and Simon, would never stand it out after such a desertion, sent the deputies back with a promise of their lives; for he looked upon the Idumæans as the most considerable part of their army. The plan, it seems, had transpired; for the deputies were apprehended, immediately put to death, and their leaders imprisoned, of whom James, the son of Sofas, was the chief. Though much could not be expected from the common soldiers, now deprived of their officers, they were kept under a stricter guard; but even that precaution could not prevent their deserting. Many were cut off, but more escaped; for Titus had too much generosity to press his former prohibition to the utmost rigour; and the very soldiers themselves, betwixt the hopes of booty, and a glut of blood, became more humane and moderate. The common people were

fold; with their wives and children, like beasts in a market, and at easy rates, there being but few purchasers.

Titus reflecting upon this, and upon his own proclamation, forbidding any more Jews to come over to him singly, was now pleased to dispense with his order, and to receive as many of them, one by one, as presented themselves; but with superiors over them, to distinguish the good from the bad, and to deal with them according to their merits. Vast numbers of them were sold; and upwards of forty thousand set at liberty by Titus, to go whithersoever they pleased.

There was, at the same time, one Jesus, a priest, and the son of Thebuth, who compounded with Titus for his life, upon condition of delivering up to him some of the vessels, donations, and other ornaments belonging to the temple. He came out, and delivered to him, from the wall, two candlesticks, some tables, cups, and goblets, all like those in the temple, of gold. He gave him also several veils, sacerdotal habits, and a great number of sacrificing vessels.

Phineas, the treasurer of the temple, produced many priests habits and girdles, purple and scarlet stuffs, that were folded up for use. There was also a proportion of cinnamon, cassia, gums, and perfumes, for daily incense, besides several sorts of holy ornaments, and private goods. This man, in consideration of those services, obtained from Titus the same pardon that he allowed to such as voluntarily deserted.

C H A P. XVI.

The banks are finished, and the Romans advance with their engines against the upper wall. Some of the faction withdraw, while others stand their ground. Simon and John are terrified by false alarms. They become infatuated, and resign the strongest places they had to the Romans, who carry all before them. Titus imputes his success to an over-ruling Providence, and causes a monument to be erected as a testimony of it. Gives orders concerning the disposal of the prisoners.

THE works being finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpheus, the Romans advanced their engines; and that part of the faction that despaired of holding out, quitted the walls, and withdrew to the castle; and others into subterraneous vaults, while the more resolute maintained their ground, and opposed those who had the direction of the battery. The Romans overcame them by their numbers and strength, tho' chiefly by the alacrity with which they executed their orders, while the Jews were dejected, and become weak. As soon as they observed any flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets gave way to the engines, the defendants shifted away as fast as they could. Simon and John themselves were seized with a panic, and fled, even before the Romans were come within distance of doing them any hurt. These men, whose insolent and arrogant practices had been so notorious, now trembled with the direst apprehensions, and exhibited every proof of dread and pusillanimity. They made an attempt, indeed, upon the wall of circumvallation that the Romans had raised about the city, attacked and made a breach in it, with a resolution of falling upon the guards, and making their escape; but perceiving, when they expected to be seconded, that their friends had all forsaken them, they hurried away in confusion, as their fears and necessities moved them.

In this fantastical variety of frightful imaginations, one brought news that the whole wall to the westward was overthrown; others that the Romans were just at the foot of it, that some were entered, and some of them seen in possession of the tower. Whatever they feared they saw, falling prostrate upon their faces, and bemoaning their follies, as if they had been thunder-struck, and knew not which way to turn themselves.

The

The interposition of Divine Providence was very remarkable upon this occasion; for the tyrants wholly deprived themselves of the security they had in their own power, by quitting those holds of their own accord, that could never have been taken but by famine, and this after they had spent so much time to no purpose, upon other places of much less importance. By this means the Romans became masters of three impregnable forts by fortune, that could never have been taken any other way; for the three famous towers formerly mentioned were proof against all battery.

Upon their quitting these towers, through the impulse of a judicial infatuation, they hattered away to the vale of Siloam, and, after some recollection and refreshment, made an assault upon the new wall there; but it was so faint and weak, that the guards beat them off; for, betwixt fatigue, despondency, dread, and misery, their strength failed them, and they again retired into subterraneous caverns.

The Romans being now masters of the walls, planted their ensigns upon the towers, with acclamations of triumph for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of the war much lighter than the beginning; if, at least, the war was now at an end, which they could not well doubt, without distrust of their own eyes.

The soldiers were now broke loose all over the town, with their swords drawn, slaying all that fell in their way without distinction, and burning entire houses, and whatever was in them, in one common flame. In many places, which they entered to search for plunder, they found the carcasses of such as had perished by famine; so that, struck with horror at so hideous a spectacle, they came out without touching any thing: but this commiseration for the dead did not render them in the least degree more humane to the living, for they stabbed every one they met, in so much that the channels of the city ran down with blood, as if it had been to quench the fire. In the evening they desisted from slaying, and proceeded to burning.

The eighth day of the month Gorpheus put an end to the conflagration of Jerusalem; and if all the blessings it ever enjoyed from its foundation had been in proportion to the calamities it sustained during this siege, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. The source of all its miseries arose from its producing so iniquitous and abandoned a generation, as brought on its total overthrow, and sheathed their swords in the very bowels of their country.

As Titus was taking a survey of the upper town, the works, the fortifications, and particularly the towers, which the tyrants in their infatuation had abandoned, when he contemplated on their altitude, dimensions, and situation, together with the curious design and execution of the whole fabric, he broke forth into this pious rhapsody: "If an Almighty arm had not been stretched forth to our assistance, we could never have ejected the Jews out of these fortifications, as it was certainly an undertaking not to be accomplished by human power alone." Having made this remark to his friends about him, his next care was to set all the prisoners at liberty whom the tyrants had left in the towers, and afterwards, upon demolishing the city, to preserve those turrets as a monument of his success through Divine aid, without which their reduction would have been impracticable.

The Roman soldiers being quite spent with doing execution, and numbers still remaining alive, Titus gave orders that only such should be put to death as were found to make resistance; appointing Fronto, one of his own council, to determine the fate of every one according to his merits. The robbers and seditious impeached one another, and were all put to death. Those of comely and graceful persons, and in the prime of youth, were reserved to adorn his triumph. As for the rest of the multitude, all those above seventeen years old were sent in bonds to the Egyptian mines. Others were distributed up and

down the provinces for the use of the theatres, as gladiators; and those under seventeen were sold for slaves.

While the prisoners were under the charge of Fronto, eleven thousand of them were starved to death, through the churlishness of the keepers on the one hand, who neglected to bring them food, and their own disgust on the other, that restrained them from eating. But their numbers in fact were so great, that there was not provision adequate to their sustenance.

CHAP. XVII.

The number of those that perished in the siege, and of those taken captive. John and Simon taken. The one kept for triumph, the other a prisoner for life. The city laid in ashes, and the walls thrown down.

THE number of those taken captive during this whole war, was computed to amount to ninety-seven thousand; and the number of those that perished during the siege, was estimated at eleven hundred thousand: the greatest part of them were Jews by nation, though not citizens of Jerusalem; for it was at a general assembly in that metropolis, from all quarters, to celebrate the feast of the passover, that they were surprized into a war. The multitude was so prodigious, that, for want of decent accommodation, they first brought the plague into the city, which, through want of competent provision, was followed by a famine. That the city was capacious enough to contain so many people is manifest, if credit may be given to the calculation of Cellius.

Nero held the Jews in such contempt, that Cestius made suit to the high-priest, to devise some method of numbering the people; and this he did from a desire of convincing the emperor that the Jewish nation was not so despicable as he imagined. They took their time to enter upon the computation at the celebration of their paschal feast. When offering up sacrifices, according to custom, from the ninth hour of the day to the eleventh, which sacrifices were afterwards to be eaten in their families, by ten at least, and sometimes twenty, to a lamb, the number of sacrifices was 25,650, which, at the rate of no more than ten to a lamb, amounts to two million, five hundred and sixty-five thousand persons, all pure and sound; for such as labour under epidemical or nauseous distempers, are not admitted to any part of this solemnity; nor any strangers, but such as repair thither from religious motives.

This prodigious concourse of people, which might be said to comprize the Jewish nation, was afterwards, by a kind of fatality, shut up in the city as in a prison; for the Roman army encompassed it when crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the number of the slain in the siege was the heaviest judgment that ever was inflicted upon mankind. Some were put to death openly, others kept in custody by the Romans, who searched the very sepulchres and vaults for them, and put all they found alive to the sword. There were upwards of two thousand that had either laid violent hands on themselves, or killed one another by consent, besides those that perished by famine. The putrid exhalation of the dead bodies poisoned as many as came within the reach of it. Some went out of the way to avoid it; others had their hearts so set upon booty, that they rifled the very carcasses, and trampled upon the dead bodies in a putrified state. They brought out several prisoners the two tyrants had laid in chains there; for they persevered in their cruelty to the last: but Divine vengeance overtook them in the end; for John and his brethren, in the caverns, were driven, by insupportable hunger, to beg that mercy they had so often despised; and Simon, after a long struggle with an insuperable necessity, delivered up himself. The latter was reserved for triumph, and John made a prisoner for life. The Romans now set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and threw down the walls.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVIII.

Jerusalem taken and destroyed. Brief account of its history.

Jerusalem
taken and
laid waste.

THUS was Jerusalem taken, and utterly destroyed, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpheus. It had been taken five times before; that is to say, by Azochæus, king of Egypt; Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; Pompey, Herod, and Sosius, who still preserved it. But Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, laid it waste, one thousand, four hundred, sixty-eight years, and six months after it was first built.

Melchisedeck the
founder.

The first founder was a man of power amongst the Canaanites, called Melchisedeck, which, in the Hebrew language, signifies a righteous king; for such he was in an eminent degree. He first dedicated the city to the Almighty; erected a temple in it, and officiated in quality of a priest, giving it the name of Jerusalem, which before was called Solyma.

When David, the king of the Jews, came afterwards to drive out the Canaanites, he planted his own people there; and, in four hundred seventy-seven years, and three months, after this, it was laid waste by the Babylonians. From the reign of David to the destruction of the city under Titus, were one thousand, one hundred, and seventy-nine years: and two thousand, one hundred, and seventy-seven, from the foundation of it. Yet neither its antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its glory over all the habitable earth, nor the great veneration paid it on a religious account, have been sufficient to preserve it from destruction. This was, in fine, the issue of the siege.

When the soldiers had neither rapine nor bloodshed to gratify their spleen, Titus gave orders for laying the city and temple level with the ground; and leaving nothing standing but the three famous towers, Phasaelus, Hippicos, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the left side, where he designed to keep a garrison. The towers were to remain as so many monuments to posterity of the power and conduct of the Romans in taking them. This order was punctually executed; but all the rest was laid so level, that the place seemed as if it never had been inhabited. This was the miserable end to which Jerusalem was reduced, from the inordinate propensity of the inhabitants to innovations.

C H A P. XIX.

Titus distributes honours and rewards amongst his soldiers, accompanied with an elegant and generous address. Offers a thanksgiving sacrifice for his victory.

TITUS having formed a resolution to leave the tenth legion in garrison in Jerusalem, with some squadrons and battalions of horse and foot, and having discharged every duty incumbent on a vigilant and careful general, was desirous of bestowing proper rewards upon those who had signalized themselves in the service of their country. To this end, he mounted a tribunal, with his principal officers about him, and, from an eminence, where he might best be heard, delivered himself to the army in terms to the following effect:

Address of
Titus to his
soldiers.

“It is impossible, my brave fellow soldiers, to express the sense I entertain of the respect and obedience you have shewn me during the whole course of this war. Your invincible firmness, upon all occasions, and in the most imminent danger; the reputation you have acquired in advancing the honour, and enlarging the territory, of your country; and, finally, the proof you have given, that neither superiority of numbers, advantages of forts, strength of places, nor the outrageous fury

“of brutal adversaries, can ever discompose the Roman conduct and courage, claim every mark of gratitude and respect. It was but reasonable for you to put an end to a war that had lasted so long, which was your chief desire when you entered upon it. It must afford you singular pleasure and satisfaction, to see your choice of the Roman emperor and generals not only admitted, but universally approved. I cannot but esteem and admire you all for what you have done; but those who have rendered themselves exemplary in their enterprizes, and thereby done honour to their characters and professions, may depend on my care to make an equivalent return. Every emulation to excel shall have a proportionate acknowledgment, as I take more delight in rewarding the meritorious, than in punishing the delinquent.”

Titus hereupon ordered the proper officers to produce the list of those who had signalized themselves by their gallant exploits in the course of the war. They were specified by name, and highly applauded, both by the general, and all the respectable persons present on the occasion. From words he proceeded to substantial instances of liberality and bounty. They were crowned with coronets of gold; had golden ornaments put about their necks; lances, pointed with gold, put into their hands; presented with silver medals; and advanced every man according to his station. He gave them money, in gold and silver, out of the booty, with rich robes, and other things of value.

Having made this distribution according to the merit of each individual, Titus, accompanied by the vows, prayers, and acclamations of the whole army, descended from his tribunal, to offer sacrifices, and give thanks for his victory. A great number of oxen were sacrificed, and distributed among the army. Titus having regaled his officers for three days, the troops were dismissed to their respective quarters, and Jerusalem committed to the guard of the tenth legion, without sending it back to Euphrates, whence it came.

Bearing in memory that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews under Cestius, their commander, he expelled them out of all Syria, (for they had laid formerly at Raphanea,) and sent them away to a place called Maletine, that lies along the Euphrates, upon the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia, keeping two legions to himself, as a competent guard to convoy him into Egypt. From hence he took his passage to Cesarea upon the coast; but it being winter, he durst not venture into Italy; so that he deposited his treasure for the present, and took every precaution for the security of the prisoners.

C H A P. XX.

While Titus lay before Jerusalem, Vespasian visits several sea-ports. Simon taken prisoner by Terentius Rufus, and put in chains. Promotes farther discoveries. The births of Domitian and Vespasian celebrated with great pomp.

DURING the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, Vespasian embarked on board a trading vessel for Rhodes, where he took a galley, and so passed out of Ionia into Greece, visiting all the towns in his way, where he was most magnificently received. He then proceeded to Corcyra, and so to Japygia, whence he took his journey by land.

Titus was now come back from Cesarea upon the sea-coast, to that called Cesarea Philippi, where he made a considerable stay, entertaining himself with a diversity of spectacles, as combats betwixt men and beasts, man and man, troop and troop, which cost him the lives of many of his captives.

At this juncture Simon, the son of Gioras, happened to be taken in the following manner. Simon, upon the siege of Jerusalem, was forced into the upper town, and the Romans breaking into the city, he was much puzzled to devise means of effecting his

his escape, till at length he hit upon this contrivance. He got together a number of miners, stone-cutters, smiths, and men well skilled in iron-works, and having laid in a stock of provisions for several weeks, they let themselves all down into a subterraneous cavern. When they had made their way as far as they could, and found the passage too narrow to proceed, they betook themselves to digging and mining, hoping to work a thoroughfare, and so to make their escape. But, before they could make any considerable advance, their provision fell short, and the plan of course failed, though they managed their stores with the utmost economy.

Simon had now recourse to another device, which was to alarm and terrify the Romans. To this end he put on a white garment, over which he threw a purple cloak, and in this garb presented himself out of the ground from under the ruins of the late temple, to the amazement of the soldiers and others, that first saw the supposed apparition. But, on his approach, they took courage, asked him his name, and who he was, and, upon his refusing to satisfy them, and calling to speak with the officer of the guard, Terentius Rufus, who had the command, was immediately sent for, and learning the truth from Simon, caused him to be put in chains, and transmitted an account of the whole affair to Cæsar.

Thus was this inhuman tyrant, who had taken away so many of his countrymen's lives by subornation and false evidence, upon pretence of their going over to the Romans, brought to justice himself, and delivered into the hands of his enemies, without any force upon him, by his own act. But the stroke of Divine vengeance cannot be avoided; nor is the power of innocence and justice to be contended with; while the punishment is frequently aggravated by being deferred, and when notorious offenders hug themselves in security. This was the case of Simon in the hands of the Romans; and his fantastical scheme of rising out of the ground, proved an occasion of discovering divers of his companions in their lurking-places.

Simon being presented to Titus in chains, on his return to Cæsarea by the sea-side, was ordered to be kept for his triumph at Rome. While Titus was at Cæsarea, he set a day apart for the celebration of the nativity of his brother Domitian, and a great number of his condemned prisoners were dedicated to the honour of the solemnity. The number of those that were destroyed by beasts, fire, and in combat one with another, were supposed to amount at least to two thousand five hundred; and all this too little in the opinion of the Romans, who bore them a mortal aversion. Titus went afterwards to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia, and a Roman colony, where he continued for some time, and celebrated his father's birth-day with more splendour and magnificence than the former, both for spectacles, and other sumptuous entertainments.

C H A P. XXI.

The Jews dispersed throughout the habitable earth, especially in Syria and Antioch. Antiochus, the son of a Jew, occasions many disasters, by setting up the Pagan worship, and suppressing the observation of the sabbath. The city takes fire, and Antiochus imputes it falsely to the Jews.

THE Jews in Antioch were now accused for divers misdemeanors against them, of a public rather than a private nature. But it is necessary to enlarge upon this subject, for the better understanding the sequel of this history.

The Jews are a people dispersed over the face of the whole earth, particularly amongst the Syrians, as they are their near neighbours, and more especially in Antioch, where there are great numbers of them, not only on account of its being a large and populous city, but also by reason of the privileges and immunities they have enjoyed through the favour of Government ever since the days of Antiochus Epi-

Is fettered by a Roman officer, and laid in chains.

Released for a triumph at Rome.

phanes, who laid waste the city of Jerusalem, and rifled the temple. The successors of Antiochus caused restitution to be made to the Jews of all the brazen vessels that had been taken away, in order to be dedicated to the service of their synagogue at Antioch, allowing them the same freedom of the city with the Greeks; and they were likewise treated by the succeeding kings after the same manner, their numbers increasing, and their temple rich and flourishing, insomuch, that several Pagan profelytes came over to them, and incorporated with their nation.

They are numerous, and wealthy.

But, upon the breaking up of the war, and Vespasian's passing by sea into Syria, the Jews rendered themselves extremely odious from one particular instance. There was one Antiochus, son of one of the most eminent Jews in Antioch, both for rank and power. This Antiochus coming into the theatre upon a public assembly, openly charged his father, and certain other foreign Jews by name, with a design to fire the city in the night. This enraged the multitude to such a degree, that they called immediately for fire, and burnt the pretended conspirators in the midst of the theatre. The rabble were for doing the same execution on all the rest, and securing their country before it was too late. Antiochus aggravated their rage as much as possible; and, as an argument of the affection he had for the Pagan worship, and his aversion to that of the Jews, he not only sacrificed after the Pagan manner himself, but forced others to do so, upon pain of death in case of refusal. Some of the inhabitants of Antioch complied with this injunction; but most of the Jews stood out, and were put to death.

Disasters occasioned by Antiochus, the son of a Jew.

He sets up the Pagan worship.

Antiochus being by this time in a better condition to wreak his vengeance upon the Jews, having a command given him by the governor, exercised more rigour towards the citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, forcing them to work indifferently upon that day as upon others; and carried matters to such extremity, that the observation of the sabbath was not only abolished at Antioch, but in danger of being abrogated every where else.

Suppresses the observation of the sabbath.

The persecution of the Jews at Antioch was followed by another calamity. The square market, with several offices where the public records were deposited, and other stately buildings, happening to take fire, the flame was so fierce, that the whole city was in danger of being burnt to the ground. Antiochus imputed the cause of it to the Jews, and the natives were apt enough to believe it, for the very sake of the late story, even if they had not been prepossessed against them beforehand. Taking the matter, however, for granted, they fell upon the persons accused with so outrageous a fury, that Callegas, the deputy-governor to Cerenius Petus, had the utmost difficulty to keep the people quiet, till the emperor might be duly informed of the affair. Cerenius had his commission as the governor, but was not as yet come to his command. Callegas, upon a strict examination of the matter, evidently discovered that not one of the Jews accused by Antiochus had any hand in it. It appeared, on the contrary, to be the scheme of a few abandoned profligates of desperate fortunes, whose only means of securing themselves from being apprehended by their creditors, was to destroy their evidence. But the Jews were yet under great terror from uncertain expectations of the issue of these false accusations.

The Jews accused of firing the city of Antioch.

C H A P. XXII.

Titus expresses the greatest joy upon his father's arrival in Italy. Vespasian is received at Rome with universal acclamations.

TITUS, on receiving the news of his father's happy arrival in Italy, and of the honourable reception he had met with in the course of his progress, and particularly the singular respect shewn him on his entering the city of Rome, could not but

Vespasian is
universally
respected.

but give every demonstration of pleasure and satisfaction. Vespasian was held in the same veneration at all distances; as if he had been present; and the pleasing expectation the people had of seeing him, in some degree compensated for his absence. The senate, who bore in memory the miserable revolutions they had seen, upon transferring the sovereign rule from one prince to another, esteemed themselves happy in the blessing of an emperor that brought reputation, conduct, and experience with him into the administration. The common people were no less pleased with the change, especially as they were at that time embroiled in civil wars, and entertained a hope of being restored, by his means, to their ancient freedom and plenty. The military part had a peculiar affection for him; for the proofs he had given them, upon divers occasions, of his martial skill and genuine prowess, besides the sense they retained of the shame and scandal they had suffered under other commanders, made them conclude that no man was so fit to let them right as Vespasian.

All people
charmed
with his af-
fability and
address.

This prince, in fine, was so universally beloved, that those who enjoyed any posts of dignity under the government, had not patience to wait his coming at a distance, and therefore went out to meet him a considerable way from the city, with such a train of the populace after them, that more came out than stayed behind. As he advanced near the town, word was brought him how he gained upon the affection of the people by his affability and address; the ways being thronged with women and children, from a longing curiosity to see him, breaking into rapture of admiration at the elegance of his person, and the politeness of his manners; calling him their benefactor, deliverer, and protector, and extolling him as the only prince under the sun that deserved an imperial crown. The whole city was so set out with garlands and perfumes, that it resembled a temple; and the streets so crowded, that there was hardly any passing to the palace. Vespasian at the same time, offered up to his household gods sacrifices of thanksgiving for his safe return, while the multitude gave themselves up to feasting, with their tribes, families and neighbours, wishing a long and happy reign to Vespasian, and a continuance of the imperial sovereignty to his son, and those of the line that should come after him. This was the manner in which the citizens of Rome received Vespasian, and the empire immediately experienced the happiness of his auspicious reign.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Germans revolt, with the cause of it. Cassius and Civilis the authors of a rebellion. Petilius Cerealis puts some stop to it, and Domitian totally suppresses it. An irruption of the Scythians into the Roman territories. Rubrius Gallus puts them all to the rout.

The Ger-
mans rebel.

BEFORE the arrival of Vespasian at Alexandria, and during the time that Titus was before Jerusalem, there happened a revolt among the Germans, to which they were animated and encouraged by their neighbours the Gauls, in hopes of shaking off the Roman yoke. The Germans being naturally ferocious and inconsiderate, readily engaged in any rash undertaking; besides, they were incited to it by a mortal aversion to the Romans, as the only power they feared: to which may be added, a favourable conjuncture of the times, with respect to the present factions and divisions of the empire upon so many changes of government.

Cassius and
Civilis the
authors of
a rebellion.

Cassius and Civilis, two men of rank among the Germans, took advantage of these distractions to promote a sedition, to which they had been disposed long before. Upon sounding the multitude, they found them eager for the attempt; and in all probability they would in general have embarked in it, had they not been prevented by a fortuitous circumstance for the Romans. Petilius Cerealis, formerly governor of Germany, received letters from Vespasian, appointing him consul, and commanding him to repair immediately to Italy, and take upon him

the command. Having intelligence, on his way, of this insurrection, he marched against them as they were in a body, charged and put them to the rout with very great slaughter, and brought the rest back again to their duty. Had not Cerealis fallen thus suddenly upon them, it had not been long before they would have been brought to condign punishment. For the news of this rebellion had no sooner reached Rome, than Domitian, the son of Vespasian, who inherited the heroic spirit of his valiant father, put himself at the head of an army against these barbarians, who, upon the very rumour of his approach, surrendered themselves, deeming it a happiness to return to their former allegiance, without suffering any farther punishment. When Domitian had appeased the commotion in Gaul, so as to obviate any suspicion of a relapse, he returned to Rome, amidst the acclamations of the people, as having performed exploits that were above his own age, and worthy the son of so great a father.

The rebellion of the Germans was followed by a furious incursion of the Scythians, or Samaritans, who, transporting themselves over the Danube, with a vast body of men, into Mysia, without being perceived, surprized several Roman garrisons, and, with relentless cruelty, put them all to the sword. They also slew Fonteus Agrippa, a man of consular authority, at the head of his troops, and proceeded to lay waste the whole province. When Vespasian received intelligence of the havoc they made in Mysia, he sent Rubrius Gallus to call them to account. This officer did great execution upon them; so that the insurrection was quickly at an end; and the general took care to secure the passages leading to the province from any such incursions in future.

C H A P. XXIV.

Titus marches in triumph with his prisoners. The sabbatical river, and whence it derived that appellation. The people of Antioch rejoice at the arrival of Titus. Present a petition against the Jews, which is rejected. Titus goes for Egypt, and is much affected at the desolate condition of Jerusalem. Vast treasures buried in its ruins. Simon and John, with seven hundred chosen men, are reserved to grace the triumph. The order and magnificence of it. The solemnity concluded in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Death of Simon Gioras. Vespasian dedicates a temple to peace.

TITUS, on his return from Berytus, exhibited magnificent spectacles in all the cities through which he passed, carrying his captives with him for the honour of his arms, and the ornament of his triumph. The prince observed on his way, betwixt Arcea and Raphanea, two cities in the kingdom of Agrippa, a certain river of so peculiar a nature as deserves to be recorded in history. While this river flows, it has a full stream of a strong current; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leaves the channel dry to the very bottom. On the seventh day it fills again, as though it had undergone no change, and keeps exactly the same course as before. Hence it is called the sabbatical river, alluding to the seventh day's festival among the Jews.

When the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so rejoiced at the tidings, that the populace posted away thirty furlongs out of the town, to meet and welcome him on his way. As he drew near, they made a lane to receive him, and with all possible demonstration of affection and respect, conducted him to the city, intermixing with their acclamations earnest importunities to banish all the Jews out of the city. Titus did not yield to their intreaty, but gave them the bare hearing quietly. The Jews, however, were in fearful apprehensions of the result.

Titus made no stay at Antioch, but continued his progress towards Teugma, which lies upon the Euphrates,



T. West delin.

Nagle sculp.

Magnificent TRIUMPH of TITUS after the Reduction of Jerusalem.

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Euphrates, where he was attended with an embassy from Vologetus, king of Parthia, and the compliment of a golden crown in congratulation of his victory over the Jews. Titus accepted of the present, treated with the ambassadors, and went back again to Antioch, whither he no sooner arrived, than the magistracy invited him, with great earnestness, to the theatre, with which he graciously complied, and there found a mighty concourse of the citizens waiting his entrance. They immediately renewed their intreaties to him for the expulsion of the Jews; to which Titus, with his usual presence of mind, made this reply, "That their own country was destroyed, and no other would receive them." When they failed in this instance, they preferred another request, which was, that the pillars of brass, with the inscriptions upon them, of the Jewish privileges, might either be removed or defaced. Titus would not interest himself in either; but left the Jews at Antioch in the same state as he found them, and so went on his way for Egypt.

As he was on his journey, and saw the miserable desolated condition of Jerusalem, and the country about it, he could not but form a comparison betwixt the former and present state; the one resembling a paradise, the other a desert. This induced him most compassionately to deplore the destruction of so famous a city, and execrate the authors of the sedition that were the cause of it. So far was he from pretending to raise his reputation upon a public calamity, that he detested the instruments that forced him upon this extremity. There was vast treasure buried in the ruins of the city, as gold, silver, and other precious commodities, to an inestimable value, which the proprietors had concealed there through fear of the enemy. Some the Romans found out; but the greatest discovery was made by the prisoners. Titus pursued his intended journey to Egypt, passed over the desert with expedition into Alexandria, and formed a resolution of embarking thence for Italy, having sent back the two legions that accompanied him to their old quarters; the fifth to Mysia, and the tenth into Pannonia. But Simon and John, with seven hundred prisoners, selected from the rest for the comeliness of their persons, were transported to Italy, in order to grace the triumph.

After a prosperous voyage, Titus arrived at Rome, where he was received with the same honour and respect as his father. Vespasian went up with the rest to meet his son; a circumstance which the people looked upon as an earnest of greater blessings, since the father and his two sons were brought together by so auspicious a Providence.

Some few days after this, the senate having resolved upon two several triumphs, one for the father, the other for the son, in honour of their illustrious achievements, Vespasian and Titus, notwithstanding this decree, declared themselves for contracting both triumphs into one. Previous notice having been given of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every one went out to secure a station, inasmuch that, when they were all placed, there was hardly a passage for the procession. The soldiers, with their officers at the head, marched in good order before day, up to the gates near the temple of Isis, where the princes rested the foregoing night, in order to wait their coming up. At break of day, Vespasian and Titus advanced, with crowns of laurel upon their heads, and purple robes, after the manner of their country, as far as the Octavian Walks, where the senate, nobility, and Roman knights, waited for them. A tribunal was erected before the portal, and ivory seats upon it, which they mounted, and sitting down, were saluted with the acclamations of the whole field. As they were going on with their eulogies on the princes, Vespasian made a signal for silence; and when all was hush and quiet, he stood up, and covering part of his head with his garment, offered up certain vows and prayers according to custom; and, after him, Titus

did the like. Vespasian then, in a short speech, addressed the spectators in general, and sent away the soldiers to an entertainment prepared for them at the charge of the emperor. He then went to the triumphal gate, so called from the procession in triumph passing that way, where, taking a repast, and putting on their triumphal habits, they offered sacrifices, and so led on the triumph, and marched through the theatres for the better view of the people, and the greater glory of the solemnity.

The magnificence and variety of these spectacles cannot be conceived, much less expressed; whether they are considered in point of exquisite workmanship, immense value, or attracting novelty; for they comprehended an assemblage of curiosities many years selecting, and now combined to compleat the triumph of the auspicious day, to the honour of the transcendent dignity of the Roman empire. There was a vast quantity of gold, silver, and ivory, wrought into a multiplicity of forms, and so disposed as to exhibit a view pleasingly variegated. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings; others accurately represented, to the life, figures embroidered by the art of the Babylonians. There were also jewels and precious stones; some enchased into golden crowns, and some set with other fancies, to add to the variety and splendour of the spectacle. They had the images of their gods, with figures of divers animals, exquisitely finished, and superbly attired. These were borne by a vast number of people, arrayed in purple garments, interwoven with gold; and all those that were set apart for the service of the solemnity, had their distinguishing ornaments of state and splendour. The very captives were not without something graceful in their habits, to disguise the misery of their condition, and the marks of slavery they wore in their faces.

But nothing was more worthy of admiration than the structure of the pageants, which were of such magnitude, that it was almost incredible that the bearers could support them. The cost was equal to the execution; for the furniture was wrought with gold, silver, and ivory. There were also the most lively representations of war, with all the circumstances that attend it. In one place was the delineation of a fruitful country laid waste; in another whole armies cut to pieces; some flying, others pursuing, or taken prisoners; strong walls battered to the ground; forts demolished; breaches made in fortified cities; towns taken by assault; streets flowing with blood, and the vanquished imploring mercy; temples in flames; houses falling upon the heads of their tenants; and rivers, with their streams, warped from refreshing the fields, and taking their course through a general conflagration. This, in a word, portrayed a lively image of the miseries of the Jews; and was so admirably constructed by fancy and art, that it might furnish a picturesque description of the ruin of our once famous city, for the information of those who were not eye-witnesses to it.

Upon each of the pageants were represented the governors of the place that was taken, and the manner of taking it. Next in order came the shipping; and then the spoils, that were dispersed up and down in several places. The most considerable pieces were the golden tables, and the golden candlestick, that were taken out of the temple of Jerusalem; the former weighing several talents, and the other not applied to the use for which it was intended. There was a kind of pillar that came out of the foot of it, and out of that pillar, as from the stem of a tree, seven branches, every branch having at the top the resemblance of a lamp; the number of seven intimating the veneration the Jews have for their seventh day. After this came the Jewish law, which was the last trophy of their conquests that the Romans exposed. Vespasian himself, with Titus, brought up the rear, attended by Domitian on horseback, mounted according to the dignity of his station. They marched together into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there finished the triumph.

They

The triumph ends at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Death of
Simon Gioras.

They remained some little time in this place, it being according to ancient custom so to do upon the like occasion, till news was brought them that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon Gioras, one of the captives that was led in triumph through the market-place, with a rope about his neck, and put to death by those that drew him, according to the Roman law and practice in the case of such malefactors. Word being brought that Gioras was dead, the whole field rang with shouts and acclamations, and the people betook themselves to their vows and sacrifices; and when the solemnity was over, the princes returned to the palace, where they gave an elegant entertainment; and nothing prevailed throughout the city but mirth, festivity, and giving thanks for the final victory they had obtained over their enemies, to the glory of their generals, and the moral assurance of public tranquillity.

Vespasian
dedicates a
temple to
peace.

When these triumphs were over, and the empire settled on the surest foundation, Vespasian erected a temple dedicated to peace. It was finished in so short a time, and so glorious a manner, as exceeded all human expectation. He spared no cost, over and above a collection of the choicest curiosities in painting and sculpture, to adorn it; insomuch, that people flocked from all quarters to see the glory and order of this admirable structure. In this temple he deposited the golden table and the candlestick, as the most valuable trophies of his victory; giving orders that the Jewish laws, and purple veils of the sanctuary, should be lodged with great care and reverence in the place.

C H A P. XXV.

The situation of Machærus. Nature of the plants, rue and baaras. Bassus besieges Machærus. The natives defend the castle, and the strangers the lower town. Daily skirmishes. A gallant enterprize of Eleazar. Bassus discharges the garrison, and sets Eleazar at liberty.

Bassus is
sent into
Judæa.

WHEN Lucilius Bassus was sent, by Cæsar, as legate into Judæa, he took upon him the command of the army from Cerealis Petilianus, and made himself master of the castle of Herodion, with the garrison that was in it. After this he drew his troops together, that lay scattered up and down, proposing, with the help of the tenth legion, to reduce Machærus; a design of the utmost importance, as the strength of that place would ever be an inducement to a rebellion; and as the situation of it gave confidence to the town, so it struck an awe, on the other hand, upon any that should attempt it.

Situation of
Machærus.

The mountain, upon which Machærus stands, is prodigiously high and rocky, to the degree of rendering it almost impregnable. Nature has made it well high inaccessible too, by enclosing it with vallies that are neither to be passed, nor to be filled up; and so deep likewise, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms. It reaches to the westward sixty furlongs in length, and borders on the lake Asphaltitis; and the castle hath an unbounded prospect over all that quarter. On the north and south it is encompassed with vallies of the same dimensions, and as secure from any attempt as on the other parts. The depth on the east, is, in length, an hundred cubits, and reaches to the mountains over against Machærus.

A strong ci-
tadel with a
wall, and
turrets,
raised at
Machærus.

Alexander, king of the Jews, was the first that fortified this place, and built a castle upon it, which Gabinius afterwards demolished in his war with Aristobulus. Then Herod the Great, deeming it an object worthy of his regard, as a place of defence against the Arabians, ran a substantial wall about it, with strong turrets at the corners, of sixty cubits in height; and in the middle built a magnificent palace, which was abundantly supplied with water from cisterns, wherever there was occasion for it, as if nature and art had been at strife which should exceed the other, the one by situation, the other by improvement. He likewise furnished this castle

with so plentiful a magazine of arms, arrows, engines, and provisions of every kind, both for war and sustenance, that the garrison never need to fear either force or famine.

Within this palace there grew a sort of rue, that excited admiration on account of its size, being as tall and well spread as any fig-tree. According to report, it has been there ever since the days of Herod, and might have continued longer, if the Jews had not rooted it up upon taking the place. In the valley on the north side of Machærus, called Baaras, there grows a plant of the same name. Its colour resembles that of a flame, and towards the evening it sends forth a ray like lightning. It is not easily taken, as it recedes from the touch; nay, it is certain death to touch it, without a piece of the root in the hand. It is also taken without danger in the following manner. They dig a trench quite round it, till the hidden part of the root becomes very small, and then tie a dog to it, and when the dog struggles hard to follow him that tied him, the root is plucked up; but the animal expires immediately, as if it were to redeem the man. After this it may be touched with as much safety as any other plant; but it possesses one quality that compensates for the trouble in obtaining it, being, on the touch, a certain remedy for the expulsion of demons.

In the same place there is a wonderful diversity of springs and fountains, of very different qualities and tastes; some being hot, others sweet, and others bitter. There are also cold springs, intermingled one with another, in the lower ground. But that which is more surprizing, is a shallow cave, with a rocky stone over it, and the figure of two breasts, like two fountains, prominent from it; the one discharging hot water, and the other cold; and they compose a most agreeable bath, which is salutary in many maladies, and especially those of the nerves. There are also mines of sulphur and allum.

When Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, proposing to fill up the valley to the east of the town, and make his approaches that way. He first, with great pains and expedition, raised a bank against the castle, as the most probable means of facilitating the attempt. The Jews resident divided themselves from those who were strangers, and turned them off as an insignificant herd to sustain the first shock; while they seized on the upper citadel, and held it, not only as the most defensible of the two, but as a place where they might make better terms with the Romans in case of the worst. They determined, however, to use every effort to divert the siege; and there passed not a day without resolute sallies and skirmishes, and a considerable loss of men on both sides; one party sometimes having the advantage, and sometimes the other. The Jews, when they fell upon the Romans by surprize, and the Romans, when they were aware of the Jews coming, provided to receive them. But the conclusion of the siege did not depend on these skirmishes, for an incident happened that reduced the Jews to an absolute necessity of giving up the castle.

There was amongst the besieged, one Eleazar, a young man, of a bold and enterprizing spirit, who made several vigorous sallies, and did all that was possible, both by counsel and example, to obstruct the progress of the Romans, and put a check to their undertakings, insomuch that he became at once a terror to his enemies, and a support to his friends. He was the first that presented himself in all encounters, and the last in case of a retreat that came off. It happened, on a certain time, when a skirmish was over, and both parties were withdrawn, that Eleazar, in a vain glorious contempt of the enemy, made a stop without the gate, and began to talk to some of the defendants upon the walls. This being within view of the Roman camp, one Rufus, an Egyptian, availing himself of the opportunity, seized him unawares, and carried him off, armed as he was, into the enemy's quarter. The Roman general ordered him to be stripped and scourged upon the ground in the sight of the city. The Jews were so confounded at the calamitous accident that befel this gallant

gallant youth, that he became a subject of universal condolment; which Bassus perceiving, he naturally concluded, that, if he could but excite their compassion, he might gain his point, and bring them to a composition of giving up the place to save Eleazar's life. This fancy succeeded to his wish; for, upon the setting up of a cross, as if Eleazar was to be forthwith crucified, the garrison broke out into an outcry with one voice, "that their affliction was intolerable." Eleazar, upon this, begged of them to consider both his case, who was now to die a wretched death, and their own, nor contend longer with the valour and fortune of the Romans, since the world had already submitted itself to their empire.

This submission and supplication of Eleazar, together with the powerful intercessions of his friends, who were men of rank and influence, softened the defendants into such a tenderness, that they sent deputies immediately to the Romans, with proposals to deliver up the castle, upon condition of discharging Eleazar, and leaving the garrison at liberty to go whither they would. Bassus accepted the terms; while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower town, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night. Upon opening the gates, Bassus had notice of it from those who had come to terms with him; but the most courageous prevented the enemy from entering the town, and got off; while the rest, to the number of 1700 men, were put to the sword, and the women and children made slaves. But as Bassus deemed it expedient to fulfil his articles, he dismissed the garrison, and set Eleazar at liberty.

C H A P. XXVI.

The forest of Jarden is beset by the Romans. The fortitude of the Jews when besieged. Great slaughter amongst them. A poll-tax imposed by the emperor.

WHEN Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily with his army to the forest of Jarden, upon intelligence that great numbers of Jews, who had escaped from Jerusalem and Machabrus, were there assembled. Finding, upon his arrival, that the information was authentic, he first surrounded the whole place with his horse, where he ordered so strict a guard to be kept, that not a Jew could possibly pass them. He employed his foot, at the same time, to cut down the trees and bushes of the thickets where the Jews had taken sanctuary; so that they had no way of escaping but by rushing thro' the troops of the enemy. This being the last experiment, they drew all into a body, and, with an impetuous clamour, made one desperate push upon those who surrounded them, and were as bravely received. The contest, in fine, through the dauntless temerity on the one side, and firm resolution on the other, was hot and obstinate; but victory, in the end, declared for the Romans, with the loss only of twelve killed, and not many wounded; whereas of the three thousand Jews that were in this action, not so much as one man came off. Among the rest was Judas, the son of Jair, their leader, who had formerly a command at the siege of Jerusalem, and made his escape at last out of a vault.

The emperor, at the same time, wrote to his officer Liberius Maximus, to make sale of all the Jews lands, as he would not trouble himself with rebuilding any other cities, but take them all to his own use, leaving only eight hundred soldiers in Emmaus, about sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and imposing a poll-tax upon every Jew of two drachmæ, or half a shekel a year, to be paid into the capitol, as had been formerly done into the temple. Such was the miserable state of the Jews at that time.

No. 39.

C H A P. XXVII.

The calamities that beset Antiochus, king of Comagena. He is represented as an enemy to Cæsar, by Celsennius, who makes an incursion into his dominions. Antiochus resolves to withdraw, and not return any act of hostility. Epiphanes and Callinicus, his two sons, give battle to the Romans. Antiochus flies into Cilicia. The brothers escape to the king of Parthia, who receives them generously. Vespasian kindly treats Antiochus, his captive. The father and sons are conducted to Rome, and highly entertained. The Scythians break into Media, and carry off immense booty. Narrow escape of Tiridates, king of Armenia.

IN the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it happened that Antiochus, king of Comagena, with his whole family, fell into very great calamities; and this was the occasion. Celsennius Petus, who was governor of Syria at this time, wrote Cæsar word that Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes, were resolved to revolt from the Romans, and had treated with the king of Parthia about it, pointing out, at the same time, the necessity of preventing the mischief, by striking the first blow. Whatever might be the motive on the part of Celsennius, Cæsar could not, in prudence, neglect the advice; as the vicinity of the kingdoms rendered the consideration of importance; and as Samosata, the capital of Comagena, bordering upon Euphrates, might afford the Parthians an easy passage, or a secure retreat.

Vespasian, however, was so possessed with the credit of the story, that he left Celsennius at his own discretion, and a commission to act as might seem to himself most expedient. The Roman governor availed himself of his deputation, and fell immediately into Comagena with the sixth legion, and some squadrons of horse and foot. He also called in to his assistance Aristobulus, king of Chalcis, and Sohemus, king of Emesa; Antiochus not in the least suspecting his design. His entrance met with no opposition; for the natives were not in a condition to encounter him; nor had Antiochus, when he heard of the incursion, the least thought of a misunderstanding with the Romans. In this embarrassment he determined to leave his kingdom in its present state, and retire, with his wife and children, to Rome, in order to demonstrate his good faith to the empire. Hereupon he withdrew about an hundred and thirty furlongs from the city, and encamped upon a plain. Celsennius, in the mean time, sent soldiers to take possession of Samosata, and keep garrison there; while he himself, with other troops, marched away after Antiochus. But all this violence and injustice did not provoke the king to any unfriendly act against the Romans. He only bemoaned his hard fate, and endured, with patience, what he was not able to prevent.

But his sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, who were youthful, brave, and martial, could not, in honour, but betake themselves to arms; so that drawing out what forces they were able to raise, they gave the Romans battle, maintained it the whole day, and, in the end, evinced a conduct equal to their valour; for they came off with very little loss.

The fortune of this day, though favourable to Antiochus, did not stop the retreat upon which he had resolved; for he took his wife and daughters away with him into Cilicia, and by that means greatly discouraged his soldiers, who having nothing to hope when their king despaired, deserted, and went over to the Romans. It therefore became necessary for his sons to provide for their own security before it was too late; so that, with ten horsemen, they passed the Euphrates (where they were now safe) in their way to Vologeses, king of Parthia. This generous prince, upon their arrival, did not treat them as fugitives, but with a respect that became their birth and quality.

Antiochus

Antiochus an unfortunate prince.

Expedition of Celsennius into Comagena.

The sons of Antiochus give the Romans battle.

He flies into Cilicia.

The brethren fly to Vologeses, and are kindly received by the king of Parthia.

Bassus dismisses the garrison, and discharges Eleazar.

Bassus besets the Jews in the forest of Jarden.

Jews cut off.

Antiochus
is gene-
rally treat-
ed by Vespasian.

Antiochus having reached Tarsus, in Cilicia, Cæcennius sent an officer to take him into custody, and carry him bound to Rome. But Vespasian was too generous to treat a crowned head with indignity; and chose rather to shew respect to an ancient friendship, than to revenge himself for a supposed injury. He therefore ordered his chains to be taken off upon the way, and his journey to Rome relpited, that he might make some stay at Lacedæmon, where he furnished him with a provision of money suitable to the dignity of his character.

This frank and honourable proceeding towards Antiochus, not only delivered the brothers from the anxiety they were under for their father, but encouraged them to hope for a reconciliation with Cæsar himself, especially at the intercession of Vologeses, that they might be permitted to go to Rome, being ever desirous of living within the pale of the empire. They came on, in fine, to Rome, whither their father was soon after conducted; and they were all three treated with every token of affection and esteem.

The Scythians and confederates break into Media.

The people now known by the name of Alanes, formerly called Scythians, inhabiting the country near the river Tanais, and the lake Mæotis, joined in confederacy with the king of Hyrcania, to break into Media, and commit depredations; for he was master of that passage which Alexander shut up with iron gates. This pass being now laid open, they possessed themselves of the place, without either suspicion or resistance, and carried off a booty, in goods and cattle, to a considerable value. This inroad so alarmed Pacorus, then king of the place, that he left his possessions at mercy, and fled, for his own safety, into obscure recesses, till he found means at length, with some difficulty, to redeem his wife and concubines for an hundred talents. Tiridates, who afterwards became king of that country, met and fought them, but was nearly taken alive in the battle, by the noose of an halter that was thrown over his head; but, in the very moment as they were drawing him off, he cut the rope with his sword, and made his escape. The success of this combat rendered those barbarians more bloody and insolent than before, inasmuch that they ravaged the country, and carried off with them an immense booty.

A narrow escape of Tiridates.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Massada, a receptacle for those robbers called Sicarii, under the government of Eleazar. The abominable practices that now prevailed. Silva, the Roman general, besieges Massada. Its situation, state and condition, both from art and nature. Silva advances his batteries, and gains the rock Leuce; but, after a failure, sets all in a flame. Discourse of Eleazar on the contempt of death, and immortality of the soul. Reflections on the opinions of the Indian philosophers and Brachmans. The effects of the discourse upon the Jews. The Romans advance the next morning to the assault, and find only a pile of dead bodies to receive them.

Flavius Silva succeeds Bassus in the government of Judæa.

Eleazar is governor of Massada.

ON the demise of Bassus, Flavius Silva was appointed governor of Judæa; and finding the whole country reduced to the obedience of the empire, excepting one rebellious castle, he drew out his utmost strength, with a resolution to attack it. The name of the castle was Massada; and it was under the command of one Eleazar, ringleader of the Sicarii, who had seized upon it. This Eleazar was a descendant from that Judas who persuaded a great number of Jews not to submit to the taxation, when Cyrenius executed the office of censor in Judæa. The faction of the Sicarii, it is to be observed, were professed enemies to all that shewed any manner of respect to the Romans, and treated them in that light, even to the degree of pillaging their goods, driving away their cattle, and burning their houses; alledging, "that those men were no better than strangers who betrayed their country in a dast-

tardly manner, and had rather live slaves than free-men, notwithstanding freedom is a blessing that can never be too dearly purchased."

But this specious declaration was only a covert for their inhumanity and avarice, as most evidently appeared in the conclusion; for, when these very men, whom they branded with perfidy and cowardice, came to join the revolt, and in the common cause against the Romans, they were more injuriously treated than before, especially those that laid open the hypocrisy of their pretensions, and the iniquity of their practices.

There never was an age since the creation, in which all manner of impiety prevailed amongst the Jews more than at this juncture. Invention seemed too racked for a new species of wickedness; men seemed to agree in every kind of corruption, and there was an emulation to excel in evil doing. Those in power oppressed the common people, and the common people opposed the authority of those in power; the one contending for dominion, the other for plunder.

The Sicarii were the first that led the way to this licentious course of massacre and rapine, never letting pass any opportunity, either by word or deed, of doing mischief. But the cruelties of John were of all the rest the most extravagant. This inhuman monster not only put particular men to death as common enemies, and especially citizens, for presuming to advise measures profitable for the public, but multiplied all manner of outrages upon his country. What better, indeed, could be expected from a man who seemed to set the majesty of heaven at defiance, as in the particular instances of the use of forbidden meats, renouncing the purity of his profession, and departing from the laws and customs of our forefathers? That man will scarcely prove humane to his fellow-creature, that is impious towards his Creator.

Simon, the son of Gioras, seems to have emulated John of Gischala in his nefarious practices. What barbarities did he not inflict upon the very men that raised him! He enslaved those that were born free, violated the ties of blood and friendship, inflamed his myrmidons to the execution of the most horrid butcheries, who deemed the injuring of strangers a kind of disgraceful exploit, compared with the heroic bravery of trampling upon their own flesh and blood.

The Idumæans bore their part in the infamy of the times. These execrable miscreants, after assassinating the high-priests, and thereby cutting off, as much as in them lay, the whole frame and order of religion at one stroke, endeavoured to destroy the remains of political government, and introduced every species of iniquity that was practicable. This was the province of those that were called zealots, to whom that appellation was justly affixed, as they were the warmest patrons, and most sanguine advocates, for vice and irreligion, under the colour of piety and virtue, seducing those they would impose upon by fallacies, giving evil the semblance of good, and good that of evil. At length, however, Divine vengeance overtook and stopped them in their career; for they suffered all the calamities and torments that is possible for human nature to undergo, and this throughout the whole course of their lives. It might be justly said, that they suffered less than they deserved, because they could not be punished according to their deserts. Indeed, their crimes were of so crimson an hue, as to exclude them almost from pity, divine or human. But to return to our main point.

Silva, the Roman general, was now upon his march to besiege Massada, where there was a garrison of the Sicarii, under the command of Eleazar, who was at the head of that party. He had gained possession of the whole country about it, without much difficulty; settled his garrisons in the most convenient places; and run up a wall about the castle, to prevent excursions or escapes, and to secure his guards. He made choice of a quarter for his camp that he found

found most commodious for his purpose: this was upon the joining of the castle rock to the next mountain. Provisions, indeed, were extremely scarce; for they were brought a great length of way, and with much trouble to the Jews, whose business it was to supply them; besides the conveying of water another way, as there was no fountain near the place.

Having taken these previous steps, Silva made the necessary dispositions for the siege, which was like to be a work of time and labour, as will appear from a description of the situation of the castle.

It stands upon a large high rock, with deep and craggy precipices round about it. There is no discerning the bottom, by reason of other rocks, that interpose and cover it. The access is so difficult, that even beasts cannot climb it, except by two passages; one to the eastward from the lake Asphaltitis, which is very dangerous; the other from the west, which is more practicable of the two. One of these passages is called by the name of the Serpent, from the several windings and turnings in the ascent; for the rocks in many places double upon themselves: the passages are likewise so narrow, that there is a necessity for standing upon one foot, while the other is advanced; besides, one false step is certain death, as, on each side, there is a precipice tremendous to behold. This passage is estimated at thirty furlongs from the bottom to the top of the mountain, upon which is a plain, where Jonathan, the high priest, built a fortress, and called it Maffada.

Herod the Great afterwards adorned and fortified it, at immense charge and labour. He built a wall round it seven furlongs in compass, composed of curious white stone, twelve cubits in height, and eight in breadth. He erected also upon that wall twenty-seven turrets, each fifty cubits in height; and these turrets had a communication with all the buildings on the inside of the wall. The plain above was of so fruitful a soil, that Herod ordered it to be set apart for tillage, that those who should take sanctuary in the citadel, might never want provision. He built a magnificent palace for himself within the compass of the castle, the entrance fronting the west, and inclining a little to the north. The walls of it were high and strong, with towers in the four corners, each sixty cubits in height. The apartments, galleries, and baths, for construction and ornament, equalled any of his works, being supported by pillars each of one entire stone, and wrought with exquisite skill. In each quarter of the palace were many large cisterns, hewed out of the rock, for the preserving of water; so that these reservoirs abundantly supplied the want of fountains. There was also a way cut under ground from the palace up to the castle, which was not to be discovered from without; and that on the east side, as before observed, was impassable. On the way to the westward, and in the narrowest place, was built a large tower, a thousand cubits distant from the castle; and thus was their citadel fortified by art and nature, so as to frustrate the attempts of assailants.

Nor was this fortress provided only against force and stratagem, but also against the dint of famine, being stocked with corn, wine, oil, pulse, and dates for many years, all which Eleazar found there, when he, with his Sicarii, took it by surprize. Moreover, the provisions were as fresh and sound as if they had been recently deposited, though they had remained there little less than an hundred years, which probably might be owing to the purity of the air at that height abstracted from grois vapours.

There was also found here a magazine of arms sufficient for ten thousand men, stored there by order of Herod, together with a great quantity of unwrought iron, brass, lead, and tin; from which it may be presumed, he had some important design in contemplation. According to report, Herod prepared this fortress as a refuge against two kinds of danger: the one, lest the people should depose him, and restore the Asmonean family to the throne; the other, and much greater danger, lest Cleopatra

should prevail with Anthony to seek his life, in order to raise her to the government of Judæa, as she acknowledged to have tampered with him to accomplish such a purpose. Whatever was the motive, Herod put Maffada in such a condition, that it was long deemed impregnable; and was, indeed, the finishing stroke for the Romans in the Jewish war.

Silva, the Roman general, having, by the wall he built on the outside, precluded the Jews from escape, advanced with his engines, there being but one place that he could fill up to raise a bank; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill from the west, there was a large long rock, called Leuce, but not so high by three hundred cubits as Maffada. The general had no sooner gained this rock, than the soldiers fell to work with such alacrity, that a bank was soon raised two hundred cubits high; but not being strong enough to support the engines, they raised a kind of platform upon it, wrought with large stones, fifty cubits both in breadth and height. But besides these ordinary engines, they had others, of the invention of Vespasian, improved afterwards by Titus. They erected farther upon this platform, a tower of sixty cubits, plated with iron.

The Romans, from this turret, galled the defendants with darts and stones from the engines to such a degree, that they were forced to retire. At the same time Silva ordered the great battering ram to be brought forward, and played against the wall, and, in course of time, it made some impression. The Sicarii, however, quickly supplied the defect, by building another wall within that, which eluded the force of the engines; for the matter being pliant, it deadened the strokes.

When Silva found his engines ineffectual, he resolved to attempt that by fire which he could not compass by battery, and therefore ordered his soldiers to try what might be done by fire-brands towards destroying the defences. The new works, being chiefly composed of timber, took fire immediately, and burst out into a mighty flame, which began with the wind at the north, and beat so terribly upon the Romans, that they almost despaired of saving their engines; but the wind fortunately, though suddenly, veering about to the southward, drove so furiously upon the wall, that it set all in a flame from top to bottom. The Romans were so sensible of this providential appearance in their favour, that they returned cheerfully to their camp, with full resolution to attack the enemy next morning at day-break, and to keep careful watches, in the mean time, that they might not escape in the night.

But Eleazar never entertained a thought of flying himself, or suffering any of his people to do so. The wall, however, being consumed to the ground, and no hope or possibility left of safety or relief, the main point was to consider how they might deliver their wives and children from the ignominious treatment they had reason to expect at the hands of the Romans, whenever they came to be masters of the place. Eleazar, upon weighing the matter, concluding that a glorious death was infinitely preferable to a life of infamy, and that the noblest resolution they could take was not to outlive their liberties, called together the most courageous of his friends, and, in the following address, endeavoured to prevail with them to a compliance with it.

“ It is no new thing, my generous friends, for our people to disclaim any other lord and master, than the true and sovereign Lord and Master of the universe, God himself; and this without exception to the Romans, or to any other nation whatsoever. The time is now at hand to make good our words by our deeds; wherefore let us act like ourselves. We have hitherto run all hazards to preserve our freedom; but we are at present threatened with chains, and the worst of torments, if we fall alive into our enemies hands; as the first that fell off from them, and the last that stood out against them. The matter duly considered, we

Eleazar's address to his companions.

are

are to look upon it as a singular grace and favour from above, to be left still at liberty to chuse our death; a blessing denied to many that are gone before us. We are certain of being all slaves to-morrow, if we do not prevent it by setting ourselves free this very night; and it is not in the power of our enemies to hinder it; neither is there any thing they desire more than to take us alive; and it is now too late to think of contending any farther. Something might have been done at first, perhaps, if the assertors of our liberties had but duly considered things. For they would have found, that if God had not cast us off, though formerly his chosen people, he would never have exposed us to what we have suffered, both by our own divisions, and from our enemies, the destruction of so many of our principal men, and the holy city itself laid waste with fire and sword. How comes it, at last, that we alone are the men of the whole nation to stand up for our liberties, as if we ourselves were innocent of those iniquities that we have taught to others? You see, by this time, the vanity of your extravagant hopes, and the misery of your disappointments. What are we the better for an impregnable castle, with ample provisions of arms, and all necessaries for our support, when God hath manifestly doomed us to destruction? What do you think of that judicial wind and fire, that left the Romans to consume us and our new wall? Or, was it not an infliction upon us for the crying sins we had been guilty of one towards another? Since our punishment is just, and there is no avoiding it, will it not be much more reasonable for us to do justice upon ourselves, than to leave it to the victorious Romans, as the executors of Divine vengeance? By this means we secure the honour of our wives, and the freedom of our children. Next to them, let us honourably take our own turns, and die free; leaving that memorial behind us as the best of monuments. But first, let the castle be set on fire, and our own gold and silver melted down; for the Romans will be sick of their purchase, without the possession either of our treasure, or of our persons. Let the provisions for sustenance be left behind as a testimony that we are not starved into this condition; but kept to our first resolution of chusing death rather than bondage."

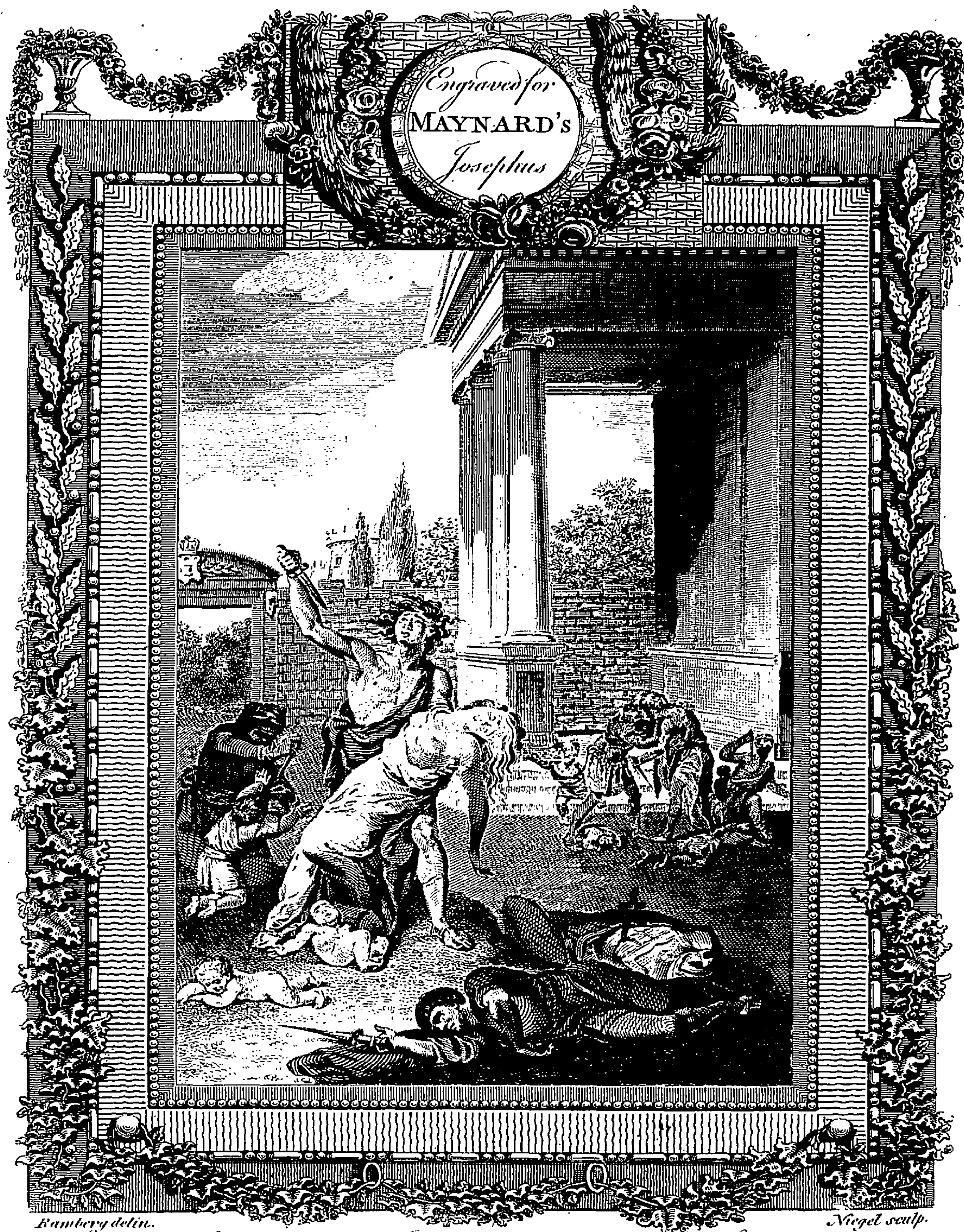
Eleazar's speech was differently received by the people to whom it was addressed. Those of a tender turn started at the thoughts of laying violent hands on themselves, and their tears betrayed the softness of their hearts. Others were pleased with the proposal, and desirous of putting it into execution. To work the former, however, into compliance, he proceeded in his exhortation, and advanced the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, with divers remarks and inferences, to the following effect:

He proceeds
in his ex-
hortation.

"I am wonderfully mistaken, I perceive, in my opinion, that brave men, in a contest for liberty, had rather lose their lives than their cause. For it is otherwise with you I find, that are afraid to die, though to deliver yourselves from calamities worse than death itself; and in a case too, that neither needs counsel, nor will bear delay. We have it from antiquity, the holy scriptures, the laws and customs of our country, the doctrine and practice of our forefathers, that it is not life, but death, that makes a man happy. What is it but death that sets the soul at liberty, and transmits it into those pure and blessed regions where it shall never know corruption? But so long as it communicates with the mortal body, it partakes also with the evils of that body, and it is in a manner dead; for what affinity is there betwixt divine and mortal? Soul and body in conjunction, it is true, may do much; for the body is but the soul's instrument, and their secret offices and operations are unaccountable. But when the soul comes once to be discharged of its clog and weight that keeps it down, and to recover its proper station, it enjoys a vigorous and perfect

liberty; not visible to human eyes, but invisible as God himself is; and it is invisible also in our bodies. It comes into us unseen, and so it goes out again, incorruptible in itself, but causing variety of changes in the body: for whatsoever the soul influences, it puts life and vigour into it; and whenever it withdraws itself, the separation is certain death. This does not hinder the soul yet from being immortal. As in sleep, for instance, how quietly does the soul repose itself in that respite from the distractions of the body! which shews the happiness of the soul is wrapt up within itself, and likewise that it holds some sort of communication with the Almighty, in foretelling things to come. But how can any man pretend to fear death that loves rest? or who, but a madman, for the sake of a short life, would grudge himself a life eternal? Besides, we are trained up, by the laws and institutions of our profession, not only to the contempt of death ourselves, but also to recommend and practise it for an example to others.

"If there needed any recourse to strangers for argument or authority upon this subject, what shall we say to the Indian philosophers and Brachmans? a wise and virtuous sort of people. They look upon life only as a necessary function of nature; an office which they discharge uneasily enough, and not without some impatience to be quit of the trouble. They are not weary of life neither, upon the account of pain or inconvenience; but, for the love of immortality, and a blessed conversation that shall never have an end. Nay, they take solemn leave of their friends too, as if it were but for a journey, and tell them when they are going: neither does any body offer to hinder them; but, on the contrary, wish them happy; and send formal messages by them to their friends, in full and certain confidence that they understand one another. So when they have received all their orders and instructions, they commit their bodies to the fire, as a preparatory purification, and go off with acclamations, and to the satisfaction of all the spectators. Among them, friends follow one another more cheerfully to death, than they would do to a long journey; congratulating those who are now entering into a state of immortality, and only lamenting the rest that stay behind. What a shame will it be for us now to fall short of the Indians, in a matter of this importance, and to bring a scandal upon the excellent laws and religion of our forefathers, by an inglorious pusillanimity! Or, put the case that we had been otherwise instructed, and brought up in the contrary principles from our infancy, as if life were the sovereign good of mankind, and death the most dismal of calamities, the very occasion should make us resolute in our case, since necessity and the will of God will have it so. We are now to be punished with the loss of life, for our former abuses of it; by the ordering of a Divine Providence. Neither are we to ascribe it to our own arms, or to the generosity of the Romans, that we were not every man cut off in this war. Nor was it simply a conquest, but the effect of a more powerful cause, that made it look like one. What had the Romans to do in that bloody massacre of the Jews at Cesarea, by the people of the place, where man, woman, and child, were cut off upon their seventh day's festival, without one word of a conspiracy, or the least resistance? Whereas the Romans never looked upon the Jews as their enemies, but only when they revolted. It will be said, perhaps, that there was an old grudge betwixt the Jews of Cesarea and the citizens, and that the latter took this opportunity for revenge. What shall we say then of the Scythopolitans, that joined with the Greeks against us, and not with our friends against the Romans? What did they get at last for their good-will, but the utter destruction of themselves and their families? This was the reward, in fine, that we had for our assistance; they brought us into the same extremity, out of which we rescued them.



Ramberg delin.

Nigel sculp.

The MEN of MASSADA (previous to destroying themselves)
MURDERING their WIVES and CHILDREN, *to prevent their*
falling into the hands of the Romans.

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"It would be too tedious to cite particular instances; for you well know that there is not so much as one city in Syria that has treated us better, and that has not been incomparably worse to us than the Romans. What think you of Damascus, that, without any colour, or pretence of disgust, butchered ten thousand Jews, with their wives and children, in that single city? Then they reckon at least sixty thousand killed in Ægypt. That is no wonder, you may say, in a strange land, where they had no seconds to stand by them. But to come to our own case, we, who had the courage to assert our liberties against the Romans in our country, and wanted neither men or arms, fearless spirits, impregnable cities, strong holds, or any other manner of provisions that might encourage or strengthen a revolt, and entitle us to a reasonable hope of a victorious issue. How long did this last, and to what end did this pompous preparation serve, save only to aggravate confusion? For all is lost, and only to the honour of the enemy; without any advantage to ourselves, for, and by, whom these stores were provided.

"How happy are they that fell with their swords in their hands, contending for their liberty, and in the same act preserving it, compared with the surviving remainder of us, that are reserved in chains! Some for torture, some for the fire, others for spectacles, some for combat, and others to be torn with scourges; some half eaten by beasts. Who would not suffer a thousand deaths rather than lead such a life? But the most deplorable of all the rest are those that are yet living, calling upon death, and yet have not the resolution to dispatch themselves.

"Summon up your thoughts, and consider what is become of your glorious metropolis, your mighty walls and fortifications, your impregnable towers and castles, your vast treasuries and magazines, (though too little for your stores,) your prodigious multitudes of men; your holy place too, known by the name of God's house? Is it not all torn up by the roots, and nothing to be seen of it, but the ruins, that serve only for a camp to the conqueror; a few unfortunate old men, mourning over the ashes of the temple; and a number of unhappy women, set apart for the most ignoble purposes?

"Can any thing, that hath the soul of a man, submit to look another sun in the face after this? Though he might live without either fear or danger, can any man be so unnatural to his country, so mean and narrow-spirited, as not to be grieved that he ever lived to see this day? It would have been well if we had been all in our graves before ever we beheld these sacrilegious ruins, and this glorious pile of Jerusalem laid in rubbish. But so long as we had hopes and courage, we flattered ourselves with the possibility of a redemption. That conceit, however, being now over, and nothing left us to trust to but the consideration of an insuperable necessity, we have nothing more to do than to take pity of ourselves, our wives, and our children, and to make all the haste we can, while we have the means in our hands. We are all born to die, the brave and the coward alike, and all subjected to the same fate. As to these points of indignity and slavery, the seeing of our wives dishonoured, and our children led in triumph, these are not evils arising from the necessity of our nature, but the results of cowardice, when a man might have died, and would not. As to us, that had the heart to abandon the Romans, fly in the face of our masters, and afterwards refuse quarter and pardon, when it was offered us, and not so much as accept of an indemnity, though they themselves begged it of us, can it be thought that, if ever they take us alive, this will be forgotten?

"It is shocking to think of the miserable condition both of young and old, betwixt the strength
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"of body, on the one hand, to lie languishing under a lingering torment, and the weakness of age, on the other, that is not able to support it. The husband must expect to see his wife dishonoured before his face; and the father to hear his children begging in chains for relief. But while we are free, and matters of our swords, let us make a glorious use of them, and preserve our liberties. Let us die freemen, with the comfort and company of our wives and children about us. It is but what they themselves desire, what our laws require at our hands, and what Providence itself hath made necessary for us. Only the Romans are against it, for fear we should do their work for them. Let us dispatch then; for it will be to our immortal honour to take the prize they long for out of their hands, in leaving them only the poor satisfaction of dead bodies for their triumph."

As Eleazar was proceeding in his exhortation they cut him off short, and expressed the greatest eagerness of accomplishing the design recommended, contending, with a kind of demoniacal fury, who should be foremost, as a mark of superior bravery; so ardent was the passion of these people for the destruction of themselves and families. Nor did their courage fail them when they came to the execution; they retained their natural affection to the last, from a confirmed opinion that they could not do their friends a better office. The husbands tenderly embraced their wives, took their children into their arms, and, with gushing tears, compleated their last resolve. The necessity of the action was at once a source of comfort and a plea of excuse, from a consideration of deliverance from those miseries they had to expect from the hands of their enemies. Not a man at length refused to act his part in the rueful scene, but dealt destruction, with a relentless hand, amongst the nearest and dearest friends and relations. Miserable men, indeed! whose poignant woes compelled them to slay their wives and offspring, as the lightest of evils that were before them.

The whole body concurs in opinion with Eleazar.

When they were no longer able to sustain the grief they were under for what they had done, deeming it an injury to those they had slain to survive them even the shortest space, they piled up all their goods in a heap, and burnt them; then chusing ten men by lot, out of their number, to do execution upon all the rest, they ranged themselves as close as possible to the dead bodies of their friends, gave them a parting embrace, and cheerfully submitted to the decisive stroke. When these ten had discharged their office with unshaken resolution, they cast lots among themselves which of them should dispatch the other nine, on condition that the surviving tenth man should slay himself upon the bodies of the rest. The nine died with the same constancy as the former; and the last man, having surveyed the bodies of those he had slain, to assure himself of their being effectually dispatched, set fire to the palace, cast himself upon his sword, and fell amongst his friends."

Ten executioners chosen by lot.

Thus concluded the fatal tragedy, upon a presumption that not a soul remained to become subject to the Romans. Yet it appeared afterwards, that there was one ancient woman, and a female relative of Eleazar, (a person of admirable qualities,) with five small children, who had concealed themselves in caverns, and escaped the massacre. The number of the slain was nine hundred and sixty, including women and children in the computation. This dreadful calamity happened on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.

Next morning, at break of day, the Romans made every preparation for an assault; but as no enemy appeared, nor any noise was to be heard but the crackling of flames, they stood in amazement and suspense, and at length made a general shout, to try if they could be answered. The clamour alarming the women, they came out of their caverns, and related the melancholy story of what had been done to the Romans, which appeared to them incredible, till, attempting to quench the fire, and following
6 A their

their way up to the palace, a dreadful spectacle of piles of carcases convinced them of the truth of it. They were struck with admiration at the courage and resolution of the Jews, who had thus magnanimously braved death, and maintained their freedom to the last gasp.

C H A P. XXIX.

Many of the Sicarii retire to Alexandria, and raise commotions. The Jews impute to them all their misfortunes. Refuse to acknowledge the supremacy of Cæsar.

MASSADA being thus reduced, the Roman general left a garrison in the fortrefs, and marched with his army to Cefarea, leaving the country in perfect peace behind him; for the Jews of Judæa were so broken and subdued by the burthen and continuance of the war, that not an enemy was to be heard of in that quarter. Yet disturbances soon after prevailed in Alexandria, where several Jews were put to death.

Many of the faction of the Sicarii had fled thither for sanctuary, and, not content with living in safety and ease, endeavoured to raise fresh commotions, by persuading many of the citizens to assert their liberty, esteem the Romans no better than themselves, and acknowledge no other lord than the Almighty Sovereign of the universe. They proceeded to avow these principles, which, if any of their own countrymen presumed to contradict, they were immediately put to death. Some they terrified, others they seduced from their allegiance to the Romans, till, in fine, their practices became so bold and dangerous, that the leading men took the alarm, and summoned a general meeting of the Jews, to arraign the temerity and folly of the Sicarii, and demonstrate that they had been the authors of all the evils that had fallen upon them. They observed, that as soon as their design should be known to the Romans, they would certainly avenge themselves upon all promiscuously, so that the innocent and guilty would be involved in one common calamity. From these considerations they cautioned the multitude to beware of bringing destruction on themselves through their means, and admonished them to provide for their own safety, by delivering these miscreants up to the Romans.

The multitude, thus apprized of their danger, complied with what had been proposed, fell violently upon the Sicarii, and seized six hundred of them immediately. The rest fled to Egypt, Thebes, and places adjacent, where they were soon taken, and brought back again; but so insuperable was their resolution, that they endured the most exquisite torments, rather than acknowledge Cæsar for their master. And what is more astonishing, the very children sustained the same tortures with the same resolution as the adults: in fine, not one soul of them would acknowledge Cæsar to save life, so far did their contempt of pain prevail over the fear of it.

C H A P. XXX.

Onias moves Ptolemy to grant the Jews permission to build a temple, and enjoy the exercise of their religion. Ptolemy grants the request. The temple is erected, and afterwards rifled and shut up.

LUPUS being at this time governor of Alexandria, gave Cæsar early intelligence of this commotion; and the emperor, well knowing the turbulent and seditious temper of the Jews, thought it advisable to be cautious of their meetings and cabals, to prevent faction and parties being raised, and therefore sent orders to the governor, to demolish their temple in the city of Onias, in Egypt.

This temple was built, and had its appellation from the following occasion.

Onias, the son of Simon, one of the high-priests, being driven out of Jerusalem, in the time of the war between Antiochus, king of Syria, and the Jews, withdrew to Alexandria, where he was kindly received by Ptolemy, king of Egypt; partly as an enemy to Antiochus, and partly upon a condition agreed upon betwixt them. Onias undertook to bring the Jews over to the interest of Ptolemy, if he would grant him one request. The king signifying compliance, Onias preferred his petition for permission to the Jews to erect a temple in some spot in Egypt, where they might meet for Divine service, according to the laws and religion of their country. By these means he intimated Antiochus would be rendered more obnoxious to the Jews, and the Jews more attached to his interest; besides, vast multitudes would (he added) put themselves under his protection for the free exercise of their religion.

Ptolemy acceded to the proposal, and assigned the Jews a spot of ground, distant about one hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis, in the track of Heliopolis. Onias built a castle there, and after that a temple; not comparable, indeed, to that at Jerusalem; though the tower bore a resemblance, being composed of huge stones, and sixty cubits in height. There was an altar, after the model of that at Jerusalem, and adorned in the same manner, with a diversity of donations, excepting that there was no candlestick, but a golden lamp of great brilliance, which hung upon a golden chain before the altar. This temple was encompassed with a brick wall, and had gates of stone. It was endowed with a considerable revenue, both in land and monies, that there might be nothing wanting to the solemnity and celebration of the service. Onias was not influenced to this undertaking by an unfeigned regard for the cause of religion, but the aversion he had to the Jews at Jerusalem, who forced him away; and he proposed to himself, by the erecting of this temple, to draw a great number of them back again to himself. There had been also an ancient prediction of the prophet Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that a temple should be built in Egypt by one of the Hebrew race.

Lupus, pursuant to the emperor's orders, went to this temple, took out of it several donations presented to it, and then shut it up. But Paulinus, who succeeded to the government on the demise of Lupus, not only rifled the temple of all that it contained, but threatened the priests severely if they concealed the least article. Nor would he permit any one to enter it on the account of religion, but rendered it wholly inaccessible, insomuch that there was not even the semblance of Divine worship there. The duration of time, from the building of this temple to the shutting it up, was three hundred and forty-three years.

C H A P. XXXI.

Jonathan, one of the Sicarii, stirs up a sedition in Cyrene. He is taken, and brought before Catullus, governor of Pentapolis. Proves an adept in the vile arts of subornation and corruption. Josephus, the historian, is falsely accused, but acquitted by Vespasian, who inflicts condign punishment on his calumniator. Catullus expires in great agony of body and mind.

THE baneful influence of the principles of the Sicarii spread like a contagion, and extended as far as Cyrene. One Jonathan, an enthusiastic weaver, having made his escape thither, drew a credulous multitude after him into woods and deserts, under pretext of shewing them signs and apparitions; and this imposture passed current with the lower class of people. But reaching the ears of some of the leading men of Greece, they gave immediate notice of it to Catullus, governor of Lybia Pentapolis, respecting their design, and the way

The turbulent disposition of the Sicarii.

They are arraigned by the Jews in public assembly.

Their aversion to Cæsar.

Vespasian gives orders for the demolition of the temple of Onias.

they took. They were immediately pursued by a military band, and being unarmed, easily overcome. Many were slain, and the rest taken and carried prisoners to Catullus.

Jonathan,
the ring-
leader, is
taken.

Jonathan, the ringleader of this miserable clan, at first made his escape, but, after a long and strict search, was taken, and likewise carried to Catullus. But he found means to divert the storm from himself, and to furnish the governor with an acceptable occasion of turning it another way. This he effected, by bringing the wealthiest Jews of the place into the plot as the promoters of the conspiracy. These accusations, false as they might be, were welcome to Catullus, who aggravated matters to such a degree, that a war with the Jews seemed inevitable. He not only lent a ready ear to those calumnies himself, but encouraged the Sicarii to alledge false accusations; and suborned witnesses to impeach one Alexander, a Jew, (to whom he had long professed enmity,) and his wife Berenice, who were condemned upon the same evidence. These were the first that suffered; and after them a train of three thousand more were put to death at once, whose only crime was, that they were men of property and character. This he thought he might do with safety, so long as their estates were confiscated to the empire. Nay, through fear of being detected in his villainy by Jews of credit elsewhere, he prevailed with Jonathan, and certain others, to exhibit matter of accusation against the most eminent, both in Rome and Alexandria, and among the rest Josephus, the historian. Catullus now coming to Rome, and bringing Jonathan and his companions with him in bonds, made no doubt but the story would pass as he had

Josephus
false-ly ac-
cused among
others.

concerted and represented it. But the event of this contrivance did not answer his expectation; for Vespasian, suspecting the matter, determined upon investigation, and finding out the iniquity of it, he pronounced, at the instance of Titus, Josephus, and the rest of the Jews, innocent, who were thereupon discharged; while, at the same time, he sentenced Jonathan to be first scourged, and then burnt alive, which was accordingly executed.

Vespasian
pronounces
him inno-
cent, and
sentences
Jonathan to
punishment.

As for Catullus, such was the bondage of the two princes, that they proceeded no farther against him at present; but, in a short time, he fell into a complication of diseases, both mental and corporeal; though the former were most poignant and distressing; for he was tormented with all the horrors of conscious guilt, and saw, in imagination, the ghastly apparitions of those whom he had murdered, in so much that he started from his bed, as if he would endeavour to avoid approaching flames. His bodily distemper, in fine, increased upon him, till his intestines were corroded, and came from him; and thus was brought to his end, by the Divine vengeance, a man who acted in defiance of all the laws of humanity and justice.

Thus concludes our history, in which we have strictly adhered to truth and candour, according to promise, for the information of those who may be desirous of becoming acquainted with the particulars of the wars between the Romans and the Jews. The style must be submitted to the judgment of the reader; but as to the facts recorded, I must be bold to aver, that truth has been my invariable aim throughout the whole composition.

End of the HISTORY of the JEWISH WARS.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

TO

EPAPHRODITUS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS,

IN ANSWER TO

APION.

BOOK I.

Preface.

IT is presumed, most excellent Epaphroditus, that I have already incontrovertibly proved the antiquity of the Jewish nation, which originated with themselves, and maintains a claim of priority to this very day. The Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, are founded on the sacred writings, but translated by me into the Greek tongue. Since, however, this arduous, and, I may add, unprejudiced, undertaking, has not been sufficient to exempt the author from illiberal censure, or his productions from fabulous imputation, (and that upon the mere presumption of the Greek historians having neglected to record the antiquity of the Jewish nation,) I am bound, in duty to myself, and my country, first, to refute the invidious assertions of opponents; secondly, to inform the ignorant; and, thirdly, to state plain facts, in terms obvious to the understanding of those who desire to investigate truth.

The author's design in writing.

The authorities I shall cite will be derived from men of undeniable reputation among the Greeks; and I shall set aside the asseverations of those who have malevolently or ignorantly traduced me or my nation, by recurring to their own writings. I shall also assign the causes for which many of the Greek historians have passed over our nation without mention in their records, and then endeavour to obviate vulgar prejudices in general.

Aburd prejudices in favour of the Greeks.

There are many people so superstitiously attached to the Greeks, that they consider them, abstractedly from all others, as the very oracles of history, to the contempt and disparagement of the rest of the rational creation. In point of antiquity I am convinced the reverse will appear, if mankind will not be led by vain opinions, but search for facts upon the basis of substantial evidence. They will then find little or nothing amongst them that is not novel; I mean with respect to the building of their cities, the invention of their arts, and the description of their laws. The writing of history is of very late date among them; whereas, by their own confession, the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, (to say nothing of ourselves,) have, from time

to time, recorded and transmitted to posterity, memorials of past ages in monumental pillars and inscriptions, with the advice and direction of the wisest men, to perpetuate transactions of moment. Besides, these people living in a clear air, the very climate contributed to the preservation of these antiquities from corruption and decay; which was quite otherwise with the Greeks, respecting duration, order, and appointment.

Their bare pretence to the knowledge of letters is of late date, and their skill in that particular is at this very hour defective. The antiquity of which they boast goes no farther back than to the Phœnicians, and they value themselves upon the reputation of having had Cadmus for their first master. But so far are they from being able to produce, either in their temples or public registries, any one authentic memorial of these times, that, when it came to be propounded as a question, whether the use of letters was so much as known at the time of the Trojan war, it was carried in the negative. It is universally acknowledged that there is no Greek manuscript in date antecedent to the poems of Homer; and it is certain that the Trojan war was over before that poem (the Iliad) was written. Nor has it been admitted that Homer ever committed this production to writing. The prevailing opinion runs, that it passed like a kind of ballad, which the people committed to memory, till, in the end, copies were taken from oral dictation, which is assigned as the cause of the many contradictions and mistakes found in the transcripts.

With respect to Cadmus, the Milesian, Acurilaus, and other Greek historians, they lived but a short time before the inroad of the Persians into Greece. Pherecydes, Pythagoras, and Thales, who first introduced philosophy, and the investigation of subjects Divine and celestial, unanimously acknowledge that they derived their information from the Egyptians and Chaldeans. Nay, it remains a doubt to this day, whether these men were the authors of the works attributed to them.

From these premises it appears extremely absurd for the Greeks to claim to themselves not only the sole knowledge of antiquity, but a preference in point of historical accuracy, candour, and credit. Nay, is it not evident, from their own writings, that their histories are the result of fancy and conjecture, rather than records of substantial facts? As their authors clash one with another, and report one and the same thing in a manner totally different.

Contradiction between the Greek authors.

It would be tedious to point out the disagreement between Hellanicus and Acusilaus respecting their genealogies; the differences between Heliod and Acusilaus; the proofs repeatedly brought by Ephorus to demonstrate the representations of Hellanicus; thereof Timeus to the same purport against Ephorus; those of succeeding writers against Timeus; and, in fine, those of all the latter authors against Herodotus. Nor could Timeus agree with Philistrus or Callias, about the Sicilian history. The historians of Athens and Argos differ as essentially. So that doubts must arise in the minds of the readers, when they discover such palpable contradictions amongst writers. Nay, Thucydides himself is called in question upon several occasions, though the most cautious, candid, and impartial historian of his age.

Cause of the division of opinion among the Greeks.

Upon due consideration, many reasons might be assigned for the great differences which prevail amongst Greek authors; but I apprehend the principal parts are these. First, the neglect of the Greeks in not laying a timely foundation for history, in records and memorials, to preserve the remembrance of great achievements; for, without these monumental traditions, posterity are apt to err, having no clue to guide them into the path of truth. This mode of recording antient traditions was not only neglected in other parts of Greece, but even in Athens itself, which has been deemed the very seat of the polite arts. Draco's penal laws, now extant in manuscript, are the most antient of their public records, though bearing date but a short space before the tyrant Pisistratus. As to the Arcadians, who make such pretensions to antiquity, they came later to the use of letters than any of the rest.

Now there being no authorities extant, there must naturally arise great differences amongst the writers; because such vouchers might be introduced to confirm truth, and refute error, and thereby distinguish between the authentic and groundless historian. Another cause of contradiction is the motives which induce writers to take up the pen. Too many will for the applause of their contemporaries; and prefer the reputation of being esteemed florid in style, rather than candid in narrative. Some write to gratify fancy or humour, without any regard to bulk and justice; others deal in panegyric, to court the patronage of the great; and there are some that lavish their time and talents in calumniating the writings and characters of their predecessors, which are all contrary to the duty and office of a genuine historian.

be more generally known.

The characteristic of true history is the concordance of several writers, as to subject, time, and place: but the Greeks seem to adduce their diversity as an argument of authenticity. If the matter in dispute betwixt them and us, were nice arrangements of words, and precision of periods, we would yield them the palm; but we cannot but contend for superiority in point of fact and antiquity.

That the Egyptians and Babylonians of old were precise in the date of their annals, which was committed to the care of their priests, who were punctual in the discharge of that office; that the Chaldeans followed the example of the Babylonians, and that the Phœnicians, who were intermixed with the Greeks, instructed them in the use of letters, is universally acknowledged. It therefore only remains for me to shew, that our forefathers provided, at least, as well for the security of this order and regulation, if not better, than any that went before them, in charging the high-priests and prophets with this commission; and these records have been handed down to our times with the utmost accuracy; and I

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date pronounce that our future annals will bear the same stamp of authority. Care was taken, from the beginning, to make choice of men of exemplary piety and virtue for this function; and further provision was made for preserving the sacerdotal race pure and untainted, as no man is qualified for the office of a priest, whose mother was not of priestly extraction; and therefore, without any regard to wealth and honour, whoever pretends to the priesthood, must prove his descent in a right line by a multitude of witnesses. This is the practice not only in Judæa, but wherever our people are dispersed over the face of the whole earth; for our priests make it a kind of conscience only to intermarry with their own tribes. In this case, they send from the father to Jerusalem the name of the woman they intend to marry, with her pedigree well and duly attested.

The best of the Jewish priests authors of their annals

But in time of war, as for instance, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the Great, and Quintilius Varus, and principally within our own memory, the surviving priests compose new tables of genealogy out of all records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain. The priests marry no captives, through a suspicion they might have had intercourse with foreigners; and, as an incontrovertible proof of their purity, the names of all our priests, in an uninterrupted succession, from father to son, have stood upon record throughout a space of two thousand years. If any of them prevaricate, they are forbidden the altar, and deposed from the exercise of the sacred function. And this is justly, or rather necessarily, done; because every one is not permitted to write, nor is there any disagreement in what is written. The writings of the prophets we hold of Divine original; and as to those who have written the history of their own times, their number is not great, nor are they very repugnant one to another.

Custom respecting marriage and pedigree.

We have not a multitude of books among us, disagreeing and contradicting one another, as the Greeks have, but are confined to twenty-two, that we are bound to believe, and those twenty-two books comprise the history of the world from the beginning to this day. Five of them treat of the creation of the world, and the generation of mankind, and so to the death of Moses, in a series of little less than 3000 years.

The Jews had only 22 books of the highest esteem.

From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and king of Persia, every one of our prophets wrote the history of the times in which he lived, comprehending the whole in thirteen books; the other four books containing Divine poems and moral precepts. There has, indeed, been a continuation of our history from Artaxerxes to this instant; but it is not esteemed, in point of authenticity, comparable to that of our forefathers, as there has not been an exact succession of prophets since that time. The former writings are the objects of our implicit belief; for, during many ages of the world, no attempt has been made, either to add to, or diminish from them, or even so much as to transform or disguise them. As we hold these writings Divine, we call them so; and are trained, from earliest infancy, to meditate upon, observe, and maintain them as such: nay, we are enjoined rather to suffer death than give them up.

How many are there of our captive countrymen at this day, struggling under exquisite torments, because they will not renounce the laws of their country, nor blaspheme the God of their forefathers? When did any of the Greeks undergo such trial? They would not venture such shocks to preserve all they hold most dear. They hold their writings in no other esteem than as words, and have the same opinion of antient as of modern productions. Many have taken upon them to write our subjects, of which they were wholly ignorant, and that without applying for information to those who were acquainted with them. We have an example of this in the histories of our late wars, published by persons who were never on the spot of action, but who, nevertheless, have the confidence to usher into the world a jargon of inconsistencies as genuine histories.

Zeal of the Jews for the preservation of those books.

Authenticity of Josephus in his history of the Jewish war.

But this I can aver, with respect to my history of our wars, that it is genuine and authentic; as I had ocular testimony, certain knowledge, and the means of informing myself particularly of every occurrence. I have been as faithful in my report, as I was minute in my investigation. I had a command in Galilee as long as our nation was able to oppose the Romans; and it was my fortune, in the end, to be made prisoner, and carried to Vespasian and Titus, who, at first, ordered me to be kept bound; but I was afterwards generously released, and sent to accompany Titus, when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem. During the whole time there was nothing done that escaped my knowledge. Whatever passed in the Roman camp was open to me; nor was any care wanting, on my part, most faithfully to represent every circumstance. With respect to the state of the city, I had accounts of it from deserters, with an express from the emperor to take minutes of each occurrence.

This history was compiled at Rome.

Being furnished with these materials, and finding leisure at Rome, I applied to some friends to assist me in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Greek tongue, and then proceeded to the compilation of my history, in which I am so conscious of having observed the utmost candour and justice, that I dare appeal to the generals Vespasian and Titus as my vouchers. To these illustrious personages I first presented my work, and next to them to certain noble Romans, who commanded in the same war. Others I disposed of to several of our own nation, who were skilled in the Greek tongue, as Julius, Archelaus, Herod, and the most excellent king Agrippa. These bear honourable testimony, that I acquitted myself as a faithful historian; and surely I could never have obtained such sanction and patronage, if, through ignorance or favour, I had in any instance deviated from facts. I have been exposed to the calumnies of the illiberal, who have censured my productions in a vein of irony and sarcasm: but they would do well to consider, that whoever pretends to authenticity in the relation of transactions, should first render himself minutely acquainted with them, either from his own personal observation, or the information of others: of both these advantages I have fully availed myself.

Josephus retorts on his calumniators.

Reasons the cause, and clears himself.

With respect to my Antiquities, I have, in character of a priest, translated them from our sacred writings, and digested them in methodical order. But in the history of the war, I was an actor in some cases, a spectator in others, and, upon the whole, a stranger to nothing that was either done or said. What insolence, therefore, it is in those, who would endeavour to deprive me of my title to authenticity! They pretended to have inspected the journals of the commanders; but can that invalidate my history, in points absolutely unknown to those commanders?

I have been under a necessity of making this digression, in order to expose the vanity of many who pretend to write histories; and, I apprehend, that what I have observed, is sufficient to satisfy any man, that the very barbarians have better preserved this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times than the Greeks themselves. I would now offer some matters for the consideration of those who endeavour to prove, that our constitution is but of modern date, because the Greek writers have made no mention of us: I shall then produce testimonies of our antiquity from the writings of foreigners, and demonstrate the injustice of those who cast reproaches on our nation.

We neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandize; nor in that intercourse with other nations which naturally arises from it. Our cities lie remote from the sea; our soil is fruitful, and cultivated with care. Our grand concern is the education of our children, to train them in pious exercises, and strict obedience to the laws of our country: this, indeed, we esteem the main business of our lives. Besides, we have a peculiar way of living to ourselves, which gives us to understand, that, in times past, we had no communication with the Greeks, as the Egyptians and Phœnicians had, as also other nations, by a common tie of naviga-

tion, trade, and commerce, for the advancement of their fortunes. Nor did our predecessors make inroads upon their neighbours, as others have done, for the enlarging their estates; though they wanted neither numbers or courage, to be dangerous and troublesome, had they been so disposed.

Thus it was that the Phœnicians became known to the Greeks, and through them the Egyptians, and other traders into Greece. After these the Medes and Persians, having become lords of Asia, carried the war into Europe. The Thracians were also known by being contiguous; the Scythians by holding a correspondence with those that sailed to Pontus; and so all along the eastern and western sea, there was a sufficiency of subject matter for history.

But those whose habitations were remote from the sea, were for the most part unknown; as was the case in Europe also, where the Roman empire, that long had possessed such mighty power and greatness, performed such gallant exploits in war, are never mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, nor any of their contemporaries: and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. What shall we say of writers in ordinary, when Ephorus himself, the most celebrated of their historians, was so ignorant of the Gauls and Iberians, that he supposes the kingdom of Spain, with the vast continent it stands upon, to be no more than one city, and so ascribes to them things that were never done, said, nor heard there? Whence comes this ignorance of the truth, but from the writer's having no knowledge of the parts alluded to? Nor can it be any wonder that our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves.

But if I should turn the Greeks' mode of reasoning upon themselves, and alledge, by way of disproving their antiquity, that no mention is made of it in our records, would not such an inference be exploded as ridiculous? Would they not appeal to their neighbouring nations to confirm their claim? If this manner of proceeding may be admitted on the one side, why not on the other? The Egyptians and Phœnicians are the chief witnesses that I shall adduce in this case; nor can there be any ground of exception to the evidence, as the former are known to be our professed enemies, and the latter no better disposed towards us, particularly the people of Tyre. But the Chaldeans have a better opinion of us, as having been formerly under their command; likewise on account of consanguinity and country, as appears from the honourable mention they make of us in their chronicles. When I have cleared our nation from the aspersions of the Greeks, and wiped away the slanders they have cast upon us, I will then advert to their own historians, and so obviate all farther cavil. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians, and cite an extract from the works of Manethon, an Egyptian by birth, but well skilled in the Greek language, as appears from an history he took from holy writ about the Jewish religion. He finds much fault with Herodotus, for his ignorance and misrepresentation of the Egyptian manners and customs; and, in the second book of his history, delivers himself in these very words, which I quote without the least deviation, that they may suffice to confirm his testimony.

“ We had a king, whose name was Timæus; and in his reign we fell, beyond all imagination, under God's heavy displeasure. There came flowing in upon us, a rugged, robust people out of the east, that made an inroad into the province; and there encamping, took it by force, and carried all before them without so much as a stroke, putting our princes in chains, cruelly laying our city in ashes, demolishing our temples, and miserably oppressing our inhabitants; some being cut to pieces, and others, with their wives and children, sent away in bondage. After this, they set up a king from

“from among themselves, whose name was Salatis.

“The new king advanced to Memphis, and having subjected both the upper and the lower provinces, and put garrisons into all tenable places, he fortified to the eastward in a more especial manner, for fear of an invasion from the Assyrians, whom he looked upon as the stronger of the two. He found in the country of Saïtes, a city, formerly called Avaris, which was situated very conveniently for his purpose, to the east of the river Bubastis. This city he improved and repaired, and fortified it with strong works and walls, and a body of two hundred and forty thousand men to cover it. He made choice of harvest time for the execution of his design, with a regard both to the plenty of the season for provisions, to the means of paying his soldiers, and to the securing himself likewise against all assaults, or invasions, by his excellent discipline and conduct.

“Salatis died in the nineteenth year of his reign; and one Bœon succeeded him, who governed forty-four years. After him came Apachnas, and reigned six and thirty years and seven months. Apochis came next, and ruled sixty years and one month: Janias, fifty years and one month: and last of all came Assis, who ruled forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first kings, and perpetually in war, to exterminate the Egyptians. The people we called *hycsos*; that is to say, *king shepherds*: for *hyc*, in the holy tongue, is as much as *king*; and *sos*, according to the vulgar, is a *shepherd*: so that *hycsos* is taken as a compound. Some will have it that these people were Arabians. According to some other copies, *hyc* does not signify *king-shepherd*, but *shepherd-captive*; for *hyc* and *hac*, with an aspiration, sound, in Egyptian, as much as *captive*; and it seems to me the more reasonable interpretation of the two, as it suits better with the ancient history.”

We have it upon credit of the same author, “that when those (by whatever name they may be called) kings, or shepherds, and their train, had kept the government of Egypt in their own hands for the space of 511 years, the king of Thebes, and the remainder of Egypt, that was not as yet subjected, made a violent and obstinate war upon the shepherds, and routed them, under the command of king Alisfragnuthosis: and when the greatest part of them were driven out of Egypt, the rest withdrew into a place called Avaris, of ten thousand acres in extent; and this the shepherds (according to Manethon) enclosed with a strong substantial wall, that secured to them all necessities within themselves.” He says further, “that Themosis, the son of Alisfragnuthosis, laid siege to it with four hundred and eighty thousand men: but when he found the place was not to be carried by assault, they came to conditions, upon articles to depart Egypt, and a safe convoy to go whither they would. Upon these terms they marched out with their goods and families, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand souls, by the way of the wilderness, into Syria; and, for fear of the Assyrians, who were then masters of Asia, retired into a country that is now known by the name of Judæa, where they erected a city large enough to receive this vast multitude, and called it Jerusalem.”

The same Manethon tells us, in another book of his Egyptian History, “that he finds these people in books of great authority, distinguished by the name of Captive Shepherds;” our ancestors having been brought up to grazing, and from that pastoral employment taking the name of shepherds. They imagine that they had some ground for calling them captives: it was by that name that our father Joseph made himself known to the king of Egypt, when he obtained permission to send for his brethren. But of this more particularly elsewhere. So that it will be sufficient, at present, to consult the testimonies of the Egyptians upon this subject,

and to hear Manethon, in his own words, about the time when this happened.

“King Themosis reigned five and twenty years and four months, from the departure of the shepherds out of Egypt, to the building of Jerusalem. His son Chebron took the kingdom after him, and governed thirteen years: and after him Amenophis, twenty years and seven months: his sister Amessès, one and twenty years and nine months: her son Mephres twelve years and nine months: his son Mephramuthosis, five and twenty years and ten months: his son Themosis, nine years and eight months: his son Amenophis, thirty years and ten months: his son Orus, thirty-six years and five months: his daughter Acencheres, twelve years and one month: Rathotis, her brother, nine years: his son Acencheres, twelve years and five months: another Acencheres, his son, twelve years and three months: his son Armais, four years and one month: his son Armesès Miamun, sixty-six years and two months: Amenophis, nineteen years and six months. Sethosis, having raised a great force, both at sea and land, constituted his brother Armais lieutenant-general of Egypt, and vested him with all sovereign powers and privileges, the wearing of the crown excepted; and, with a caution not to oppress the queen or her family, nor to intermeddle with the king’s concubines.

“Sethosis, upon this, marched up to Cyprus and Phœnicia, and so forward to the Medes and Assyrians, conquering still as he went; some by the sword, others by the very terror and reputation of his arms. He was so elevated by his successes, that he stooped at nothing, but laying all waste to the eastward, carried the whole country before him. While this was doing, his brother Armais, without any difficulty or scruple, broke faith with his brother in Egypt, and did just the contrary to what he should have done. He expelled the queen, abused the king’s concubines, and, at the instance and advice of his false friends, assumed the crown, and took up arms against his brother. The Egyptian high-priest gave Sethosis notice of all these indignities from time to time; upon which advice the king came immediately back again by the way of Pelusium, and made good his government. From this prince the country took the name of Egypt; for Sethosis was called Egyptus, and his brother Armais named like-wife Danaus.”

This is the account of Manethon; from which it is evident, upon a clear computation, that our predecessors, otherwise known by the name of shepherds, left Egypt three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus went to Argus; though the Greeks pique themselves mightily upon the antiquity of that prince. Manethon therefore advances two great points for us out of the Egyptian records; the first, that our forefathers came out of another country into Egypt; the second, that their deliverance out of it was of so ancient a date, as to precede the siege of Troy almost a thousand years. With respect to some other particulars which Manethon adds, not out of the Egyptian records, but, as he himself confesses, from stories of an uncertain original, I shall demonstrate hereafter, that they are no better than groundless fictions.

I shall now pass from these records to those of the Phœnicians, concerning our nation, and from them produce attestations of what I have advanced. There are among the Tyrians public records of great antiquity, and they are so carefully preserved, as to contain all transactions that are worthy of memorial. Amongst other passages concerning our nation, they make mention of king Solomon’s erecting a temple at Jerusalem, an hundred and forty-three years and eight months before their predecessors built Carthage; describing also, in their annals, the very model of the temple. Hiram, king of Tyre, had so great a friendship for David, and his son Solomon for his sake, that he presented him with an hundred

The inferences from Manethon’s testimony.

The Tyrian records of great antiquity.

hundred and twenty talents of gold towards the ornament of the fabric, and furnished him with the most excellent timber from mount Libanus for the roof and wainscot. Nor was Solomon wanting, on the other hand, in a magnificent return, as, among other acknowledgments, he made him a present of Zabulon in Naphtali. But the love of wisdom, or a kind of philosophic passion, cemented the friendship betwixt them. They sent problems and intricate cases to be solved by each other; and Solomon evinced a superiority to Hiram. There are extant among the Tyrians, to this day, divers copies of the letters that passed betwixt them; and for confirmation of the same, I shall refer to Dios, an historian among the Phœnicians of unquestionable credit. These are his words.

Testimony
of Dios, the
historian.

“Hiram, the son of Abibal, succeeded his father in the government. He repaired and improved divers cities in the eastern parts of his dominion, enlarged Tyre, and, by raising a causeway between them, joined it to the temple of Jupiter Olympus, standing in an island, and beautified it with many rich donations. After this he went up to mount Libanus to cut down wood for temples. They say farther, that Solomon, king of Jerusalem, and Hiram, interchanged certain problems to be solved, upon condition that he who failed in the solution, should incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram, finding the question too difficult for him, paid the penalty; and proposed new ones for Solomon to interpret, upon the penalty of paying forfeit to Hiram.” This is what Dios records upon this subject.

I now proceed to Menander, the Ephesian, an author who made an historical collection of the transactions of the Greeks and barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings, which, for the better authority of the work, he has extracted from their own records. Having passed through the succession of the Tyrian kings as far as Hiram, he thus writes:

“Upon the death of Abibal, his son Hiram came to the crown, and lived to enjoy it thirty-four years. This prince threw up a large bank, that joined Eurychorus to the city of Tyre; and dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter, which was there deposited in his temple. He went after this into a forest, to a mountain called Libanus, where he cut down all the cedar for roofs for temples; raising the old buildings, and advancing others. One he dedicated to Hercules, another to Astarte: the former in the month Peritius, and the other when he marched against the Tyrians, for not paying their taxes: but, upon their reduction, he presently returned.

“Hiram had, at this time, a young man, a servant in his house, whose office it was to expound Solomon’s riddles; his name was Abdemonus. From this king’s time to the building of Carthage, the computation runs thus:

The pedigree
of Hiram.

“Baleazar, the son of Hiram, succeeded his father, and died in the forty-third year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. The next was Abdastartus, the son of Baleazar, who died in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. This prince was murdered by his nurse’s four sons, and the eldest of them governed twelve years in his place: and after him came Astartus, the son of Delæastartus, who lived sixty years, and reigned twelve. After him came his brother Aferymus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine, and was murdered by his brother Phelles, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age; and, after a reign of eight months, was slain by one Ithobalus, a priest of the goddess Astarte, who lived to the age of sixty-eight years, and ruled thirty-two. His son Badesor succeeded him, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six: and then his son Matgenus lived two and thirty years, and reigned nine. The next was Pygmalion, who lived fifty-six years, and

“governed forty. It was in the seventh year of his reign, that his sister Dido built Carthage, in Africa. So that from the time of Hiram to the erecting of Carthage, we account an hundred and fifty-five years and eight months. Taking for granted that the temple of Jerusalem was built in the twelfth year of king Hiram, it makes an hundred and forty-three years and eight months, from the raising of the temple to the building of Carthage.”

Nothing can tend more to confirmation than this testimony of the Phœnicians: for our ancestors certainly came into Judæa long before the building of the temple; nor did they build that temple till they had obtained possession of the country by dint of arms, as I have clearly proved from the sacred writings in my Antiquities.

We will now proceed to shew how far the Chaldean records agree with others concerning our history, and begin with Berofus, by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned from his publication of the Chaldean treatises on astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. Berofus following the most ancient records, gives us an history of the deluge, and the destruction of mankind thereby, exactly consonant with the description of Moses; as also of the ark, and the preservation of Noah in it, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains. He gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, from Noah himself to Nabulassar, king of the Babylonians and Chaldeans, with an account of this king’s exploits. He tells us that he sent his son Nabuchodonosor with a mighty army into Egypt and Judæa, where, upon his being informed of a revolt, he reduced the people to subjection, set fire to our temple at Jerusalem, and carried off our whole nation in captivity to Babylon. After this our city lay desolate during an interval of seventy years, till the days of Cyrus, king of Persia. He then says that this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all his predecessors. But to quote his own words.

“Nabulassar, the father, understanding that his deputy in Ægypt, Coelo-Syria, and Phœnicia, was up in arms, being old himself, and past the fatigues of war, he sent his son Nabuchodonosor, (in the vigour of his youth,) at the head of a strong army, to bring him to reason. This prince encountered the rebel, defeated him, and recovered all the provinces that were engaged in the revolt.

“It happened, at the same time, that Nabulassar fell sick at Babylon, and died, after a reign of nine and twenty years. It was not long before the son had notice of his father’s death; whereupon he immediately settled his affairs in Egypt, and the rest of the provinces; and committing the captive Jews, Phœnicians, and Syrians, that had been in Egypt, to the care of some particular confidants, to see them brought up to Babylon, together with the army and the baggage, he himself, with a small retinue, took his journey for Babylon by the way of the desert. Upon his arrival, he found all things disposed to his wish; the Chaldeans, and all the great men, declaring themselves in his interest, and for his establishment upon the throne of his father.

“In this interim, while the prisoners were upon the way, he ordered them the most commodious lodgings of the city for their quarters, and all accommodations to be provided for them. The spoils of the war were applied with wonderful munificence, to the enriching and adorning of the temples; as that of Bel, and others. He caused to be erected a new town, as an addition to the old one: and to prevent the turning of the river the city stood upon, from the place, in case of a siege, they ran up a triple wall, part of it brick, and the rest of brick and bitumen, about the whole. After all these fortifications, he made such

"such gates as might have become the dignity of a temple. He built likewise a glorious palace, near that of his father, but incomparably beyond it, both for extent and expence. The description of it would be too tedious; but it must be observed, that this admirable piece was the work of only fifteen days.

"There were in it also several artificial rocks, that had the resemblance of mountains; with nurseries of all sorts of plants, and a kind of hanging garden, suspended in the air by a most admirable contrivance. This was to gratify his wife, who, being brought up in Media, among the hills, and in the fresh air, found relief from such a prospect."

Thus writes Berosus respecting the king: and there are other circumstances worthy of remark in his Chaldean antiquities, and more particularly where he censures the Greeks for affirming that Babylon was founded by Semiramis, queen of Assyria. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus relates, in the records of the Phœnicians, concerning the king of Babylon, and his conquering all Syria and Phœnicia. Philostratus agrees with him in his history of the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes, in the fourth book of his Indian History, wherein he pretends to prove that this king of Babylon was superior to Hercules in strength and prowess, adding, that he had the greatest part of Lybia and Iberia at his devotion. With respect to the temple of Jerusalem, we have the authority of Berosus, that it was laid in ashes by the Babylonians; and that Cyrus, when he had reduced Asia, began to rebuild it. That historian thus writes in his third book.

Berosus concerning the temple of Jerusalem.

Further testimony of Berosus.

"When Nabuchodonosor was just entered upon the third wall, in the forty-third year of his reign, he fell sick and died. Evil-Merodoch, his son, succeeded him; but having rendered himself odious to the highest degree, by his exorbitant oppressions, he was cut off by the treacherous practice of Niriglissor, his sister's husband, in the second year of his reign. After his death, the traitor advanced himself to the crown, and kept it four years. His son Laborosardochus came very young to the government, and continued in it only nine months, being destroyed by the treachery even of his very friends, who looked upon him as a youth of vicious and dangerous inclinations, and therefore removed him. He was no sooner dispatched than the conspirators met, and consulting together, chose one Nabonidus for their king, being both a Babylonian, and of the same family. The walls about the river of Babylon were finished by this prince.

"In the seventeenth year of this king's reign Cyrus, with a mighty army out of Persia, overran all Asia, and marched directly for Babylon. Nabonidus fairly met him in the field, fought him, and lost the battle: only himself, and some few of his people, got into the town of Borsippe. Cyrus was now before Babylon, making no doubt but, upon forcing the first wall, he might carry the place. But, upon second thoughts, he quitted the siege, and went back to Borsippe, with a design to attack the place. Nabonidus chose rather to cast himself upon Cyrus's mercy, than to stand the shock; so that, upon his humiliation, Cyrus banished him out of Babylon, and gave him quiet possession of Caramania, where he ended his life in a private station."

These accounts of Berosus exactly correspond with our sacred books, in which it is related that Nabuchodonosor, in the eighteenth year of his reign, destroyed our temple, and that it lay desolate for fifty years. But that, in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, its foundation was laid; and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I shall now add the records of the Phœnicians, as too many

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proofs cannot be adduced, provided they agree in point of chronology. The computation stands thus:

Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the reign of king Ithobal. After him reigned Baal ten years. After him judges were appointed, of whom Ecaibalus, the son of Baflec, judged the people two months. Chelbis, the son of Abdæus, ten months. Abbar, the high-priest, three months. Mytgonus and Gerassus Betus, the sons of Abdelimus, six years. After them Balatorus, one year. Upon his death they sent for Merbalus from Babylon, who governed four years, and was succeeded by his brother Hirom, who ruled twenty years, during which Cyrus obtained the empire of Persia. The whole interval amounts to fifty-four years and three months; for, in the seventh year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, he began to besiege Tyre; and Cyrus entered upon his reign over the kingdom of Persia in the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings concerning this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable attestation to the antiquity of our nation.

As do the Phœnician records.

But it is now expedient to satisfy those who disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think those of the Greeks only worthy of credit, by producing many of those very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and setting before them such as, upon occasion, have made mention of us in their own writings.

Testimonies of the Grecians.

Pythagoras, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed superior to all philosophers in piety and wisdom. It is evident that this great man was not only versed in our laws, but, in many instances, an admirer and observer of them. This is not inferred from any thing that he ever wrote, but from what others knew and reported concerning him. Hermippus, an historian of credit, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, informs us, "that, upon the death of Calliphon, of Croton, one of his associates, the philosopher affirmed, that the soul of this man conversed with him night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where his ass had stumbled, to drink only of clear fountain water, and to speak ill of no man. This he did in imitation of the Jews and Thracians, with an application to himself." And it was truly said; for Pythagoras incorporated divers customs of the Jews into his own philosophy.

Of Pythagoras.

Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, or, indeed, thought unworthy of imitation by some of them, as appears from Theophrastus, in his book of laws, where he speaks of the Tyrian law against swearing by any strange god, naming the Corban, amongst other oaths, prohibited, that is to say, in Hebrew, the gift of God; and this oath was only to be found amongst the Jews.

Of Theophrastus.

Herodotus, of Halicarnassus, was no stranger to our nation; for he makes some mention of us in his second book, where, speaking of the people of Colchos, he has these words: "With respect to circumcision, I find only the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians, to have used it of old. But the Phœnicians and the Syrians in Palestine, confess that they derived it from the Egyptians. The Syrians that border upon the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macronians, are reputed to have taken it up of late from the Colchians. There are no others that are circumcised, and they proceed after the manner of the Egyptians. As for the Egyptians and Ethiopians, I cannot determine which of them received it from the other." This author is positive that the Syrians of Palestine are circumcised, whereas there are no people circumcised in Palestine but the Jews; it must therefore be his knowledge of them that induced him to speak concerning them.

Of Herodotus.

Chærilus also, a more ancient writer and poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us, that

Of Chærilus.

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it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against the Greeks; for, in his enumeration of other nations, he last of all inserts ours, when he says,

"These people, with an admirable grace,
 "Brought up the rear: their language Tyrian was;
 "Themselves unknown; the mountains their abode
 "By Solymus, that near a vast lake stood.
 "Their hair cut round; and their heads cover'd
 o'er
 "With head-pieces of tann'd horse-hides they wore."

From hence, I think, it is evident, that, speaking of the mountains of Solyma, or Jerusalem, and of a large lake at hand there, it can be understood of no other than of the Jews that dwell amongst those mountains; and of the lake Asphaltitis, which is by much the largest in all Syria.

Testimony
 of Clearchus, taken
 from Aristotle.

Nor were the Jews barely known to the common sort of the Greeks, but likewise to their philosophers of the first rank, by whom they were honoured with singular marks of friendship and esteem. Clearchus, who was the disciple of Aristotle, and inferior to none of the Peripatetics, in his first book on the subject of sleep, says, from Aristotle, his master, "It would be tedious to run through the whole history of the people of the Jews, and therefore I shall only give you a specimen of a particular person's admirable wisdom." Hyperochides made answer, that it would be the greatest favour he could do them. Aristotle then proceeded thus: "This was a Jew of the Lower Syria, of the race of a sort of philosophers whom the Indians call Calani, and the Syrians Jews, from the country of Judæa, which they inhabit. Their capital city has a hard name, and they call it Jerusalem. He was a person of great hospitality to strangers, and no less considerable for his learning and morals. It was my fortune to be in Asia with some disciples, and this man paid us several visits there, to the great satisfaction and improvement of those who admired his conversation."

This is the character, according to Clearchus, that Aristotle gave the Jews, to which he added his extraordinary temperance and moderation in the government of his passions.

Of Hecataeus, the
 Abderite.

Hecataeus, the Abderite, a man learned and active, who was trained up with Alexander the Great, and lived afterwards with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and king of Egypt, wrote an entire tract upon the subject of the Jews, from which I shall extract some passages that tend to elucidate the matter under present consideration. He relates an account of a battle fought betwixt Ptolemy and Demetrius, near Gaza, eleven years after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, according to Callor in his history. "It was in this olympiad (he writes) that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, defeated Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, otherwise called Poliorcetes, in a battle, not far from Gaza." Now it is agreed, on all hands, that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; and it is therefore evident that the Jews were a flourishing people in the days of that great prince. Hecataeus says further, that after the battle of Gaza, Ptolemy made himself master of Syria, and the country round, and that the people were so charmed with his humanity and moderation, that many followed him into Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his concerns. Among the rest was one Hezekiah, an high-priest of the Jews, and a person of the first rank. He was a man sixty years of age, possessed of the powers of eloquence, and great knowledge of the world. The same author says likewise, that the number of priests who received tithes lived in common, and amounted to about fifteen hundred. Speaking afterwards of Hezekiah, he thus proceeds.

"We have had several conferences with this great man, and others about him, concerning our different customs, practices, and opinions, inasmuch

"that he carried us to his habitation, and instructed us in the polity of his country, which he had down in writing."

Hecataeus proceeds to shew the zeal and veneration we have for our laws, and that we are ready to submit to the most excruciating torment, rather than be guilty of the least violation of them. He then expatiates on the subject of our patience under calumny and reproach in the following manner.

"What indignities have these people endured from their neighbours? How have they been persecuted by the Persian kings and their officers, and yet stood firm to the last extremity against all trials? For instance; the temple of Belus was fallen down at Babylon, and Alexander, being at that time in the place, had an intention to repair it, and accordingly ordered all the soldiers to assist in carrying timber and materials towards the advancing of the work. The Jews were the only people that refused, and were severely punished for their disobedience: but when the king saw nothing would work upon them, out of generous tenderness for such constancy, he ordered them to be discharged. Upon their return into their own country, they demolished all the temples and altars that they found erected to strange gods; for which some of them were fined and punished, and others pardoned."

The historian enlarges then upon our wonderful steadiness and resolutions, the vast multitudes of our people, the prodigious numbers that were carried away captive, by the Persians, into Babylon, and others again, after the death of Alexander, transported into Egypt and Phœnicia, upon occasion of a sedition in Syria. He speaks likewise of the extent, the beauty, and the fruitfulness of our country, (that is to say, of Judæa,) which he computes at near three millions of acres, and affirms it to be a most excellent soil. Of the city of Jerusalem, its spaciousness, the people, and the temple, he speaks to this effect.

"The Jews have in their possession a great many towns, villages, and strong holds; but one city eminent above all the rest for largeness and strength. It is accounted fifty furlongs in compass, to contain an hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; and the name of it is Jerusalem. In the middle of this city stands an enclosure of stone, an hundred cubits about, and two mighty gates to it. Within this enclosure is a quadrangular altar, made of unwrought stones, that never tool touched; the superficies of it twenty cubits over, and the depth ten. Near about it there stands a spacious building, with a golden altar, and candlestick in it, of two talents weight, and lamps burning continually night and day. But for images, plants, groves, &c. as in other temples, here they were wholly wanting. But there are priests that pass their time there day and night in great purity; and they drink no wine." The same author again thus relates a story of a Jew, upon an expedition, that served under one of Alexander's successors.

"As I was travelling towards the Red sea, there was one Mosollam in the company, a Jew, and one of our horse-guards, that was looked upon to be very brave, and a famous marksman with bow and arrow. As they were advancing on their way, a soothsayer, that took upon him to foretell the fortune of their voyage, bade them all stand, and they did so. This Jew asked them what they stood for? The cunning man, shewing them a bird, replied, If that bird stands, you are to stand; if it rises, and flies on, you are to go forward too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you must all go back again. The Jew, without any more words, let fly an arrow, and killed the bird. The diviner, and his companions, fell presently upon the Jew, in most outrageous terms. Why certainly (says Mosollam) you are all mad, to be thus concerned about a foolish bird. How shall that poor wretch pretend to tell

"us our fortune, that knew nothing of its own?
 "If this bird could have foreseen good or evil to
 "come, it would have kept itself out of the way of
 "this arrow." Thus much of Hecataeus.

I shall add one word out of Agatharchides; not as any friend of ours; though I take him, in charity, to be no enemy. "He relates a story, how Stratonice cast off her husband Demetrius, and passed out of Macedonia into Syria, with a design to marry the king Seleucus. But Seleucus not answering her expectation, she stirred up a commotion in Antioch, while he was with his army in Babylon. At his return he took Antioch; and Stratonice making for Seleucia, she was taken, and it cost her her life." Her only course had been to have taken her passage by sea; but she was diverted from it by a dream. Agatharchides, reflecting upon Stratonice's superstition, takes occasion to treat more at large upon the topics, and so enters upon an invective against the Jews.

"The people (says he) they call Jews, are possessed of a city by the name of Jerusalem, a place of impregnable strength. They have a custom there of resting the seventh day, without either bearing of arms, tilling the ground, or attending any common business whatsoever; but they employ it wholly in their temples, and upon their devotions, from the morning to the evening.

"Ptolemæus, the son of Lagus, took advantage of this custom, and entered the city with an army upon that day. What was the consequence? When the Jews should have been defending their lives and liberties, their attention was altogether taken up with the superstitious foolery of not violating their sabbath; and so they delivered themselves up to an insupportable tyranny; which taught them, by experience, the unwarrantable foundation of so pernicious a law. From hence it is, that men fly to dreams and opinions, never considering that things necessary are not to be controuled by human reason." Thus Agatharchides reflects upon our conduct: but whosoever passes a sober judgment upon the whole matter, will find the proceedings grounded upon the most glorious foundation of honour and virtue: for what can be more heroical than to give up life and country to the duty we owe to God's holy laws and religion?

That some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or from some other unjustifiable cause, I think I can demonstrate from particular instances. Jerome, who wrote the history of Alexander's successors, lived at the same time with Hecataeus, who was a friend of king Antigonus, and had the government of Syria. Now Hecataeus wrote a compleat volume of our affairs, while Jerome never mentions us in his history; though, from the vicinity of the place of his nativity, he might be said to have been bred up amongst us. But men act according to their different inclinations. The one thought our actions worthy of being transmitted to posterity, while the other was blindly disposed to suppress the truth.

But surely we have sufficient evidence to demonstrate our claim to antiquity, as the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, together with many of the Greek writers; for, besides those already mentioned, there are Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaëas, Ari-tophanes, Hermogenes, Euemerus, Canon, Zopirion, and many others, who have made particular mention of us. The greater part of these writers must undoubtedly be in the dark, for want of the holy scriptures for their guide; yet they all afford their testimony to our antiquity, which is sufficient for my present purpose. The errors of Demetrius Phalerus, the elder Philon, and Eupolemus, may be passed over with candour, as they had not the means of better information.

There remains behind one material circumstance,

to which I hold myself bound in duty to attend. This is to demonstrate the calumnies and reproaches laid upon our nation, and turn the asseverations of the authors against themselves. To all men, who are conversant in history, the prejudice and partiality of writers must have been obvious. Some exercise their malignity and prejudice upon whole nations; some cast the shaft of detraction at one object, some at another. Thus Theopompus inveighed against the Athenians, Polycrates against the Lacedæmonians, and Tripoliticus (not Theopompus, as some imagine) against the Thebans. Some of the writers are actuated by malevolence and envy, some from the hope of acquiring fame, and others by representing things extravagant and extraordinary. But whatever effect such illiberal efforts may have with the weak and superficial, men of sober judgment will treat them with the contempt they deserve.

The Egyptians being our professed enemies, the most effectual means of gratifying them was to pervert truth, and misrepresent the story of our forefathers coming into Egypt, and their departure thence. Indeed, they envied and hated us for many causes. First, for becoming powerful and considerable while we were amongst them, and afterwards prosperous when we returned to our country. The difference of our religion from theirs was another cause of enmity; a difference wide beyond conception; for they paid adoration to brute animals. This practice they imbibed from earliest infancy; and that prepossession that blinded their minds, and rendered them incapable of sublimer ideas, excited their aversion to those profelytes who came over to us; and some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records. This assertion I shall prove by quoting the words of one of their principal writers, who I have already cited in confirmation of our antiquity.

Manethon, having undertaken his Egyptian history, solemnly promised to found it upon some sacred writings, and premises, "that our ancestors carried an army into Egypt, and subdued the country, but that, being expelled soon after, they settled themselves in a province that is now called Judæa, built a city by the name of Jerusalem, and erected a temple." Thus far he followed the ancient records. But he afterwards becomes eccentric, admits vulgar rumours and traditions, and introduces incredible stories, representing us as intermixed with a rabble of Egyptian lepers, and thus driven out of the country. He brings upon the tapis an ideal king, under the fictitious name of Amenophis; but, conscious of the imposture, does not calculate the years of his reign, which he has accurately done in other cases. He then ascribes even fabulous stories to this king, as having, in a manner, forgotten what he had already related, that is, that it was now five hundred and eighteen years since the shepherds went out of Egypt towards Jerusalem; for it was in the reign of Themosis that they departed. Now, from his days, the reign of the intermediate kings, according to Manethon, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, till the time the two brothers, Sethon and Hermeus, of whom Sethon was otherwise called Egyptus, and Hermeus Danaus. He also says, that Sethon cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years; as did his eldest son Rhampses, sixty-six years.

Having acknowledged that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt to many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, as a prince of divine speculations, like Orus, and says, that he was desirous to become a spectator of the gods. He also communicated his desire to one of the same name with his own, who was the son of Papius, and a kind of priest. Manethon adds, that this said priest, Amenophis, told him, that his desire of seeing the gods should be granted, upon condition of his clearing the kingdom of all lepers, and other unclean persons; and that the king, pleased with this injunction, gathered together, out of Egypt, all that had any bodily defects, to the number of fourscore thousand,

Causes of the calumnies raised against the Jews.

The falsity of Manethon's Egyptian history respecting the Jews.

thousand, whom he sent to work in the quarries to the eastward of the Nile, with a mixture of other Egyptians, to whom that service was allotted. He says further, that there were some of the learned priests polluted with the leprosy.

In prosecution of his purpose, he goes on to observe, that the wise and heavenly priest Amenophis, in a horror of conscience for what he had done, and in dread of a judicial vengeance from heaven upon himself for giving that counsel, and upon the king for taking it, durst not mention it to him, but left a writing behind him, and then put an end to his own existence. The author then goes on in these very words.

“ The king, being plied with petitions on the behalf of these miserable people, and particularly for some place of retreat, where they might live safe and easy, they pitched upon Avaris, formerly known by the name of Typhon, and the seat of the shepherds. The prince granted them this boon; and they were no sooner settled in it, than, finding it a commodious post for a rebellion, they lifted themselves under Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, and took an oath of fidelity to him, to obey whatever he should command them, upon these preliminaries, that they should neither worship any of the Egyptian gods, nor abstain from any of the meats that they account holy, nor intermarry but with people of their own opinion. When they had gone thus far, in opposition to the Egyptians interest and customs, the commander presently ordered the fortifying and walling in of the city, and the levying war against Amenophis, who taking other priests along with him, sent an embassy to the shepherds at Jerusalem, whom king Themosis had forced away out of Egypt, with instructions to the deputies to consult upon the common cause, and invite them into a league against Egypt, with a promise to join in the confederacy, and receive them into Avaris, the seat of their ancestors, where they were sure they could want nothing; but they might fight when they found it convenient, and, with the utmost ease, make themselves masters of the province. They were transported with joy at this proposal, and immediately drew out to the number of two hundred thousand men, and so marched away to Avaris.

“ Amenophis, upon the news of this invasion, was in great confusion of mind, as to the prophetic paper the priest left behind him; immediately called a great council of his princes and people together, and sent away all the beasts that passed for sacred among the Egyptians, with a strict order to the priests to keep all their idols as close as possible. He committed his son Sethon, otherwise called Romasses, after his father's name, Rhampses, a child of five years of age, to the care of a particular friend; and so marched away himself, at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men, to encounter the enemy. But, upon second thought, and a check of conscience, he turned short without fighting, and went his way to Memphis, where he and his people took shipping, and, with Apis, and the rest of their gods, fled into Ethiopia. The king of the country gave him and his people so generous a reception, that they wanted for nothing the place afforded; neither provisions or habitations, for their entertainment and convenience, to serve them the whole course of that fatal thirteen years banishment. Thus it fared with the Egyptians in Ethiopia; beside that they had a guard allowed them upon the frontier, for the safety of their king's person.

“ But, in the mean time, the Jerusalem auxiliaries made infinitely more ravage in Egypt, than they that called them in: for there was nothing they stuck at that was either inhuman or wicked; and the very spectacle of their impiety was a calamity not to be expressed. The razing, burning,

“ and rifling of towns and villages, was nothing to them without sacrilege, and breaking the images of their gods to pieces; most barbarously tearing the consecrated creatures, that the Egyptians adored, limb from limb; forcing the priests and prophets to be the executioners of them themselves, and then turning them off naked.”

The author says yet further, “ That the founder of that polity was one Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, so called from Osiris, a god that was worshipped there:” and he says that this priest, changing his religion, changed his name too, and called himself Moses. This is an Egyptian story of the Jews, but contracted for brevity's sake.

Manethon says yet again, that “ Amenophis and his son Rhampses marched afterwar'd out of Ethiopia with two great armies, encountered the shepherds and the lepers, routed and chased them with great slaughter to the borders of Syria.” This is the account we have from Manethon, which is most ridiculously trivial, as will evidently appear.

Now this fabulist takes it for granted, in the first place, that our forefathers were not originally of Egypt, but came thither from another country, and having subdued it, went again out of it. But that these Egyptians, who were thus diseased, did not afterwards intermix with us, and that Moses, who brought us out of the land of Egypt, was not one of that number, I shall endeavour to demonstrate from Manethon's own account, and prove that it is not only a fiction, but that the foundation of it is as ridiculous as false.

Manethon supposes that “ King Amenophis desired to see the gods.” I ask what gods? If he meant the gods their laws ordained to be worshipped, as the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he had already seen them. But if he meant celestial gods, they are altogether invisible. What could excite this desire? Another king, it seems, had seen them before. He might have been informed what they were, and after what manner they had been seen, without any new artifice for obtaining his desire. However, the prophet, it is said, by whose means the king thought to compass his design, was a good and wise man. If so, he must have known that the king's desire was unattainable. But he failed of his end. To come more closely to the point, what pretence could there be to suppose that the gods would not be seen by reason of any defect in the human body? The gods are not offended at the defects of the body, but at those of the mind. How can it be conceived that so many thousand diseased persons should be gathered together in one day? Why did not the king follow the direction of the prophet, and rather expel them out of Egypt, than condemn them to the quarries, as if he rather wanted labourers than to purge his country? He says further, that the prophet flew himself in dread of a Divine vengeance, and left this prediction for the king in writing. How came the prophet not to foresee his own destruction as well as that of the rest? Why did he not dissuade the king from the indulgence of so fantastical a desire? Why that dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen during his life? Or was the misery he apprehended worse than death itself? but the most ridiculous part of the story remains for comment.

The king, although he had been informed of these things, and was terrified at the apprehension of them, did not eject these diseased people out of his country, but, as Manethon relates, gave them that city to inhabit, which had belonged to their forefathers, and was called Avaris, where they made choice of the high-priest of Heliopolis for their governor. This priest first ordained that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were adored by the Egyptians, but kill and eat them; that they should associate with none but their confederates; and he bound the multitude by oath to the observance of these laws. In fine, they fortified Avaris, and took up arms against the king,

Reflection on the story of Manethon by Josephus

sending to Jerusalem for assistance, with a promise of putting Avaris into their hands; not doubting but from thence, upon a conjunction, they might easily obtain possession of all Egypt.

He further says, that they advanced with two hundred thousand men; but that Amenophis, king of Egypt, because he would not fight against the gods, took his flight into Ethiopia, and took Apis, and other sacred animals, along with him. That the Jews, afterwards breaking into Egypt, laid their towns waste, fired the temples, put their nobility to the sword, and committed outrages without mercy or distinction. That the priest who settled their polity was a native of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiph, so called from their god Osiris; but that he afterwards assumed the name of Moses. That Amenophis fell into Egypt, out of Ethiopia, with a mighty armament, in the thirteenth year after his expulsion, and joining battle with the shepherds, and the polluted people, overcame them, slew many of them, and pursued the rest as far as the bounds of Syria.

Manethon did not here reflect that his stories are totally unconnected and improbable; for though the diseased people, and the multitude that were with them, might deem it, at first, a hard measure, to be treated with such rigour by the king at the instance of the prophet, yet, when they were freed from the slavery of the mines, and allowed a commodious habitation, they must certainly have entertained a more candid opinion of him. Or, admitting their aversion to have been implacable, they would rather have contrived some secret practice upon his person, than involve not only their countrymen, but nearest relations, in the calamities of a war. Their contest was with men, not with the gods; neither would they act contrary to the laws in which they had been trained up. We owe our acknowledgments to Manethon, for declaring that the ring-leaders of this outrage were none of those that came out of Jerusalem, but the very Egyptians themselves, and especially their priest, who had bound them by oath to those practices. How absurd it is to suppose, that, when they found none of the relations or friends of the diseased could be prevailed upon to revolt, nor bear any part in a war, they should send to Jerusalem for succour! Could it be on the score of friendship or interest betwixt them? Certainly not; for, on the contrary, they were professed enemies, from a total repugnance in manners and customs.

Manethon affirms, that they immediately complied, upon the promise of being put in possession of Egypt; as if they could be ignorant of the condition of that country out of which they had been driven by force. Had they been in a necessitous state, they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprize; but to suppose that people, living at ease, and in a much more fruitful and agreeable country than Egypt, should incur such danger for the sake of enemies, and those so nauseously distempered, argues a degree of folly bordering on phrenzy. They could not foresee the flight of the king at the head of three thousand men; for that was the number, according to the fabulist, he brought to Pelusium to encounter the revolters.

He charges also upon the army from Jerusalem, the seizure of the Egyptians corn and provisions, the embezzlement of their stores, and the commission of the most horrid acts. What less could be expected from an open and declared enemy, especially when the Egyptians had done the same things before, and bound themselves by oath to continue the same practices?

In what light shall we view the story of the rout Amenophis gave his enemies, together with the slaughter and pursuit of them to the borders of Syria? Does Egypt lie so open on all hands? and would not those who had the conduct of the war, when they were informed he was upon the march, have secured the avenues out of Ethiopia, and drawn an army together to oppose him? But, says the fabulist,

No. 40.

he followed them over the sandy desert, and pursued the slaughter as far as Syria. A very probable supposition! to pursue an enemy over a desert hardly passable, and that without any interruption. It is evident, even from Manethon's own account, that we neither derived our origin from the Egyptians, or ever intermixed with them. As to the diseased part of them, it is not doubted but that many died in the quarries, more in the war, and great numbers in this last action and flight. But we now proceed to examine into the validity of what Manethon advances concerning Moses.

The Egyptians universally acknowledged Moses to have been a man of singular wisdom and integrity; and for that reason, it seems, they were desirous of having it thought that he was of their country, and therefore represented him as one of the priests of Heliopolis, who was ejected, amongst the rest, as an infected person. It has been demonstrated, from their chronological records, that Moses lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country which we now inhabit. That he was subject to no bodily distemper is evident from his own words; for he positively prohibited any lepers from being admitted into any towns or villages, enjoined them to live apart, and declared, that whosoever touched them, or lived under the same roof with them, should be reputed unclean. He farther ordained, that whosoever should be cured of that disease, and restored to a former state, should pass certain purifications, wash with fountain water, shave off the hair, and offer particular sacrifices, previous to their reception into the holy city. If Moses had been affected with this distemper himself, he would never have been so rigidly severe upon others.

Nor were these laws ordained for persons afflicted with the leprosy only, but they disqualified any man for the sacerdotal office, who had maim, or corporeal defect. Nay, if any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity in future, he was deprived of his function. Can it then be supposed, that if Moses had been a leper, he would have ordained laws to his own reproach?

Nor is there any probability of his changing his name from Osarsiph to that of Moses, as there appears not the least affinity between the one and the other. Moy, in the Egyptian language, is water; and Moyses signifies a person who is preserved out of the water. Upon the whole, it is presumed, I have rendered it evident, that, while Manethon followed the ancient records, he was not far wide of the truth; but where he is guided by fiction and fable, there is no longer any connection or truth in his history.

I shall now enquire into the merits of Cheremon, another Egyptian historian, who supposes the same names and persons of Amenophis, and his son Ramesses, with Manethon. He relates that the goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reprehended him severely for suffering her temple to be demolished in the war. But that Phritiphantes, a sacred scribe, suggested to the king, that if he would clear Egypt of all persons labouring under foul and malignant distempers, he should never more be troubled with those frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country, under the command of Moses and Joseph, two of the number, and holy men. That their names were originally Egyptian; Moses being called Tifites, and Joseph, Petesepe. That they found at Pelusium three hundred and eighty thousand, that Amenophis had left there, refusing them a passage into Egypt. That they struck a league, and joined in an expedition against the Egyptians; but that Amenophis, not being able to sustain their attacks, fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant behind him. That she lay concealed in a cavern, and there brought forth a male child, whom she called Meslènes, who, when he was grown to man's estate, drove about two hundred

Vindication of Moses from the aspersions of Manethon.

Remarks on Cheremon, another Egyptian historian.

dred thousand of the Jews into Syria, and brought back his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia. Thus much for the account of Cheremon.

The writers
contradict
each other.

To invalidate the credit of these writers, it will be only necessary to confront them. Truth and error can never be reconciled, nor can truth be divided against itself. When men have recourse to fable and fiction, what they write may be deemed fancy rather than history. Manethon imputes the expulsion of the lepers to the desire of Amenophis to see the gods; Cheremon to the vision of Isis. The former makes the priest Amenophis the adviser of the expulsion of the disordered people out of the king's dominions; the latter affirms, that it was Phritiphantes. They agree equally exact with respect to their numbers as their stories; the former computing them at eighty thousand men, the latter at two hundred and fifty thousand. Manethon again sends the lepers first to the quarries, and after that transports them to Avaris, whence they apply to the Jews for assistance, and make that the rise of the war. Cheremon, on the contrary, affirms, that, being driven out of Egypt, they availed themselves of the three hundred and eighty thousand men that Amenophis had left at Pelusium, invaded Egypt, and caused Amenophis to fly into Ethiopia. But, strange to observe! he gives us no information who these men were, nor whence they came; whether they were Egyptians or foreigners, or why Amenophis would not receive them. After forging the dream as the supposed cause of the expulsion of the lepers, he writes that Moses and Joseph were expelled together; whereas the latter was dead four generations before the time of Moses, which space makes almost one hundred and seventy years. According to Manethon, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, was a young man, assisted his father in the war, left the country with him, and fled into Ethiopia. By Cheremon's account, he was born in a cave after the death of his father, in process of time overcame the Jews in battle, and drove about two hundred thousand of them into Syria. What incoherence! what inconsistency! What the three hundred and eighty thousand were, we are as yet to learn; as we are the manner in which the other eighty thousand perished, whether they fell in battle, or went over to Ramesses. But what is yet more extraordinary, we cannot gather from Cheremon who they were that he calls Jews, or to which of the two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand lepers, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. It would, however, be loss of time to dwell upon the confusion of those writers, who evidently confuse themselves.

To former fables, I shall add those of Lyfimaachus, whose forgeries and inventive faculties far exceed those before-mentioned, and demonstrate his rancorous hatred of our nation. His words are these:

"In the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jews were leprovous, purulent, and over-run with foul distempers, that they pressed into the temples to beg for charms. There died great numbers of them of contagious miasmas; upon which there followed a famine in Egypt. Bocchoris, in this distress, sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon about the dearth. The answer was, that he should purify the temples, by sending away all unclean and impious persons out of them into the desert, and drowning those that were ulcerated and leprovous; for the sun itself had a horror for so abominable a sight; which being done, the earth should bring forth fruit again, and nature return to her course. Bocchoris, upon this, calls his priests and diviners about him; and with their advice, orders the sick people to be gathered together, and delivered up to the soldiers: the lepers to be wrapped up in lead, and cast into the sea; and the others to be carried into the wilderness, and there exposed to destruction.

"The night coming on, these poor people began to think what to do with themselves: they made fires, set watches and guards, and the next night kept a fast, to reconcile themselves to the gods whom they had offended. The day following there was one Moses that advised them to decamp, and march on together till they met with better accommodation; with a charge to do no good offices upon the way, nor so much as to give any man good counsel that should desire it; and likewise to break down all the temples and altars they found in their march. These proposals were no sooner approved, and the resolution taken, than the multitude presently put themselves upon the march over the wilderness; and, after many hardships, came at last into a country that was both cultivated and peopled. They treated the inhabitants cruelly in the highest degree, burnt and pillaged their temples, came in the end to a place that they now call Judaea, and built a city there by the name of Hierosyla, (according to the occasion,) being as much as to say, *the spoil of holy things*: but coming afterwards into power and reputation, they were ashamed of their own name, changed Hierosyla into Hierosolyma, and called themselves after their city."

It is here observable, that this last fabulist does not discover or mention the same king with the others, but feigns a more modern name, and passing over the dream and the Egyptian prophet, brings him to Jupiter Ammon, to ask counsel concerning the lepers, and other unclean persons. He says, that the Jews gathered together in multitudes about the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this appellation to the lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he seems so to restrict it in calling them the people of the Jews. But why not be explicit, and point out whether he means natives or strangers? If Egyptians, wherefore call them Jews? If strangers, why not inform us whence they came? If, by command of the king, so many were drowned, and the rest cast out to deserts, it is extraordinary that there should be so great a multitude remaining, which should pass the wilderness, possess the country, build a city, and erect a temple celebrated throughout the world.

Again, how comes it to pass that he mentions barely the name of our legislator, without a word concerning his country, his person, or his descent? Or without assigning the reasons for his making such extravagant laws in his passage, to the dishonour both of gods and men? Either these exiles were Egyptians or not: if they were, they would not so suddenly have changed the customs of their country. If they were not, they had certainly manners of their own, which they attained from long habit. It is likewise to be considered, that, if they had bound themselves by oath never to bear good will towards those who ejected them, they had a plausible reason for so doing: but for men, in their wretched plight, to wage an implacable war against all mankind, nothing could argue greater folly, or even phrenzy, but the attempt to impose so monstrous a fiction upon rational and intelligent beings. He has the effrontery to affirm, that a name implying "robbers of the temple" was given to the city, and that this name was afterwards changed. But how was it that the very name, which at that time, according to his report, was so great a scandal to the city, should afterwards be accounted the highest honour to its inhabitants? It seems that this malevolent dealer in fiction imagined, ignorantly imagined, that the word Hierosolyma implied the same thing in Hebrew as it did in Greek. But wherefore multiply words to detect an imposture so glaringly manifest, especially since it is presumed, that the very face of the narrative bears a stamp of the fallacy of its author? I shall proceed therefore, in the following book, to accomplish my design.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
TO
EPAPHRODITUS
ON THE
ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS,
IN ANSWER TO
APION.

BOOK II.

HAVING, in the former book, most excellent Epaphroditus, demonstrated the antiquity of our nation, and confirmed the truth of what I advanced, from the writings of the Phœnicians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, together with those of several Greek authors, in my remarks upon Manethon, Cheremon, and others of our enemies, I shall now direct my attention to personal opponents, and, in the first place, to Apion, the grammarian, if he may be deemed worthy of notice.

His writings contain much the same accusations as those with which we have been charged by others. They are contemptibly dull and scurrilous. Palpable ignorance, and malevolent calumny, pervade the whole; inasmuch that they bespeak, at once, the author's want of judgment, of learning, and of candour.

But, as the frivolous and superficial part of mankind far exceed the considerate and discerning, and the illiberal delight rather in detraction than eulogium or character, I find myself under some kind of necessity to detect and expose the errors of this man, who has the arrogance to make himself judge in the cause; and I am particularly induced to the undertaking, from considering that persons, in general, are gratified in finding reproach and scandal retaliated upon their authors.

His manner of writing is so dark and intricate, that his meaning frequently cannot easily be conceived; and his stories abound with contradictions and inconsistencies. At one time he misrepresents the circumstance of the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt, in the same manner with those whom I have already confuted. At another he inveighs against the Jews of Alexandria; and then breaks forth into most outrageous clamours against the rites and ceremonies of our temple and worship.

Now, although I cannot but think I have already abundantly demonstrated, that our forefathers

were not originally from Egypt, nor thence expelled on account of bodily diseases, or any similar calamities, yet I hold it expedient to animadvert particularly to what Apion advances in the third book of his Egyptian history, where he thus writes. "I have heard, from some ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was a native of Heliopolis; that the people formerly had their religious meetings in the open air, till Moses, who was well skilled in the worship of his country, brought their congregation out of the fields into private houses in the city, enjoining the people to address their prayers still towards the sun." He adds, "that, with respect to the situation of the place, there were, instead of obelisks, certain pillars advanced upon the figures of basons, with engravings upon them; and the shadow falling upon the basons, (for all was open above,) still as the sun moved, the shadow moved along with it."

This was the professed opinion of our grammarian; to confute which I shall not cite any authority from myself, but only advert to the writings of Moses. It is manifest, from his works, that, when he first erected a tabernacle for the purpose of divine worship, he neither gave orders himself for any such representation to be made, nor ordained that those who came after him should make such a one. When, in a future age, Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such fantastical decorations as Apion hath here devised.

With respect to the authority he cites of the old men, who informed him that Moses was a native of Heliopolis, it seems he was too young to know it himself, and therefore consulted some of his contemporaries, who, he says, were well acquainted with him; a suggestion pregnant with absurdity. This grammarian could not find out the country either of Homer or Pythagoras, though the latter was in comparison but of yesterday. Why then so positive in the case of Moses, who lived so many ages before them, and all this upon the credit of his ancient men?

Remarks of Josephus upon the errors of Apion.

Nor

Nor are these historians less divided as to chronological determination of the time when Moses led the lepers, the lame, and the blind, out of Egypt. According to Manethon, it was in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danus fled into Argos. According to Lyfimachus, it was in the reign of king Bocchoris, that is one thousand seven hundred years ago. Molon, and some others, determined it as they pleased. But Apion, who claims more authenticity than all the rest, determines it to have been precisely upon the first year of the seventh olympiad; the very year, he says, of the building of Carthage. He makes mention of Carthage as a token that would infallibly confirm the truth of his computation. But he was not aware that, by this means, he furnished arguments and evidence against himself, at least if my credit may be given, in this case, to the Phœnician records. For we find in them, that Hiram lived, at least, an hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, and that he had a particular friendship, and, indeed, veneration, for Solomon, the founder of the temple at Jerusalem, and contributed materials in abundance towards the perfecting of that work. But Solomon, in fine, laid the foundations of the temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt.

As to the number of Jews that were expelled out of Egypt, Apion agrees with Lyfimachus, that they were an hundred and ten thousand. But the origin he gives of the word Sabbath is frivolous and nugatory beyond expression. He says, that, "when the Jews had travelled a six days journey, they had inflammations about the groin, and that, for this cause, they rested the seventh day. Being safely arrived in the country now called Judæa, they gave that day the name of the Sabbath, from the Egyptian word Sabbarosis, which signifies the *disease of the groin*." Could any thing more absurd or ridiculous be imposed on the credulity of mankind under the sanction of history? An hundred and ten thousand men all labouring under the same disease! If they were blind likewise, lame, and languishing, as Apion elsewhere reports them, how could such an infirm multitude hold out so much as one day's journey in the desert? Besides, they were to cut their way through all opposition. The improbability of an hundred and ten thousand men falling into the same disease, at the same time, must be universally admitted; and as such an incident could never be according to the ordinary course of nature, it would be the height of folly to impute it to chance. Our author had before told us, that "they came to Judæa in six days;" and again, that "Moses ascended a mountain, betwixt Arabia and Egypt, called Sinai, was concealed there forty days; and that, when he came down, he delivered the law to the Jews." I would ask him if it is possible for such a body of men to march over so vast a desert in six days, and to subsist forty days in a place that afforded neither bread or water.

On the word Sabbarosis, and Sabbath.

His explanation of the origin of the word Sabbath is frivolous to the last degree of ignorance and insolence; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from each other. The word Sabbath, in the Hebrew language, denotes *rest from all sorts of work*; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, denotes the name of the *Egyptian disease*. This is the novel account which the Egyptian Apion has given us concerning the Jews departure out of Egypt, and is nothing more than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at his misrepresenting the origin of our fathers, when he affirms them to have been Egyptians, when he errs intentionally concerning his own? He was born at Oasis, in Egypt, but renounces the place of his nativity to be thought an Alexandrian, which shews what an opinion he had of the Egyptians; for that name he gives to all whom he would represent in an odious light; and this is the cause for which he takes such pains to disguise his extraction.

Those that glory in the dignity of their country, deem it a point of honour to make good their title,

and maintain the rights and privileges belonging to it. This is the case of the Egyptians with respect to us. Either they claim country and kindred with us to aggrandize themselves, or to involve us in their own infamy. But Apion seems to vent his spleenic passion against us merely to gratify the Alexandrians for the privilege they allowed him of being a fellow citizen with them, apprized of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear those that are in reality their fellow citizens; and yet, tho' he pretended to expose only one sort of Jews, the poison of his detraction extended to the whole race.

Let us now attend to the abominable crimes which Apion charges with so much rancour upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came (he says) out of Syria, and inhabited the spot along the sea coast at a place within the wash of the tide; but there is no port at hand for a vessel to ride in." Was not Apion highly censurable for reproaching a country he so much gloried in (how vainly and falsely, however) as the place of his nativity? For that quarter is a dependency upon Alexandria, and universally reputed a most commodious habitation. If the Jews took it by force, and so maintained it against all opposition, the more it redounds to their honour.

But, to be candid and ingenuous. It was Alexander the Great that put the Jews in possession of that place, and granted them the same freedoms and immunities with the Macedonians themselves. Nor can I devise what Apion would have said, had their residence been allotted them at Necropolis, instead of that royal city, and their tribes been called Macedonians to this day. If Apion had read the epistles of king Alexander, of Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, and the succeeding kings of Egypt, the inscriptions which the mighty Cæsar caused to be engraven upon the pillar at Alexandria, in memory of the privileges by him granted to the Jews; had he, I say, known these records, he must have been lost to all sense of shame, thus to have perverted truth, and opposed the conviction of his own mind.

When he affects surprize at the Jews being called Alexandrians, it is a proof of the greatest ignorance or prejudice. Is it not notorious that all colonies take their names from the first founders? Need we seek for foreign instances, when we have so many near home? The Jews of Antioch we call Antiochians, because Seleucus, the founder of the city, vested them with the privileges belonging thereunto. In like manner the Jews of Ephesus are called Ephesians; and those of Ionia, Ionians; to which right they stand entitled by the successive privileges of former grants. This is a favour which the Roman state hath vouchsafed not only to particular persons, but to whole provinces and nations; for the ancient Iberians, Tuscan, and Sabines, are now called Romans. If Apion rejects this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him renounce the title of an Alexandrian. For what pretence hath any man, according to his maxim, who was born in the inland part of Egypt, to call himself an Alexandrian, and especially an Egyptian, those being the people of the whole world to whom the matters of it, the Romans, refuse this privilege? But an envious historian, being deprived of title to this advantage, vents his spleen at those who are in rightful possession of it.

In the erecting of this city, Alexander made use of the assistance and service of the Jews; not for want of men, but in testimony and approbation of their fidelity, and with a design to shew them honour and respect. For, as Hecateus says, "Alexander honoured the Jews to such a degree, that, for the equity and fidelity, which they gave proof of, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute." Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, acted in the same manner, with respect to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria; for he entrusted the treasures of Egypt in their hands, in confidence of their valour and allegiance; and for his better security, he planted Cyrene, and other cities of Lybia, with their people.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeded Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who not only let those of our nation free, but remitted them several duties; and, what is more extraordinary, had so great a desire of being instructed in our laws and customs, and in the sacred scriptures, that he requested interpreters might be sent him for his better information. For the more speedy advancement of the work, the care of it was committed to Demetrius Phalerus, Andreas, and Aristeus. Demetrius was one of the most learned men of the age; the other two were officers of rank, and belonged to his body guards. Can it now be reasonably supposed, that this prince could have had such a veneration for the Jewish laws and customs, and for the piety and wisdom of our forefathers, without a degree of affection and regard for the professors of those laws and customs? Apion must be little versed in that history, if he did not know that most of the kings of these Macedonians, whom he pretends to have been his progenitors, were well affected towards the Jewish nation.

The third Ptolemy, called Energetes, when he got possession of all Syria by force, did not offer thanksgiving for his victory to the gods of the Egyptians, but sacrificed, and returned thanks, to the Almighty God of the universe, in the temple of Jerusalem, after the manner of the Jews.

Ptolemy Philometer, and his queen Cleopatra, committed the charge of the whole government to Onias and Doritheus, who were both Jews. Apion treats them with ridicule; but he ought rather to admire their actions, and own his acknowledgement for the preserving that Alexandria of which he pretended to be a citizen: for when Egypt was up in rebellion, and upon the brink of being irrecoverably lost, these two Jews interposed, and reduced the revolted to former obedience. Apion says, that Onias, soon after this, entered the place with a small army, in the presence of Thermus, the Roman ambassador. In this trite manner he recounts an exploit worthy of being celebrated by a much more candid and able historian.

Upon the death of Ptolemy Philometer, Ptolemy Physcon, his brother, marched out of Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra, and her sons, out of the kingdom, that he might obtain it unjustly for himself. For this cause Onias undertook the defence of Cleopatra; nor would he desert the trust the royal family had reposed in him now they were in distress. Never was there a more remarkable demonstration of the Divine power and justice than upon this occasion. When Ptolemy Physcon had prepared for action with Onias, he caused all the Jews in Alexandria, men, women, and children, to be exposed naked, and in bonds, to the elephants, to be trampled to death; nay, the beasts were made drunk to inflame their fury. But the event proved contrary to his expectation; for the elephants left the Jews, who were exposed to them, turned their rage another way, fell violently on the friends of Physcon, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time an horrid spectre appeared to Ptolemy, with a menacing precaution to leave off persecuting the Jews. His favourite concubine (by name called Ithaca, by others Hirene) joining her office of mediation, he not only complied with her request, but repented of what he had already done, or intended to do. This is a circumstance so notorious, that the Jews of Alexandria keep, to this day, an anniversary festival, in commemoration of their deliverance. Yet such is the inveteracy of Apion, that common detractor, that he reproaches the Jews for joining in this war against Physcon, whereas he should have extolled it as a most laudable action.

But the partial and perverse principles of Apion most flagrantly appear in the instance of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria; for he applauds that most infamous woman for her ingratitude towards the Jews; whereas he ought to have reproached her for every species of injustice and wickedness, with respect to her nearest relations, the tenderest of husbands, the Romans in general, and her Imperial benefactors in particular. Did she not

cause her sister Arsinoe to be put to death in the temple without a crime? Her brother to be taken off by treachery? Did she not rife the temples of the gods of her country, and the sepulchres of her progenitors? Did she not receive her kingdom as a bounty from the hand of the first Cæsar, and afterwards rebel against his adopted son and successor? Did not her seducing wiles render Anthony a traitor to his country and his friends?

Besides these instances of her ingratitude, inhumanity, and avarice, I might enlarge on the infamous disposition she evinced at the naval battle of Actium, where she abandoned even her beloved Anthony himself, who had been father of many children by her, and compelled him to resign his army and his honor to follow her into Egypt. In fine, I might add to all this, that, upon Cæsar's taking Alexandria, she was fired to such a degree of rage, that she valued herself upon the score of a merciless barbarity, and declared she would have esteemed it some compensation for the loss of the town, if she could have put all the Jews that were in it to death with her own hand. If Cleopatra, according to Apion's reproof, refused corn to the Jews in a time of famine, why does he charge that upon us as a disgrace, which in effect redounds to our honour? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved.

But we can appeal for our own justification to Cæsar himself, to the public decrees of the Roman senate, and to the testimonials of Augustus Cæsar in his epistles. These, in general, bear witness of the true allegiance we have ever paid the empire, and particularly in the war against the Egyptians.

Appeal of the Jews in their justification.

Apion, if he would have done us right, should have examined these authorities, and particularly the opinion that Alexander, all the Ptolemies, and the most illustrious of the Roman emperors, entertained of the Jewish nation. If Germanicus could not supply all the inhabitants of Alexandria with corn, this can only prove that there was a dearth, and by no means tends to the accusation of the Jews. The good affection of the emperor towards the Alexandrian Jews was never called in question, nor were they denied wheat any more than their neighbours; but, on the contrary, found credit upon all occasions, as in the command of the river, and other considerable passes: and they were trusted, in fine, in all places and matters of moment, beyond all others.

Apion brings another objection, and demands, if the Jews be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the rest of their fellow citizens? I reply by putting another quere. Why do the Egyptians wrangle and maintain an implacable enmity to each other concerning diversity of opinion, or matters of religion? Shall we, on that account, pronounce that you are not Egyptians? Or shall we doubt, on the other hand, whether you are, in truth, men or not? For you take pains to nurture animals, and then render them the objects of your worship. Now if you are thus divided amongst yourselves, why should you wonder that the Jews of Alexandria, who came from another country, and had original laws of their own, should persevere in the observance of them?

Objections of Apion answered.

Moreover Apion charges us with being the authors of sedition. If the imputation holds good against the Alexandrian Jews, why not against the Jews in general? for wherever dispersed, we are known to be of one mind. Whoever looks minutely into the causes of these turbulent revolutions, will find that they were occasioned by men of similar principles with Apion himself; for, as long as the Greeks and Macedonians were in possession of this city, the Jews had the free exercise of their religion, and the people lived in peace and happiness; but as the number of the Egyptians increased, the times, in proportion, grew more and more troublesome. The Jews, however, continued the same throughout all changes; while the others, having neither the constancy of the Macedonians, nor the prudence of the Greeks, stirred up these commo-

Apion accuses the Jews as authors of the sedition at Alexandria.

Is confuted by Josephus.

tions, persisted in their evil practices, and retained their former aversions to our people. The Egyptians, therefore, gave rise to all the differences that prevailed; though we are charged with those very errors and misdemeanors of which our accusers appear to have been so palpably guilty.

Apion is likewise disposed to vilify us as strangers, though possessed to all purposes of the rights of citizens; yet our adversaries claim that privilege without the least colour or pretence. We do not read, in ancient history, any more than in modern, that any prince, or any emperor, ever granted such privileges to the Egyptians. The first that introduced us to a right to that claim was Alexander the Great, and the grant has been enlarged by other kings; and since that, all the privileges have been continued, and confirmed, to us by the Romans.

Apion further takes occasion to pass a heavy censure upon us for not setting up images and statues in honour of the emperors, as if they could not have judged of this matter, or stood in need of his defence. Instead of arraigning our conduct, he should have celebrated the magnanimity and candour of the Romans, in allowing their subjects the freedom of our religion, without extorting from them such honours as they could not conscientiously pay them, and accepting such tokens of respect as they could with propriety render. It is the goodwill that stamps the obligation, and sets a value upon the benefit, without the intervention either of necessity or violence. It may be urged, perhaps, that, as it is a common practice both with the Greeks and other nations, to hold the images of their relatives, friends, and sometimes their very servants, in high esteem, it argues consummate pride in those who withhold that deference from their lords and masters. To this I reply, with respect to ourselves, that we pay implicit deference to our venerable legislator, who has positively forbidden us the use of all images, and of any creature whatever, whether animate or inanimate. He did not lay this injunction with any view of derogating from the dignity of the Roman empire, but he would by no means suffer any corporeal image, or representation, to be made of an invisible and incomprehensible Deity. We are not, however, forbidden from paying reverence to great and good men in due subordination to the one Supreme Being, as in the case of the emperor and people of Rome, for whose welfare and prosperity we offer daily sacrifices at the public charge, and this we do for no other person whatever. Let this suffice for answer in general to Apion as to what he urges with relation to the Jews of Alexandria.

I cannot but admire the confidence of Pondorius and Apollonius Molon, who furnished Apion with his materials, and charge us with not worshipping the same gods as others worship, nor think themselves guilty of impiety, in spreading scurrilous reports, even to the ridiculing and prophaning our very temple. Falsity is of all vices one of the most unmanly, but more especially so where the scandal falls upon a temple celebrated throughout the world for the exemplary solemnity of its devotion.

Apion affirms that, in this holy place, the Jews had the golden head of an ass, of immense value, and that they worshipped this head as a deity; that the image was deposited in the treasury, there found, and carried away, by Antiochus Epiphanes, upon the rifling of that sacred place. To this I reply, that, supposing the story to have been true, it became not an Egyptian to reproach us with it; for an ass is not a more contemptible animal than a goat, or other beasts which they adore. It is strange that Apion could not perceive this to be a palpable lie, and the very extreme of contradiction and absurdity. Have we not, from time to time, retained the same laws and customs, without variation? Though Jerusalem has shared the fate of other cities, and repeatedly fallen into the hands of enemies, as Theos, Pompey the Great, Licinius Crassus, and at last Titus Caesar, and our temple has been thus taken,

yet nothing bearing such resemblance was ever found, nor any thing contrary to rules of the strictest piety.

Antiochus Epiphanes is chargeable with the highest degree of perfidy and sacrilege in pillaging the temple. He did not obtain possession of it as an avowed enemy, but as a pretended friend, and a traitor to his allies. His principle was avarice, which he gratified as a common plunderer. We have, however, the testimonials of many respectable writers, that there was nothing found, upon the rifling, to render the party, or the cause, ludicrous, as was fallaciously represented. Amongst others I may enumerate Polybius, of Magalopolis; Strabo, of Cappadocia; Nicolaus, of Damascus; Timagenes; Caistor, the chronologer; and Apollodorus; who all agree that Antiochus, through necessity, violated his league with the Jews, and spoiled their temple of a vast mass of gold and silver. If Apion was not as obdurate and senseless as the animals which the Egyptians worship, he would have taken those circumstances into consideration, and not contended for such palpable fictions. We have not that veneration for our asses which the Egyptians have for their asps and crocodiles, when they esteem such as are stung by the former, or bitten by the latter, happy persons in being translated to the gods. Asses are to us the same as they are to other considerate men, creatures to bear our burdens; but if they spoil our corn, or become refractory, we chastise them with stripes. But this Apion was so frivolous in his inventions, and so defective in his descriptions, that he could never obtain sufficient credit with the world to do us essential injury.

There is another malicious tale which he borrows from the Greeks in order to reproach us. Of this we need only observe, that they are little acquainted with divine subjects, who are not sensible that it is less impious to pass through temples, than to cast aspersions upon those that minister in sacred things. But it was evidently their design to palliate the sacrilege and perfidy of a prince, by imputing his actions to necessity, rather than do justice to truth, to our nation, and our temple.

Apion writes that "Antiochus found, upon entering the temple, a man lying upon a bed, with a table before him, set out with all the delicacies that either sea or land could afford. This man was so surprized at the encounter, that looking upon Antiochus as his good angel, and one that came to rescue him, he threw himself at his feet, and, in a posture of adoration, implored his assistance. The king bade him speak freely, tell him who he was, what he did there, and finally what was the meaning of the table's being thus set out. The man, upon this, burst into tears, and proceeded to answer: I am a Greek, and, wandering up and down in quest of the means of subsistence, was taken up by some foreigners, brought to this place, and shut up, with positive orders not to suffer mortal to approach me. I was pleased, at first, with entertainment so unexpected; but suspicion arising in process of time, I enquired of my keepers into the cause of this extraordinary treatment. They gave me to understand, that the Jews had a custom among them, once a year, upon a certain day prefixed, to seize upon a Grecian stranger, and when they had kept him fattening one whole year, to take him into a wood, and offer him up for a sacrifice according to their own form, taking a taste of his blood, with an horrid oath to live and die sworn enemies to the Greeks, after which they cast the remainder of the miserable carcase into a ditch. The man added, that his time was nearly expired, and adjured him, by the veneration he had for the Grecian gods, to deliver him from the fate he apprehended at the hands of the Jews."

This tragical invention was carried to the highest pitch of extravagance, but not so far as to exempt Antiochus from the imputation of perfidy and sacrilege, as those who endeavour to vindicate him would insinuate. For it was not on account of the Greek that

that he entered the temple, but he found him there without any foreknowledge of the matter, so that the iniquity of his design is manifest, nor can it be justified upon any principle of equity or reason. Now the difference is much greater betwixt our laws and those of the Egyptians, and several other nations, than betwixt us and the Greeks. Where is the country through which, in the course of time, people of all religions do not pass? And how comes it to pass that this fantastical barbarity should be exercised only upon the Greeks? How is it possible that all the Jews should join in these sacrifices, and that the entrails of one man should suffice for so many thousands to taste? How comes it that we have not the name of this persecuted Greek, and that Antiochus did not send him back in state to his own country, which would have given him the reputation of a patriotic prince, and formed a powerful party against the Jews?

But as the vulgar and superficial part of mankind are not to be wrought upon by argument, I shall have recourse to the demonstrative evidence of fact. No man ever saw our temple, but can witness that it was so constructed as to preserve every thing in purity and perfection. It had four partitions, encompassed with cloisters. The first division was open to all, even foreigners, without reserve; Jews and their wives (if clean and purified) were admitted into the second; and male Jews, purified in like manner, into the third. The fourth was only for the priests in their sacerdotal habits; and none but the high-priest, in the robes peculiar to his dignity, was to enter the holy sanctuary. Nay, so strict and punctual are they in their adherence to form and decorum, that the very priests themselves could not have admittance but at certain hours.

Upon opening the temple in the morning, the priests, who were to officiate, attended, and so at noon, upon shutting it up. There were in the temple an altar, a table, a censer, and a candlestick, according to the direction of the law; nor was it legal to carry any other vessel into it. There was no fasting, nor any mysteries carried on, but in the face of the whole congregation; and such method was observed, that, though there were four tribes of priests, and in every tribe upwards of five thousand persons, they took their turns of attendance upon certain set days, and that in due regular succession. Meeting about noon all together in the temple, they delivered up their respective trusts one to another; some discharging themselves of the keys, others of the vessels; without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into that sacred place: for it is not lawful to offer any thing upon our altars, but what is provided for sacrifice. But what avails bare dogmatical assertions, without considering whether it be founded on truths or not? What can reflect greater disgrace upon any man that sets up for an historian or a lover of letters? Besides, it is farther observable, that, while Apion puts forth his invectives against us without any foundation, on the one hand, he suppresses known facts on the other. The fancy of his Greek prisoner, his luxurious entertainment, and the people passing through the temple as a thoroughfare, are evidently the contrivance of malice propense, to seduce those who will not be at the pains of investigating truth.

Apion, led by a vein of fiction, enumerates fable upon fable, to render us, if possible, more and more odious; and his inventive faculty suggested the following story: "While the Jews and Idumæans were engaged in a long and obstinate war, there came a man over to the Jews, out of some city of Idumæa, where they worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name was Zabidus, promised to put Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, if they could but get the Jews to gather all together into the temple in a body. Zabidus, upon this, contrived a certain machine of boards, and conveying himself into it, set three rows of lights upon it, which appeared, at a distance, like a comet on the ground. This appearance so surprized the Jews, that they gazed at it afar off, without speaking a word. Zabidus, in the mean time, slipped

"into the temple, and, without any difficulty, seized the ass's golden head, and carried it away to Dora." This ridiculous fiction proves the author more stupid than the animal; for he writes of places that exist only in his imagination; nor does he know where Idumæa lies, or that there is any such city in it as Dora. There is, indeed, a place of that name in Phœnicia, not far from mount Carmel, but this is four days journey from Judæa.

He is to be justified in condemning us for not worshipping the gods of other nations, if, as he says, our forefathers were so credulous as to believe that Apollo would come to them in the form of a comet. It was rather extraordinary that the Jews should not know a lamp, or a torch, when they saw it, from a star, when they had so many at their festivals. And it was little less miraculous that Zabidus should get clear off, with the ass's head, through so many thousands of people, and that there should be no guards to stop his progress, even in a time of war.

The very circumstances of the tale prove its fallacy. How the temple gates, sixty cubits in height, and twenty in breadth, plated over, and no fewer than two hundred men required to shut them every day, could be managed by one single man, is submitted to the determination of common sense. It remains, upon the whole, a question whether Zabidus brought the head back again, or gave it to Apion to be laid in the temple, that Antiochus, finding it, might give rise to another story.

Apion is equally false respecting the oath, when he declares that the Jews do solemnly swear by the maker of heaven, earth, and the seas, to bear no good-will to any foreigners, and more especially to the Greeks. If this falsifier had said to none of the Egyptians, he would have been more consistent with himself; at least if our predecessors were driven out of Egypt not for their ill-conduct, but the calamities under which they laboured. The Greeks and Jews were so remote in point of situation, that there was not the least colour for envy or jealousy betwixt them. On the contrary, many of them came over to our religion: some persisted in it, others receded from it; but, for this pretended oath, no man ever heard it; nor was it any thing more or less than a project of Apion.

This fabulist adduces, as an argument against the justice of our laws, our manner of worship, and the truth of our holy religion, that we are under the burden of servitude and oppression; and that our city, free and powerful as it might have been, is no better than tributary to the Romans. But where are the people now that are able to contend with them? Who but Apion would reason in this absurd manner? Government and subjection succeed by turns. The Egyptians are the only nation that pretend to an immunity from all services to any of the monarchs of Asia and Europe, which they ground on the strange gods having fled into their country, and secured themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts. Whereas these Egyptians are the very people that appear to have never, in all past ages, enjoyed one day of freedom, either at home or abroad. But I will not reproach them, by relating the manner in which the Persians used them, not once, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, destroyed their idol deities, and vilified their worship: for it is not seemly to imitate the example of Apion, who turned into censure the misfortunes of the Athenians and the Macedonians; though there never was a braver people than the latter, or a people of more exemplary piety than the former. Yet neither the piety of the one, or the courage of the other, was sufficient to secure them against the chances of war, and the common fate of states and kingdoms.

When we reflect on the miserable disasters that have attended the best of kings, and particularly Croesus, the laying of the tower of Athens, the temples at Ephesus and Delphi, and several other magnificent buildings in ashes, the disgrace in such instances rests not in the sufferers, but the actors of these

Apion forges an oath, and charges it upon the Jews.

Confutation of another calumny raised by Apion.

Description of the interior of the temple.

Another ridiculous story of Apion.

Of the
slavery of
the Egypt-
ians.

these tragical devastations. But our accuser Apion has discovered a new mode of crimination, forgetful of the miseries of his own people the Egyptians. He seems to have been blinded by Sesostris, once a celebrated king of Egypt.

The Ro-
mans are
partial to
the Jews.

We will not boast of our kings David and Solomon, though many nations were conquered by their victorious arms, but rather confine ourselves to the case in point. Were not the Egyptians at first slaves to the Persians, with other princes of Asia, and so to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, while we lived in a state of freedom, with the command of all the neighbouring cities, for the space of an hundred and twenty years, that is to say, to the time of Pompey the Great? At length, when the Romans had conquered all the other kings with whom they had to do, our ancestors were the only people they treated as friends and allies, on account of their fidelity and valour. Apion, however, affects ignorance of these facts, though they are obvious to all the world besides.

The calum-
nies of A-
pion ex-
posed.

We are further traduced, by this malevolent writer, for an obscure, ignorant people. The Jews, he affirms, have amongst them no eminent men for their knowledge of the arts and sciences, or of politics, or the government of states, such as Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, and the like. He does not forget to insert himself in the list of celebrated persons, but pronounces Alexandria happy in the honour of having Apion for a citizen. He was the properest man to be his own eulogist, as other people maintained a despicable opinion of him, from the general depravity of his manners; so that Alexandria is rather to be pitied than envied, for valuing itself upon such a supporter. As to the point in competition between the two nations, which should have the preference for men of learning and abilities, the reader is referred to our antiquities for his satisfaction. As to the other part of the scandal that remains unanswered, we cannot do better than refer him to his own contradictions, wherein he accuses himself and other Egyptians.

He seems to take great offence at our sacrificing ordinary beasts, the scruple we make of eating swine's flesh, and turns the ceremony of circumcision into absolute mockery. As for the slaughter of tame animals for sacrifice, we do it in common with all other men; and as to our sacrifices, he discovers himself, before he is aware, to be an Egyptian in speaking against them; for a Greek, or a Macedonian, that makes profession of offering whole hecatombs to their gods without any difficulty, would never have discovered aversion to this practice. They also make use of these sacrifices for feasting, without any danger of destroying the species of those animals, as Apion seems to apprehend. But if mankind in general followed the Egyptians, the world would want men, and swarm with the wildest of the brute creation, which are the objects of their adoration.

Precepts of
the Egypt-
ian priests.

If the question was put to Apion, what class of the Egyptians he esteems as the most wise and pious men, his answer would undoubtedly be the priests; for they have these two precepts transmitted down to them from their first kings, to worship the gods, and to apply themselves to the study of wisdom. This they profess to do; they are all circumcised, abstain from swine's flesh, and join with no other class of Egyptians in their sacrifices. Apion therefore deviates from his purpose, when, instead of gratifying the Egyptians with invectives against us, he advances a direct accusation against those he pretended to favour, in charging them with the same ceremonies for which he blames others; and likewise advising and encouraging circumcision in others, as we have it upon the credit of Herodotus. It seems that Apion was justly punished for casting such reproaches on the laws of his country; for it so fell out, that, through the prevalence of a disease, he was under a necessity of being circumcised. The wound putrifying, a cancer ensued, which carried him off in great torment. This should serve as a warning to those, who, regardless of the duties both of religious and social life, prostitute their

The mis-
erable death
of Apion.

time and talents to the base purposes of envy and detraction. This was the case of Apion; he apostatized from the laws of his own country, and misrepresented those of ours: and thus concludes our discourse concerning him.

But since Apollonius Molon, Lyfimachus, and several others, have cast dishonourable reflections on Moses, our excellent legislator, aspersing and vilifying his character as an impostor and magician, and representing his laws as injurious to society, partly through ignorance, but chiefly through enmity to our nation, I shall endeavour, with all possible brevity and precision, to treat on the constitution of our government, and its several particular branches. I apprehend it will thence be rendered evident, that there never was such a code of laws framed, for the common good of mankind, as those of Moses; for the advancement of piety, justice, charity, industry, the regulation of society, patience, and perseverance in well doing to the very contempt of death itself. I have therefore only to request the candour and impartiality of the reader, as I solemnly declare my design is not to write an encomium upon our nation, but to assert the cause of truth and justice, against the efforts of calumny and detraction.

Apollonius does not vent his spleen like Apion, in a continued succession of accusations, but varies as to time and mode of aspersing us. At one time he reproaches us as Atheists and Misanthropes, at another he upbraids us as cowards, at another he charges us with temerity and fool-hardiness, and represents us as ignorant and savage as the wildest barbarians, declaring that the Jews never invented any thing for the benefit or improvement of mankind. To confute these malevolent suggestions, it will be necessary to examine the constitution of our laws, and the conformity of our lives to those precepts. If, in the course of this undertaking, I should be compelled to make mention of the laws and policy of other nations, it is to be imputed to those who have provoked us to an opprobrious comparison, and rendered the reproach we cast upon them necessary to our own defence.

There are in the case under present consideration two essential points: First, the tendency of our laws; and secondly, the degree in which we observe them. To such as deny the former, we are ready to produce an abstract of those laws; those who call in question the latter, will be referred to demonstrative evidence.

It is an incontrovertible maxim, that the first founders of laws for the establishment of discipline and good order in society, are to be preferred to those who live without any form or method at all; for they appeal to antiquity, and deem it a greater honour to teach others what they ought to do, than barely to imitate what they see done before them. This position being admitted, the excellency of a legislator is apparent from his providing such laws as may tend to promote the interest of the community, from a conviction that they are as reasonable as beneficial, so that the people firmly adhere to the observance of them, both in a prosperous and adverse state.

The antiquity of our legislator gives him an undoubted right to precedence; for Lycurgus, Solon, and Faleucus, of Locris, with the rest of the lawgivers held in such esteem amongst the Greeks, seem but of yesterday, when compared with Moses. The very name of law was not yet so much as heard of; and Homer is witness to the truth of this observation, for that term cannot be found throughout his poems. The people in those days were not governed by written precepts, but by the absolute will and pleasure of kings; and so it continued for a long time by authoritative orders and provisions, occasionally made and issued. Our legislator, having this claim of priority admitted by his very enemies, acquitted himself to general admiration, in all the offices of administration and council: first, in composing such a body of laws as might affect all the contingencies of human life, and afterwards in ob-
taining

gaining a most cordial reception of them by the people, and their solemn declaration of obeying and maintaining them. But let his works speak for him.

Moses an excellent general, and a wise counsellor.

When our forefathers, to the number of many thousands, marched out of the land of Egypt, into the country appointed for them by Divine Providence, through a barren sandy desert, without water, and had several encounters with the enemy by the way, in defence of themselves, their wives, and children, they were guided through these almost insuperable difficulties by our vigilant legislator, who maintained the character of a valiant general, a prudent counsellor, and a common protector. He was a man of such exemplary moderation, that, though he held the people in implicit obedience to his injunctions, he never availed himself of his authority to promote his private advantage; but, on the contrary, where other men tyrannized, and indulged a general licentiousness, he observed the rules of piety and virtue, and, by his example, encouraged the multitude to such a conduct as proved their best security against all accidents.

Origin of the Grecian laws.

Moses looked up to the only All-wise Being as oracle and guide; and being persuaded that he could not err, so long as he committed himself to the care of Divine Providence, thought it his duty to imprint that belief on the minds of the multitude; for nothing so effectually checks us in the progress of vice as a due consciousness of the Divine Omnipotence. From this character of our legislator, it is evident that he was not a seducer or a magician, as he is falsely represented; but such a one as Minos, and others after him, were reputed among the Greeks; some ascribing the origin of their laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the oracle at Delphi. But whether these men thought they were thus derived, or were desirous of imposing such a belief in the people, I pretend not to determine. But the origin and excellency of these laws will best appear by placing them in a comparative point of view, which is the next thing to which we shall attend.

Moses describes the Divine Being and his attributes.

Several nations have their several forms of government, and their diversities of laws. Some governments are committed to a single person, others to the people. Our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but ordained a government, that, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, or Holy Commonwealth, in ascribing all authority and power to God, and persuading the people to regard him as the author of all the good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each individual in particular. To him he directs us to fly for succour in our distresses, as he hears our prayers, and searches into the very secrets of our hearts. He inculcates the doctrines of one God, the uncreated, immutable, and eternal Being, infinitely glorious, and incomprehensible one, further than what we know of him by his works.

Opinions of the Grecian philosophers.

This is what may be derived, in some measure, from the wisest of the Greek philosophers, who, from the light of nature, unanimously agree on the congruity of these principles to the majesty and excellence of God; as for instance, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, and Plato; and the stoics, that succeeded them, were of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of the Divine Being. But the multitude being actuated by a violent and superstitious prejudice against these opinions, the philosopher durst not venture too far in promoting them.

Differences between Moses and the law-givers.

But our legislator was the only man that lived as he taught, both to the satisfaction of the present age, and to the establishing and confirming posterity in the truths which he delivered, governing himself by this constant rule, to make the public good the grand end of all his laws. He pointed out, that the worship of the Divine Being was but the one part of a good man's duty; annexing to it the other parts, such as resignation, temperance, justice, and a constant interchange of good offices towards mankind; inasmuch that all his precepts and ordinances tended to the advancement of piety, and of

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course to the honour and glory of God; this being the main object he had in view.

There are two ways of attaining to a degree of excellence in religion and morality; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now law-givers, in general, commonly attended to one part, and neglected the other. As for example, the people of Lacedæmon and Crete taught by practical exercises, without rule and precept; while the Athenians, and most of the Greeks, had prescribed laws for every thing, though they fell short in the practice.

Two methods of instruction.

But our legislator wisely connected these two methods of instruction; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice. He begins with the subject of meats and diet, what we may be allowed to eat, and what not, and with whom, and enjoins all people in general to the observance of that method and order. He takes the same care with respect to a regulation in matters of labour and rest, to the end that no man may be ignorant of his duty; for what the law enjoins us is the dictate and command of our master, and it punishes only wilful offenders. To leave us wholly without excuse, in case of transgressing any of these sacred laws, we hear them read over, (once, twice, or oftener, perhaps;) but are positively commanded (all other work or business apart) to meet constantly once a week in full congregation, expressly to attend the reading of the law, and learning it exactly, which was never practised by any other law-giver. Indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from living in conformity to their own laws, that they do not so much as understand what they are, but, in committing a fault, they enquire of others what law they have violated. This is the case even amongst men of the first rank, who are not ashamed tacitly to confess their ignorance in taking men learned in the law to their counsel and assistance: but our people are as well acquainted with their laws as their own names, having been trained up in them from earliest infancy, till they are imprinted in their minds: our transgressions therefore are but few, and those who do offend cannot possibly escape punishment.

The Jews frequently had the law read to them.

This is the foundation of that admirable agreement of mind which prevails amongst us. We have all of us the same notions concerning the Divine Being, the same forms of discipline and worship, the same way of life, and the same rule of manners. It is not with us as with others, who entertain various opinions concerning one and the same God; and this is the case not only with the common people, but the very philosophers themselves. Some of them have denied many of his attributes, others his superintending providence, upon an impious suggestion that all men are equal, and that all things are in common. We affirm, on the contrary, that God sees and disposes all things. Nay, our wives, children, and servants, are all instructed, that our actions, in general, should be directed to the honour and service of God.

The unanimity of the Jews.

Piety the end of human life.

This has given rise to a reflection upon our nation, as having produced no men eminent for polite literature, as we continually pursue the same dull, plodding path; whereas men of genius and speculation value themselves upon improvement and innovation. While others think it meritorious to deviate from every thing delivered down by their forefathers, we, on the contrary, deem it the greatest instance of wisdom and virtue, to admit of no actions or principles that are repugnant to our original laws: antiquity, with us, is the infallible mark of a good and well founded statute, which neither time or argument will ever be able to destroy. Besides, as we firmly believe those laws to be of Divine institution, we have only to preserve them sacred and inviolate. Who shall dare to offer at the removal of those foundations which have been laid by the hand of the Almighty? Who can amend so Divine a system, by transferring the most beneficial provisions, from the best of other governments, to the code of

The immutability of the Jewish laws.

of his commonwealth? Can any constitution be more firm or just than that of which the King of kings is king?

Qualifications for the priesthood.

As for the priests, they are qualified, in common, for several special services; and the high-priest is vested with power and superiority above all the rest. They are not promoted, by the legislator, to that dignity for ambition, wealth, or any corrupt influence, but for the signal testimony they have given of their piety, temperance, and wisdom; and to them is committed the care of religion, and the peculiar functions of divine worship. They serve also as judges in controversies betwixt man and man, and have a power to punish those who are guilty of misdemeanors.

What form of government can be more sacred and venerable than this? Or what greater honour can we do the Almighty, than to spend our lives in a daily attendance upon his service, and under the inspection of priests who see that all things are performed with due order and reverence? We seem to celebrate a perpetual festival; and whereas foreigners discover a lassitude, in a few days attendance on their mysteries, we are as firm, chearful, and vigorous, in the discharge of our religious duties at this time, as we were many ages since, upon their first institution.

The Jews opinion of God.

Among other known precepts of our religion we are taught, in the first place, that God is all in all, perfect, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, middle, and end of all things. He is glorious in all his works, and tremendous in his power and greatness; but, at the same time, so incomprehensible, that it is not for the tongue of man to express, nor the heart to conceive, any resemblance of the Divine Majesty. He is, in fine, incomparable in all his excellencies and attributes, infinitely beyond art and imitation; so that it is impossible to see or imagine any thing like him; for, being a Spirit, he is invisible.

But we are allowed to read the great Invisible Being in his works; as in the light, the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, the rivers, the sea, several sorts of animals, and various kinds of plants. These things hath the Creator formed, not with hands, not by labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to co-operate with him. But as it was his Divine will they should be made, and be made good also, they were made, and became good immediately. This is the Almighty Sovereign whom we are all bound to love and adore in the study and exercise of virtue, which is the only way to please him.

One God, one world, and one temple.

As there is but one God, and one world in common to all mankind, it holds the analogy, that there should be but one temple; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men.

Office and authority of priests.

His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom the senior is to be perpetual ruler. His business is to offer sacrifices to God, assisted by those who are joined with him; to see that the laws are observed; to determine controversies; and to punish those who are convicted of injustice. Such as do not submit to him, shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of the greatest impiety.

Abstract of the laws of Moses.

In eating what has been offered in sacrifice, we must avoid extending the liberty to a degree of gluttony and excess; for that Being, who delights in sobriety and temperance, can never be pleased with luxury and profusion.

The priest begins his office with prayers for the general good of mankind, and after that to every man for himself, as a part of the whole; being well assured, that nothing is more acceptable in the sight of God, than mutual charity, tenderness, and forbearance among mankind.

When we offer up our prayers to Almighty God, we are not to petition for wealth, honour, and the

good things of this world, for these are blessings which he is pleased to bestow in common upon mankind; but our prayers must be for grace to make a right use of what we have.

The law hath prescribed us certain formal purifications, under kinds of limitations and restrictions, too many and too tedious to be enumerated and specified. This is the doctrine concerning God and his worship, and what the law enjoins for our attention and practice.

In point of marriage, the law approves no other junction of the sexes than that upon such principles which nature hath appointed; not from regard to interest, or the gratification of inordinate passions, but for the procreation of children, and that with the consent of parents. The very attempt of an unnatural crime is punished with death.

The law further ordains, that the woman shall be subject, in all things, to her husband, which must not be taken for a dispensation to abuse her, but a provision for the maintenance of decency and good order; for God hath given the authority to the husband. The woman is to have no carnal knowledge of any other man, upon pain of death without mercy; and he that abuses a betrothed virgin incurs the same penalty. It is the same also in case of corrupting a married woman, or a mother of children. Our law is no less severe upon those women who either conceal their children when they are brought into the world, or otherwise destroy them. Purification is to be used after intercourse of the sexes; for which purpose water is to be provided for the preservation of a becoming decency and cleanliness.

The law does not permit us to make sumptuous festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford opportunity of drinking to excess, but ordains that the earliest period of our education should be directed to the purposes of sobriety. We are also enjoined to bring up our children to a general knowledge of things, but more especially of law and history; the one to furnish them with a perfect acquaintance with their duty to God and man, and the other with great examples, to incite them to the imitation of noble actions.

Care has also been taken of the decent burial of the dead, but without extravagant pomp in funeral solemnities, or sumptuous monuments. The law ordains that the nearest relatives should perform the obsequies; and that those who pass by when any one is conveying to the place of interment, should attend the funeral, and join the lamentation. It also ordains that the house, and its inhabitants, should be purified after the funeral is over. Every one is directed not to deceive themselves with the imagination of being excused by purification, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

We are enjoined reverence to parents next to God himself; and the law appoints ungrateful and disobedient children to be stoned to death. The younger are commanded to pay respect to their elders, as God was before all things. Secrecy among friends is prohibited, as friendship implies an entire confidence without any reserve. Nay, where friendship is dissolved, we must not be false to a former trust.

The judge who takes a bribe is to be punished with death, for countenancing the guilty, and oppressing the innocent. He that disregards the petition of an indigent person, when he is able to relieve him, is held guilty. No one is to touch the property of another. He that lends money must not demand usury. These, and many others of the like kind, are the rules by which we are united in the bonds of society one with another.

It may be worthy of our pains to enquire into the equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; whence it will appear, that he hath not been wanting in any thing that can tend to the public good, either by keeping us firm to our laws, or communicating the benefit of them

to others, who may be disposed to cultivate a knowledge of them. He receives, with open arms, all who come over to us, of every nation indifferently, provided they agree in the same common principles of life and manners. Those who come by accident, and without intent to join us, are not suffered to intermix with us in our solemnities. But we are obliged to render them our best offices in many instances: as for example, if they should want water, fire, wood, or the like, we are commanded to supply them; to set any of them right who are out of their way; and to give the dead a decent burial. These are duties of humanity, and abstracted from the peculiar laws of our religion.

He prescribes rules of moderation to be observed towards enemies, to prevent the dreadful extremities of fire and sword. His charity extends to the easing of prisoners, and especially women; nor would he suffer dead bodies, that fell in battle, to be stripped.

Such was his regard for the cultivation of tender principles among men, that he recommended them even to beasts, in allowing us no other power over them than for lawful and necessary uses. Domestic creatures, brought up tame in our houses, are to be spared; nor, in other cases, are the dams and the young to be destroyed together. Beasts of labour and common use, are likewise to be forborne, though in some respects mischievous.

Thus hath our admirable law-giver contrived, by every means, to teach us an equitable conduct, by such statutes as forcibly tend to that excellent purpose; while, at the same time, he hath ordained that transgressors shall be punished with the utmost rigour. In capital offences the punishment is no less than death: for instance, in murder, adultery, rapes, and unnatural practices: nor are any conditions, bond or free, exempt from the penalty.

We have our laws concerning weights and measures, and all sorts of frauds in buying and selling, taking away another man's goods, or appropriating to ourselves what is not our own. Offenders of this kind are punished with much more severity under our laws than those of other nations.

Blasphemy, or any act of indignity towards the Majesty of heaven, together with contumacious behaviour towards parents, incur the penalty of immediate death upon the very spot where committed. But the reward of conforming to these laws is not gold, silver, imperial crowns, or precious stones, but the testimony of a good conscience, with the assurance of future bliss, founded not only on the prediction of the legislator, but the promise of infallible truth. In this confidence, therefore, they look upon death only as the blessed means of transporting them from this life to a better. This is evident from many occurrences in the history of our ancestors, particularly the resolution with which they have undergone the most excruciating tortures, rather than let fall one word to the dishonour of their profession. Supposing now the Jews were a people never heard of upon the face of the earth, and there were no witnesses to the veneration we have constantly paid to our laws, what opinion would the Jews form, if an account was related to them of a people, in some imaginary unknown land, who had stood firm so many ages to the religion, laws, and customs of their predecessors? Would they not deem it matter of admiration, especially those that are so fickle and changeable themselves?

Modern writers, on the subject of political government, are much censured, for having advanced many absurd and improbable stories. Plato himself, the very oracle of the Greeks, and a man in singular esteem for his piety, wisdom, and virtue, as well as the excellency of his philosophy, is exposed to contempt and ridicule by arrogant pretenders, for his wild notions of government, as they term them; while those who peruse his writings with attention and candour, will find them consonant both with reason and nature. Plato himself ingenuously confesses, that "it is not safe for a wise man to publish

his notions concerning the Deity amongst the ignorant multitude." Yet some affirm that Plato writes like a man of vanity and licence.

Lycurgus was a man eminent as a finished legislator; and the Spartans were commended for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a long space of time. From thence it is inferred, that it is confessedly a mark of virtue to submit to laws. But then let those who admire and applaud this constancy in the Spartans remember, that their continuance in point of duration bears no comparison to that of ours. Let them also remember, that, though the Spartans maintained exact obedience to their laws while they enjoyed their liberty, yet, when fortune abandoned them, they fell off, and abandoned their laws.

But it cannot be said of us, that, under all the vicissitudes of fortune which happened to us in Asia, where we were driven to the last extremity, we ever departed from the laws and customs of our forefathers. Nor can it be objected to us, that we ever consulted either our ease or our pleasure when called upon to maintain them. Whoever compares the conditions of both parties, will find the labour and difficulties of the Jews far exceed those of the Spartans; for they were exposed to no servile offices, but lived in their city at ease, in the enjoyment of repose and plenty. Notwithstanding these advantages, they went over to their enemies in frequent desertions, and, contrary to law, duty, and the common obligations of citizens and soldiers, tamely delivered themselves up with their arms. I cannot recollect more than one or two of our people that ever betrayed their cause through fear of death. I mean not the death of a soldier sword in hand, and in the field of battle, but a death of exquisite cruelty and torment, a calamity to which many of our nation have been exposed; not, I apprehend, through hatred, but to try the experiment of so heroic a constancy; and to try if there were such men in the world, as would endure the acutest pains, rather than be guilty of any one word or action derogatory to the dignity of their laws.

Nor in this resolution in the Jews above all other nations matter of surprize; for our ordinary mode of living would be a kind of severity to any other sort of people; I mean with respect to the fatigue of labour, hard fare, days of abstinence, coarse cloathing, hard lodging, and the like. These people, in the successes of a military life, would not brook the forbearance of meats prohibited, and many others of the severest restrictions. Whereas it is our glory to resign ourselves, with unchangeable constancy, to the obedience of the laws of our country. Let the partizans of Lyfimachus and Molon, and other frivolous censurers and perverters of youthful minds, persist in their reproach and detraction, while we are conscious of discharging our duty to God, our country, and ourselves.

It is our custom to keep firm in the observance of our own laws, but not to traduce those of others. Nay our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to offer the least indignity or contempt to the reputed gods of other nations, and this he did from a reverence to the very name of a Deity. But we cannot remain altogether silent, where it is both so easy and necessary to confute the assertions of our opponents, and where, in truth, the work is done by other authorities ready to our hands. The most admired among the Greeks for wisdom, have heartily exclaimed against the most celebrated of their poets, and especially their law-givers, for poisoning the minds of the common people with the impious doctrine of a plurality of gods, advancing the account to what number they thought fit, and deriving their origin from what age and country they please. Nay, they allot them their proper stations and places like other creatures; for they have their subterraneous gods, and their maritime gods; and the eldest of the race, or family, they keep up in chains in the infernal regions. With respect to their celestial gods, they give Jupiter the name of Father; but represent him, in action,

Lycurgus
an eminent
law-giver.

The constancy
of the Jews in
observing
their laws.

The severity
of the
Jews with
discipline.

Fabulous
deities of
the Greeks.

action, as a tyrant; infomuch that his wife, his brother, and the daughter of his own brain, entered into a conspiracy, according to the fiction, to destroy him, as he himself had served his father.

This was the light in which all wise men held those fabulous deities; the idea being so ludicrous, that they could not entertain it without scorn and derision. Some of their gods they represented as striplings, others in the prime of their youth and strength, and others as seniors, with long beards. They have their gods, or patrons, of mechanical arts or trades, as smiths, weavers, harpers, archers, and so on. They have their feuds and factions among themselves, and take part with mortals against one another. They receive wounds in the contest, grieve and pine away under the anguish of them. Nay, these pretended gods and goddesses go farther still, even to the horrid licence of amours and embraces, indifferently with men and women. What was the case of their Jupiter himself, the father and prince of the whole train of gods? After seducing many goddesses, he suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is himself so bound by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding tears.

What a train of lewd practices, and worse consequences, in probability yet remained. Open violation of the laws of decency not only committed but applauded by the gods! If their sovereign, Jupiter himself, could not resist the wiles of an harlot, what are we to expect from the passions and weaknesses of inferior deities? What shall we say, again, of gods assuming the forms of shepherds and masons, and being made close prisoners in the infernal regions? Can any man, endowed with common reason, but reprobate the inventors, the encouragers, and believers of these blasphemous stories? In some cases they make gods of their passions, as fear, madness, and the like, and then worship them in the worst of forms; so that there can be nothing so scandalous amongst men, but it may be introduced in the character of one of their gods; nor is it sufficient to deter the people from sacrificing to the better sort of these monsters. They look upon their gods as the authors of good and evil, and consequently as their friends or their enemies, in proportion to the one or the other. Upon this consideration they deal with their deities as with the wildest of men, they worship and make them presents for fear they should do them injury.

The ground of the errors concerning the gods.

But it deserves our enquiry how mankind came to lay under so many desperate and dangerous mistakes concerning the Deity. I suppose it to have been derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had, from the beginning, of the Divine nature; or else from the want of communicating to the world the notions they had of things, as matters of little moment, perhaps, in their opinion, and so suffered the poets and orators to introduce their own gods, and by this means confounded their system of politics with idle tales of uncouth deities, and strange worship.

Painters and statuaries form deities.

The statuaries and painters of Greece contributed in a great measure to this abuse, by the liberty they took of representing their gods in what shape and figure the artist thought meet. They had their variety in point of matter as well as form; some working in plaister, others in gold and ivory; some in sculpture, and others in colours; and the last piece, for the sake of novelty, was reputed the best. As the old gods fell off, and went out of fashion, they were insensibly succeeded by new; and, upon the failure of one religion, another started up. It was so with temples, as one was laid in rubbish, another was raised out of the ruins of it, according to the fancy of the age; whereas the true worship of the Almighty ought to be as unchangeable as his own nature.

Apollonius Molon was puerile, weak, and superficial in his understanding; but those among the Greeks, who deserve the name of philosophers, are

no strangers to the truth of what I have delivered, and entertain the same exalted ideas of the Deity that we do, and with as hearty a contempt of the absurd fables of their countrymen. Whence it was that Plato would suffer no poets in his commonwealth; nay, he dismissed even Homer himself, tho' with all the honours of a poet laureat, lest fables should destroy right notions of the Deity.

This great man of all others comes nearest to the example of Moses, in the model of his commonwealth, where he charged all his subjects to study their laws, get them by heart, and not intermix with strangers; but preserve their government in its original purity, and pay strict obedience to their ordinances and decrees. Apollonius Molon did not consider this, when he preferred his accusation against the Jews, for not joining and communicating with men of different persuasions; as if, in that instance, we were singular; whereas all people (generally speaking) do the same thing; the Greeks themselves, and the most discreet men amongst them too.

The Lacedæmonians would admit no strangers among them; nor so much as suffer their citizens to travel abroad, lest they should contract such habits as might tend to a dissolution of their laws. Perhaps there may be cause to censure this rigid severity, in debarring strangers the common privileges of society and commerce. But so far are we from this uncharitable restriction, that, though we do not interfere with the concerns of others, we are ready to entertain proselytes, and receive those who are disposed to join with us, which must be acknowledged a certain indication of humanity.

The Athenians, on the other hand, contrary to the custom of the Lacedæmonians, make it their glory to give admittance to all strangers; but of this I suppose, Apollonius was ignorant. They are so zealous for the honour of their gods, that it was made capital to let fall so much as one irreverent word upon the subject. On what account was Socrates put to death? Not for betraying the commonwealth, or burning their temples; not for treason or sacrilege; but for framing new oaths, by the direction, as he suggested, of a certain demon. Whether he was in jest or earnest is not known to this day; but for this he was tried, condemned, and put to death by poison. He was also charged with propagating false doctrines, and endeavouring to supplant the religion and laws of his country. This was the case of Socrates, a citizen of Athens.

As another instance of their rigour, Anaxagoras, the Clazomenian, was put to death, for affirming that the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. A talent reward was offered by proclamation to any man that would bring in the head of Diagoras, of Melos, for ridiculing the mysteries of their religion. They would have proceeded in like manner with Protagoras, if he had not made his escape in due time. His pretended crime was the writing of a tract, wherein he delivered himself ambiguously of the gods of the Athenians. But why should we wonder at their treating men with this severity, when the women themselves were not spared? For instance, they put a priestess to death, upon an accusation of worshipping strange gods. It was made death also for any man to introduce a foreign religion. What therefore can be more evident, than that, so far as these laws were in force, the people could have no faith in other gods. Besides, if they had, they would never have deprived themselves of the comfort and benefit of their favour.

The Scythians themselves, though the most barbarous and brutal people upon the face of the earth, were so scrupulous of preserving the mysteries of their profession, that they slew Anacharsis, a man of eminent parts, only for speaking too reverently of the gods of the Greeks. We read likewise, that many amongst the Persians suffered death upon the same account. Apollonius Molon was attached to the laws and customs of the Persians, and one that held

held them in admiration, as well as the Greeks, for their firmness and agreement in the matter of worship, as exemplified in the burning of their temples. Molon had not only a good opinion of their customs, but, in some degree, imitated them in the extravagant liberties he took with other men's wives, and the cruelties he exercised towards their children; barbarities that are declared death by our laws, though committed upon any of the brute creation.

Such is the veneration we have for the observance of these laws, that neither power, profit, fear, or any other consideration, can divert, or deter us from the conscientious discharge of our duty. Nor have we exerted ourselves in military exploits from motives of ambition or avarice, but for the support and maintenance of our lawful rights. We have submitted to every kind of outrage with patience and resignation; but we feel most sensibly for every violation of our laws, and are thereby rendered daring and obdurate to the last degree. What reason can we have for desiring to imitate the customs of other nations, which we see abandoned by their very founders? Why do not the Spartans abandon their inhospitality, as well as their contempt of matrimony? And the people of Elis and Thebes their abominable propensities? The most shameful practices generally prevailed among the Greeks through connivance; and they ascribed to their very gods the gratification of the most criminal passions.

What shall be said of those legislators who have been more assiduous in devising means for the escape of malefactors, than for bringing them to condign punishment, compounding for a fine in cases of adultery, and atoning for debauchery by marriage? It would be endless to recount the temptations to swerve from the rules of piety and virtue, that are thrown out to the unwary by these compositions, even to the total subversion of their laws.

But nothing of this kind is permitted amongst us; for, though we be deprived of our wealth, our cities, and every thing we hold most dear, our laws continue inviolate, and immutably the same. Now if this be our disposition towards our laws, and that from their intrinsic value, let our enemies make this confession, that they are most excellent. If they deny us this requisition, we demand of them wherefore they neglect the observance of their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to ours?

Time is the surest touchstone in all human cases; nor is there a more convincing proof of the goodness of a law than the antiquity of it. We therefore cast our cause upon that issue for the honour of our legislator, and of the laws themselves with regard to God's holy worship. It will be granted us that Moses was the first legislator for many ages, and that as our laws had their origin thence, so they were followed and imitated, more or less, by all other nations. That the generality of the ancient Greeks had, in appearance, their own peculiar laws, I admit; but their philosophers held the same notions of the Deity with us, and inculcated the same doctrines of life and manners.

Such is the reputation we have held in the world for our religion and politics, that there is hardly any nation, either Greek or barbarian, that does not act in some conformity to our example, either in the observance of our seventh day's sabbath, the use of lamps, the celebration of fasts, or abstinence from certain meats; as also in matters of humanity, charitable agreement in society, indefatigable labour and industry, and an invincible constancy in suffering for the truth. In some of these particular instances they severally imitate us.

But the matter of greatest admiration is, that our laws have no baits of pleasure to allure men, but prevail through their own force, and seem to pervade the human mind as the Almighty pervades the universe. Those who look into their own country, or their own families, will bear testimony to my assertion. Can there be any propriety then in the idea of changing our old laws for new ones? If not, let the reproach cease. We are not actuated by a malevolent and envious principle, but a veneration we have for the memory of our prophet, and in full persuasion of his divine authority. If we were not fully convinced of the intrinsic excellence of our laws, the great number of their admirers and professors would be sufficient to give us an high esteem for them. I have treated on this subject more copiously in my Antiquities, and therefore only hint now what is necessary for my present purpose, without any design of depreciating the laws of other nations, or making a panegyric upon those of our own, but solely for the vindication of truth against calumny and injustice.

To draw towards a conclusion: I presume I have sufficiently compleated what I proposed in writing these books; for whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation is of late date, I have demonstrated the antiquity of their origin. I have likewise produced several eminent authorities, that make honourable mention of us in their annals. I have incontrovertibly refuted the assertion, that our ancestors came originally out of Egypt; and, with respect to the fable of our being expelled for epidemic maladies, I have rendered it evident, on the contrary, that they cut their way through troops of their enemies into their own country. There are those who asperse the character of Moses, in opposition to the concurrent testimony of several ages to his immortal honour.

In vindication of our laws, more words are superfluous. Those who read and understand them, must be convinced of the piety and wisdom of their institution. They are declared enemies to iniquity, luxury, and faction; promoters of peace, charity, industry, and justice. They allow of no war founded on ambition or avarice; nor do they approve of returning evil for evil. They inspire valour and resolution in the defence of the dearest rights of mankind. They are vigorous in the punishment of malefactors; and point out that actions, not words, are the standard of merit.

From these premises I may justly conclude, that we have the most perfect laws extant. For what can be more excellent than unfeigned piety towards God? What more reasonable than submission to laws? What more beneficial than union in prosperity, and a well cemented friendship in adversity? a dauntless resolution in arduous exploits? a sedulous application to arts and husbandry in times of peace? and finally, a perpetual consciousness of an omni-present, omniscient, and superintending Providence?

If these precepts had been written at first, or more exactly retained by any others before us, we should owe them thanks, as disciples owe their tutors. But if it is evident that we derived them from no foreign origin, and that the institution of them is our own, that, from time to time, we have handed them down, as the precise and invariable rules of our profession and practice, let Apion, Molon, and the whole tribe of calumniators and detractors, stand confuted. I have compleated my design, in dedicating to thee, and others, most excellent Epaphroditus, an authentic history of our nation.

The tendency of the Jewish laws.

End of the SECOND BOOK in Answer to APION.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

ON THE

MARTYRDOM

OF THE

MACCABEES.

I. MACCABEES.

CHAP. I.

AS my design, in this discourse, is to shew that reason is the perfection of wisdom, and ruler of the passions, when duly improved by study and religion, I cannot but exhort my readers to apply themselves, with the utmost assiduity, to the attainment of knowledge, the most important of all acquisitions. Reason is a necessary preliminary to knowledge, in which, if we excel, we may be said to excel in the noblest and most comprehensive of all virtues, which is prudence. It is reason alone that can effectually restrain the inordinate affections of the mind, correct the depravity of nature, and those corrupt inclinations which are opposed to the love and practice of virtue. That branch or degree of it which subdues the passions of anger, fear, and grief, and whatever else enervates the mind, may properly be denominated fortitude.

To this it may perhaps be objected, if reason has this dominion over the passions, or perturbations of the mind, why has it not the same controuling power over ignorance and forgetfulness? This is a frivolous objection, and foreign to the case in point; for when we affirm that reason has a controuling power over the passions, we mean those defects of nature only as are opposite to justice, temperance, and fortitude, all which are of a distinct kind, and belong to the sensitive soul; but not such as are defects peculiar to itself, and appertain to the rational system. Again, in this objection the nature of this sovereignty is misrepresented; for we do not mean that reason entirely removes those affections, but does not so far submit as to suffer itself to be vanquished by them.

That it is in the power of reason to command and subdue the passions, I could demonstrate by a variety of arguments, but shall, at present, confine myself to the most approved and undeniable one, matter of fact. I mean the examples of persons who

have signalized themselves in resolutely asserting and dying in defence of truth and virtue, among whom I apprehend none are more conspicuous, or more deservedly admired, than those of our country, Eleazar, and the seven brethren martyred with their mother. These, despising the most exquisite tortures, and persevering even unto death, have incontestibly proved the command of reason over the passions: I mean those of the sensitive kind, as before alluded to. I shall endeavour to give just commendations to these brave men, and their incomparable mother, for their immoveable constancy; and to transmit their names with honour to posterity, for their stedfast adherence to virtue and their duty. These men excited the admiration not only of those who were indifferent spectators, or readers, of their sufferings, but even of their very enemies, and most prejudiced tormentors, who stood amazed at the courage and patience which their own implacable malice exercised after so inhuman and barbarous a manner. Thus they became the means of releasing their nation from oppression, conquering the rage of a tyrant by their sufferings, and becoming a sacrifice of expiation for their country.

The method in which I propose to proceed, will be, first, to make some general remarks on the point in debate, and then attend to this particular instance, giving glory to God, the fountain of wisdom, who hath been pleased to leave such undeniable evidence of this truth in the persons whose virtues I am now about to celebrate.

The question to be resolved is plainly this. Whether reason can controul and govern the passions? In order thereto it will be necessary to explain what is to be understood by reason, what by passion, how many species there are of passions, and whether reason bears sway over them all.

By reason then I understand the intellectual faculty improved and rightly guided by reflection, preferring a life conducted by wisdom and truth. By wisdom I understand the knowledge of divine and human affairs, and the true causes and grounds of

of each, such as we attain by the discipline and instruction of the laws, which teaches us to embrace those truths which relate to God with reverence, and those respecting men as things directed to, and designed for, the benefit of mankind. Wisdom may be divided into four particular branches; Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. The noblest and most comprehensive of these is prudence, because reason, through its assistance and influence, attains dominion over the passions.

The passions that are most general are two, pleasure and pain, each of which acts upon the body and soul. In these two passions of pleasure and pain are comprehended many others. Thus, in the instance of pleasure, it is preceded by desire, and followed by joy. In that of pain, it is preceded by fear, and followed by sorrow.

Anger is a mixed passion, between pleasure and pain, of which those must be sensible who minutely observe how they are affected by it. In pleasure is comprehended a bate and wicked affection, which of all the passions is the most dissuasive. In the mind are avarice, envy, and contention; in the body greediness and lordliness. Pleasure and pain, like certain branches growing out of the body, have several scions, which reason, like the common husbandman, by lopping, tying up, watering, transplanting, and ordering, corrects in their nature, and tames their wildness. Reason is the guide of the virtues, and governs of the passions. That this is not affirmed without ground, is evident from the mighty effect it has in matters where the virtue of temperance is obstructed. Temperance restrains the desires; some of which belong to the soul, others to the body; both of which are under the government of reason. When our appetites incline to such fish, fowl, or other delicious foods as are forbidden by our laws, and we abstain from them upon that very account, this is a demonstrative proof of the dominion of reason over the passions. For the impulse of the appetite, by the assistance of reason, is restrained, and all the motions of the body are bridled by its coercive power.

CHAP. II.

BUT this is a matter of small weight when compared with the more stimulating desires of the mind, especially those that are excited by beauty. Joseph acquired immortal renown for conquering his passion by the standard of reason and sound reflection, though in the bloom of years, and urged by the united impulse of beauty and importunity. It is not the mere allaying the fury of vehement pursuits after pleasure, and abstaining from the impure act, that reason can or ought to do, since it is plain our very inclinations are under its jurisdiction; otherwise the law would have been most absurd in laying upon us a command so impracticable as that, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." Now it is evident that when the law forbids us to covet at all, it more strongly implies that reason is able to curb and conquer our desires. And thus it is not only in those things which are opposite to the virtues of temperance, but justice also. Otherwise what remedy could there be for reforming the luxurious, avaricious, or fordid man? When a man, of a covetous disposition, is prevailed upon to conform to the precepts of our law, he restrains his desires, lends to the poor without taking usury, and remits the debt at the year of jubilee; and though he be ever so frugal, yet he is obliged, by this law, neither to gather in the fruits of his field or his vineyard in the sabbatic year.

Many other instances might be produced to shew that reason governs our passions: for the law, in some cases, exercises dominion over natural affections to parents, forbidding us, for their sakes, to betray the cause of truth and virtue: so it does over tenderness to our wives, commanding us to punish them for the transgressions of their duty: so again over love to our children, enjoining us to

make them examples when they do amiss: and lastly, over-kindness to our friends, in directing us to reprove their vices. In confirmation of this truth, it is further to be observed, that reason, when influenced by the law, overcomes hatred to enemies; for it prohibits the cutting down their fruit-trees: it orders us to restore to our enemies things which they have lost, and to help their cattle when fallen and in distress.

Deut. xx
19.
Exod. xxii
3. 5.

Further, it is evident that reason bears sway over the more violent passions, such as ambition, vain-glory, and envy; for all these unseemly dispositions are removed and subdued by a mind instructed by sound reason; as is anger also, though the most ungovernable of all passions. If this were not the case, how could our wise ancestor Jacob so severely condemn that fact of his sons, Simeon and Levi, when they, contrary to reason, utterly destroyed the whole race of the Shechemites? saying, in abhorrence of their intemperate rage, "Curled be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." He had certainly no view in speaking thus, unless persuaded that reason was able to conquer wrath.

Gen. xxxiv.
Gen. xlix. 7

CHAP. III.

WHEN God created man, and endued him with reason and a freedom of will, he, at the same time, implanted in his nature variety of passions and dispositions, and set his intellectual mind upon the throne, to exercise government over all the sensual appetites within. He then imposed a law as a rule, whereby he might direct himself, and lead a life of temperance justice, and goodness. What ground can there be then for that objection, which makes a doubt whether reason can master the passions, because it does not appear that it attains to absolute dominion over forgetfulness and ignorance? We are not to expect that reason should totally exempt us from all evil dispositions; but it will aid us in our conflicts with such dispositions; it being the proper office of reason not to change, but assist nature; not to be a destroyer, but an auxiliary.

This matter may receive some illustration from the example of David. We read that, after having engaged a whole day with an army of Philistines, and made great slaughter among them, the king retired in the evening into the royal tent, fatigued and spent, where all the forces of our forefathers were encamped around him. The rest of the company refreshed themselves contentedly; but the king, being exceeding thirstily, could not satisfy his appetite with any water drawn out of those springs of which they had plenty. An inconsiderate desire seized him to drink of the water fetched from the enemy's garrison. Hereupon some of his officers, desirous of satisfying him, armed themselves, took a vessel, broke through the enemies trenches, passed their guards, sought out the well of Bethlehem, and thence brought to the king the water he so ardently desired. But David, though parched with thirst, recollecting how inhuman and dangerous a thing it would be to gratify his appetite at the hazard of mens lives, and that drinking the water would be in effect to drink blood, opposed reason to inclination, and made a libation of it to the Deity.

2 Sam. xxiii

Thus a mind, strictly temperate and wise, can overcome the impulse or the passions, extinguish the flames of the most furious desires, contend with the most exquisite bodily pains, and, in fine, quell all the perturbations that discompose the human frame, by a steady principle of virtue. But it now becomes necessary to confirm this argument, by demonstrative proofs of this power of reason exemplified by practice, of which our forefathers have given undeniable instances. When, through strict observance of their laws, they had ingratiated themselves with foreign princes, and prevailed upon Seleucus Nicator, king of Asia, so far, that he set apart a portion of his public revenues to defray the expence of the sacrifices, as highly approving their institutions, it happened, after this profound tranquillity, some of them

2 Macc. iii.

them were brought under various and severe trials, by the ill offices of wicked men, who disturbed the public peace in the manner hereafter related.

CHAP. IV.

A Certain man, named Simon, creating a quarrel with Onias, who was high-priest for life, and a man of the greatest integrity, after having endeavoured to vilify his character by the foulest aspersions, and finding his attempts vain to lessen him in the esteem of the people, fled to a foreign court, with wicked intent to betray his country. He accordingly applied to Apollonius, who was then governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and told him, that, from his great zeal for the king his master, he was come to make a discovery of a vast sum of money deposited in the treasury at Jerusalem, not appropriated to the temple, or employed to any public use, but wealth hoarded up by private men, and therefore of course the right of Seleucus. Apollonius having received this account, commended Simon's zeal for the king's service, waited upon Seleucus, and imparted to him the secret. Upon this information he soon obtained a commission from the king, and marched into our country, bringing with him the traitor Simon, and a very powerful army.

Upon his arrival, he gave out, that he came, by order of the king, to remove the private money that was in the sacred treasury. The nation taking alarm, and complaining of it as an horrible injustice to deprive those of their money who had deposited it in the sacred treasury, resisted the officer as much as they were able. But Apollonius, with menaces of force, made up to the temple. The priests, upon this, with their wives and children, prostrating themselves before the sacred place, implored the Almighty to defend his own temple from profanation and contempt.

Apollonius still persisting, and entering the place with a body of armed men, as he was about to seize upon the treasury, behold angels from heaven suddenly appeared, mounted on horses, clad in shining armour, and struck Apollonius and his soldiers with fear and trembling. The governor fell to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, stretching out his hands to heaven, and supplicating the Hebrews, with many tears, to offer their prayers for him, that he might not be destroyed by that tremendous host. The high-priest Onias, moved with compassion, and fearing lest Seleucus should impute the death of Apollonius to human treachery, granted his request; so that being miraculously saved, he returned back to the king, and related to him the particulars that had befallen him.

But king Seleucus dying soon after, he was succeeded on the throne by his son Antiochus, a man of an imperious and savage disposition, who deprived Onias of the priesthood, and put into that office his brother Jason, upon a compact of an annual tribute of three thousand six hundred and sixty talents, which he had covenanted to pay him. The king having constituted this Jason superintendant, not only over ecclesiastical matters, as high-priest, but also over civil affairs, he put our nation under severe trials, and, by introducing new customs, contrary to the law, hurried them into all manner of impunity. He not only instituted Grecian games in our metropolis, but abolished the use of the temple, inasmuch that the Divine vengeance being provoked, Antiochus was stirred up to make war against the Jews. Being engaged in an expedition against Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and informed, at the same time, that some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem had expressed joy at the report of his being dead, he turned his forces that way, and made great havock among them, publishing withal an edict, forbidding any of them to observe the customs of their country, upon pain of death. Finding this edict had not its intended effect, but that all his se-

verest threatenings and punishments were so far despised, that even the women (who continued the practice of circumcising their children) were cast down headlong from the walls of the city, (though they knew what they were to suffer,) he was so amazed at the little regard shewn to his authority, that he came in person, and by torments compelled those that were brought before him, to eat of meats unclean and forbidden by the law, and thus abjure the religion of their country.

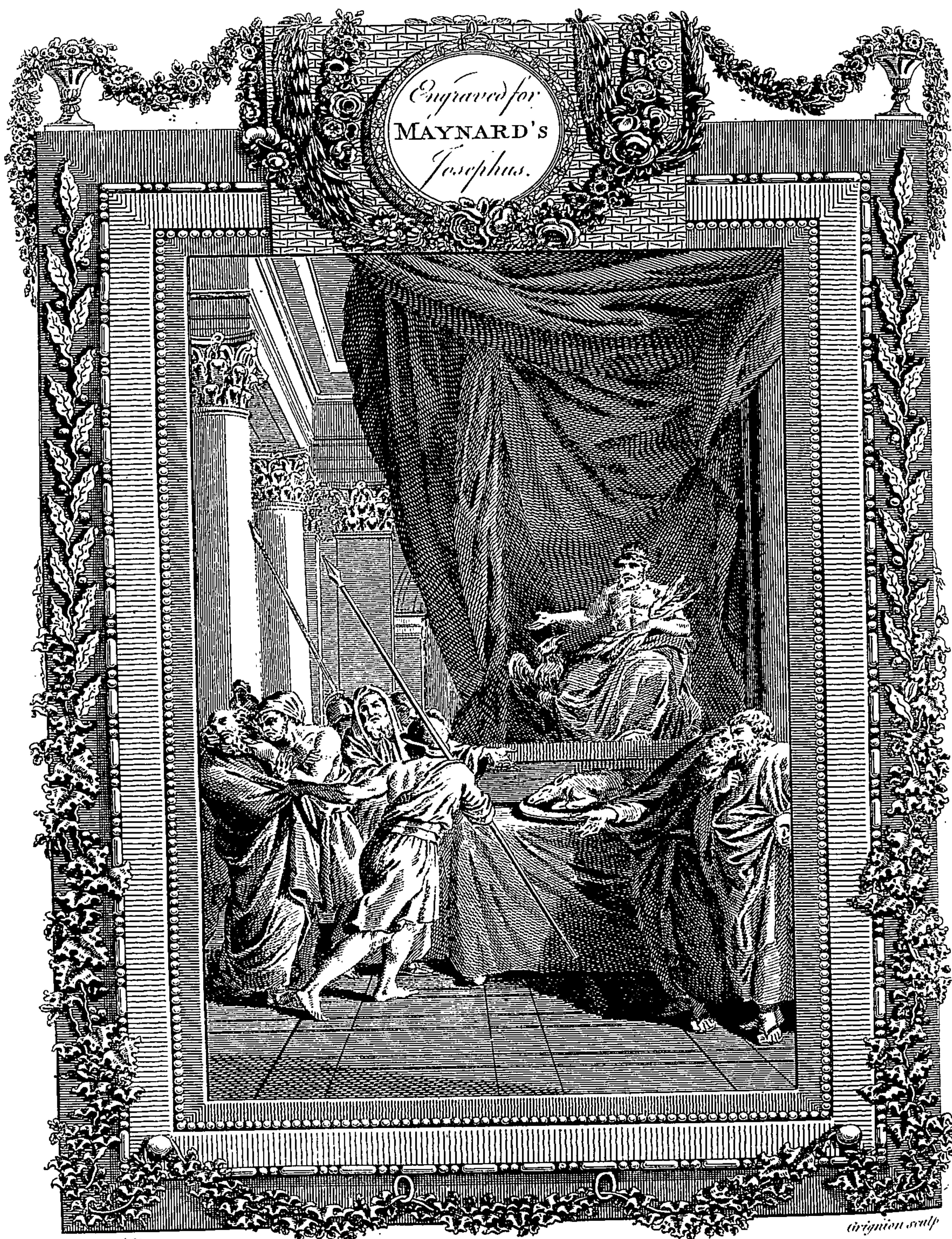
CHAP. V.

WHEN Antiochus, that cursed tyrant, had seated himself upon a tribunal, surrounded by his counsellors, and a strong body of armed men, he commanded many of the Hebrews to be brought by force before him, and compelled them to eat of swine's flesh, and meats offered to idols, upon pain of the torture in case of refusal. After many had been thus barbarously treated, a certain man, named Eleazar, of the family of the priests, by profession a lawyer, far advanced in years, and known to several who stood round the tyrant, was brought before him. Antiochus observing the venerable sage, thus addressed him:

“Before I proceed to use any severity, let me advise thee, reverend old man, to save thy own life, by submitting to eat of swine's flesh; for I pay great respect to thy age and grey hairs; and am surprized that the experience of so many years should not have made thee wiser than still to persevere in the Jewish superstition. It seems to me a most unreasonable thing for men to abridge themselves of any innocent pleasures, and great injustice to themselves, and ingratitude to nature, to refuse any of those enjoyments which her bounty hath provided for us. Why shouldst thou then express such abhorrence of that most delicious of all meats, which seems, in the flesh of swine, to have been designed as our best entertainment, and a singular favour? This may in others seem somewhat more excusable; but in you, who are a person of better judgment, it would be a most unaccountable folly, to be prejudiced by a false and empty notion of religion; and for an idle fancy to condemn my authority, and draw a needless punishment upon your own head: wilt not thou then suffer thine eyes to be opened, and be awakened out of this dream of thy peculiar persuasion, and set thyself free from the bondage of so morose and singular a notion? Will this friendly exhortation prevail for no deference to be paid my kindness? and the compassion I have for thy age, move thee to no compassion upon thyself? Methinks it should; for though what I have said does not convince thee of the vanity of thy opinion in this point, yet you must needs allow, that if there be a power above, which does, as you suppose, require the observance of this religion, that power hath so much goodness as to pardon the transgression of his laws, when it is not the offender's own act and choice, but the effect of force and pure constraint.”

Eleazar, having duly attended to these words, entreated of the king permission to speak for himself, which being granted, he stood forth, and, in the presence of the whole assembly, spoke to the following effect:

“Know, Sire, that we, who are fully convinced that it is our duty, in all things, to behave ourselves according to the law given us by God, are perfectly persuaded, that no necessity can more oblige us, no force be stronger upon us, than that by which we stand bound to obey his law; and for this reason we think our acting contrary to it, cannot be dispensed with on any terms whatsoever. Nay, though our law were not, as you are pleased to suggest, really divine, yet, Sire, I must



Weston delin.

Grignon sculp

ELEAZER by command of ANTIOCHUS the Tyrant dragged to the TORTURE.
for refusing to eat Swines Flesh, and sacrifice to Idols.

Published as the Act directs by J. Cooke, A7, Paternoster Row.

"must crave leave to say, that, so long as we continue to believe it divine, that very persuasion ought to be an effectual restraint upon us from violating, or thinking meanly of, any religious ordinances established by it. Do not therefore imagine, if we should submit to defile ourselves by unclean meats, that this would be deemed a small and pardonable fault. For the presumption of the offender is the same, and the authority of the law equally insulted, be the instance in which a man transgresses greater or less. The fact itself makes no difference in point of guilt. You were pleased, Sire, to speak contemptuously of our religion, as an institution unbecoming men of reason and philosophy. But I must be bold to say, it is the best and most consummate philosophy; for it teaches us temperance, the conquest of our passions and desires, and sets us above all our pleasures. It trains us up in the exercise of fortitude, and commands us to undergo all manner of pain willingly and cheerfully. It teaches us the most exact justice; and orders us to confine our worship and absolute reverence to the one true God, where alone they are of right due. Upon this account we dare not eat things prohibited and unclean; for we are fully persuaded that God, who created our nature, had due regard to it; that the very institution of this law was so far from a hardship, as in itself to be an act of goodness and mercy; and that the things forbidden are hurtful to our souls; whereas those allowed for food are useful and convenient. It is therefore the very extremity of tyranny to force us not only to sin against our law, but to eat that which is therefore not allowed us because of a quality not fit to be eaten. But this is a sort of triumph which I shall never give you over me. Nor must I falsify the solemn oaths, and only engagements, whereby our ancestors have bound themselves, and their posterity, to the faithful observance of this law; not though you should command my eyes to be put out, and my bowels to be burnt. Old age hath not so impaired my mind, or enfeebled my body, but that, when religion and duty call me to it, my reason can yet approve itself youthful and vigorous. If this reply provoke you, prepare your instruments of torture, and heat your furnace hotter still: all that shall not move me to spare my old age, so as, for the saving my person, to violate the law of my country and my God. That holy law, to which I owe my instruction, I will never desert. Thou dearest of all virtues, temperance, by which we preserve our native sovereignty over our appetites, I will never abjure thee; thou best of all philosophy, I will never disgrace thee. Thou holy order of priesthood, and study of the law, I will neither forego, or be a blemish to you. My ancestors shall find me come to you pure and constant; a soul as free from such a stain as undaunted under all manner of torments, even unto death."

C H A P. VI.

ELEAZAR, having made this noble and spirited reply to the tyrant's exhortation, was dragged by the guards that stood round to the cruellest torments. They pulled off the old man's garment, the venerable habit of his religion, and having bound both his hands behind him, unmercifully scourged him; an officer calling out at every stroke, "Obey the king's commands." The brave Eleazar sustained his torment as if he had been in a dream, without deviating a tittle from his profession. The good old man stood with his eyes uplifted to heaven, while the blood streamed down from his body to the ground, till, no longer able to sustain the torments, he fell upon the pavement: but this was owing to bodily infirmity; for his mind was as constant and resolute as ever. Upon this one of the guards stamped upon him in order to raise him. Still he bore their barbarous insolence, and, with surprizing constancy, suffered their stripes, till his very torment-

No. 41.

tors stood in admiration of his extraordinary magnanimity, and wondered to find so noble a soul in a body so aged and infirm. At length some of them, touched with compassion at his decrepid age, and moved by remembrance of ancient friendship, thus addressed him:

"Why dost thou thus, for no manner of reason, expose thyself to all these sufferings? Permit us, Eleazar, to set before thee some lawful and clean meats; and do thou make as though thou didst eat swine's flesh, according to the king's command; so shalt thou save thy life, and yet commit no wickedness." But Eleazar resolutely answered, "Far be it from us, who are children of Abraham, to be guilty of such cowardice and wicked subtilty, by so much as seeming to do an act that does not become us. How absurd would it be for me, who have led a life of sincerity and truth hitherto, and preserved my reputation free from blemish, by a strict observation of the law, to change my course now in extreme old age, and set an ill example to others! to purchase a little remainder of life at the expence of foul dissimulation, and live that little with the scorn and derision of all the world, for my fear and base compliance?" When they perceived him thus resolute and inflexible, and that their pity could have no influence upon him, they changed their disposition, and brought him to the fire. There they applied new instruments of torture, threw him upon the fuel, and, as he burnt, poured scalding and nauseous liquors up his nostrils. Burnt to the very bone, and ready to expire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, "Thou seest, my God, the miseries I endure; and that I chuse to die by fire and torment, for the sake of thy law, when it was in my power to preserve my life for transgressing it. Be thou, therefore, gracious, O Lord, to thy own people, and let the vengeance executed on me suffice for what they have deserved. Make thou my blood a purification for them, and accept my life instead of their lives." With these words this pious man gave up the ghost.

Hence it is evident that reason, improved by religion, has command over the passions; if it were otherwise, it is to them that the praise of this noble testimony to truth and constant virtue ought to be ascribed. But since, from this instance, it appears plain that the former was victorious, we cannot, with truth, deny that reason is the governing principle: and, indeed, it is most equitable to confess the same, after so full a demonstration not only of bodily pains, but likewise of pleasures too, resisted and vanquished: for the undeviating tendency of our passions is to indulge pleasure and decline pain.

C H A P. VII.

OUR reverend father Eleazar may be deemed a skilful pilot, holding the rudder of the ship of piety in the sea of the passions, tossed to and fro with the threatenings of the tyrant, and overwhelmed with the waves of torment. Nevertheless, he changes not the rudder till he reaches the haven of victory by a direct and prosperous course. A city besieged with various engines, never made such resistance against the furious assaults of an enemy, as the divine mind of this pious sage against the attacks of stripes, tortures, and death, till, at length, he vanquished through the aid of reason engaged in the cause of religion.

"O priest, most worthy of the sacerdotal dignity, who didst not pollute thy sacred body with impure viands! O guardian of the law, and professor of a philosophy all divine! O noblest assertor of the religion of thy country, in spite of passion, of torture, and of death! Thou hast gloriously confirmed the equity of our law by thy sufferings and perseverance; rendered our rites more conspicuous, but not abrogated them; and, by realities and deeds, established the precepts and doctrines of our holy profession. O, venerable sage, superior to torments,

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above

above the force of raging flames, most glorious of conquerors, who hast led thy passions in triumph! As heretofore our father Aaron, armed with a censer, ran into the midst of the temple, and vanquished the destroying angel, in like manner did Eleazar, descended from the same Aaron, steadily adhere to his profession, and conquer in the midst of devouring flames. And, what is most astonishing, when age and infirmities had enervated his body, he exerted an invincible resolution of mind. O happy age! integrity and sanctity unquestionable, that gave testimony of so illustrious a death!"

What more satisfactory evidence can be required of the power of reason over the passions, than that of an aged man enduring so much for the cause of piety and virtue, with such undaunted intrepidity? But as it may be alledged, by way of objection, that this in age is less to be wondered at, because, as strength and courage decrease, so the passions and love of life may then be supposed to be considerably abated, I shall proceed to shew, that even young men, whose reason has been fixed upon true principles, have undergone, and overcome, torments heavier than the former.

When the tyrant found himself foiled in this first attempt, and that he could not compel the venerable Eleazar to violate the laws of his country, he became so incensed, that he commanded others of the Hebrew captives to be brought before him, promising them immediate liberty, upon condition of their eating forbidden meats, and threatening them with greater torture than had been inflicted in case of refusal.

CHAP. VIII.

PURSUANT to the order aforesaid, there were brought before the tyrant seven sons, with their ancient mother. The men, from the symmetry of their form, and elegance of their deportment, attracted his notice; and therefore, after beholding them with a kind of approbation, he commanded them to approach, and thus accosted them:

"Young men, from an approbation of your personal appearance, I have kind intentions towards you: nor can I but pay a more than ordinary respect to your family, which hath the unusual blessing of so many such brethren. To advise, therefore, that you would not be guilty of the same mad and most absurd zeal, with that poor old bigot, whom you saw perish in the midst of agonies and tortures, is a kindness far below what I design for you. I invite you to comply with me, with an assurance of my particular friendship: for I have it in my power to oblige and advance them that obey me, in as eminent a manner as I have to punish those that stand out against my commands. Be assured then, you shall not fail of preferments, but have places of honour and profit, and great trust under me, provided you will renounce your country's customs, and be content to live after the Greek manner; laying aside the foolish distinction of meats, and indulging those appetites and pleasures freely, in which youth, never fond of restraint, must find a delight now denied you by the tyrant of your own superstition. Consider too, that if such advantageous offers be rejected, you must expect that your obstinacy will be the more provoking; and I shall be obliged to make every one of you examples, by a death as full of pain and horror as the anger of an incensed king can inflict. Be persuaded to pity yourselves, when a stranger and an enemy has set you an example of pity. Throw not lavishly away so much youth and beauty, which I am very loth should perish: but perish it must, unless you will save it by that one way. Therefore consider well. Methinks you should consider, and not resolve too rashly, when I assure you, that, in case of disobedience, you have nothing to expect but racks, fire, and death."

The tyrant had no sooner thus spoken, than he commanded the instruments of torture to be produced, in order to work more strongly upon their fears, than words and menaces he imagined could do. When the guards had set before them the wheels, racks, manacles, combustible matter, and other implements of horror and execution, Antiochus, taking the advantage of the impression he supposed this spectacle would make, once more applied to them in terms to this effect: "Young men, consider the consequences; your compliance is no longer a wilful offence: you may rest assured that the Deity you worship will consider your case, in being compelled to violate your law." But they were so far from being terrified at the consequence of a denial, that their resolutions became stronger, and through the power of reason, aided by religion, they triumphed over his barbarity. What is it reasonable to suppose would have been the measures pursued, had there been but an individual among them timorous, or inordinately fond of life? Would not such a one have addressed himself to the rest, in terms similar to the following?

"What stupid and fool-hardy wretches are we, thus to continue deaf to the invitations and kind advice of a king, who calls us to gain and promote upon our obedience! Why should we amuse ourselves with vain imaginations, and persist in a fatal obstinacy, which can end in nothing but death? Shall we be so insensible as to have no regard to these dreadful engines of cruelty? None to the menaces of an unrelenting tyrant, inexorable enough to put in execution all that he hath threatened? Shall we not rather abandon this empty point of honour, and that false pride of constancy, that is certain to prove our destruction? It can be no crime to have some respect to our youth, which promises many happy years; some pity to our poor aged mother, whose grey hairs must be brought down with unspeakable sorrow to the grave, to see so many sons cut off at once, and herself made childless in an instant by our disobedience. What the king says is very rational, that God is too just and good not to make allowance for the hard circumstances we lie under. Why should we then throw ourselves out of life, at a time when we are best fitted to taste the sweets of living? Why hurry ourselves headlong out of a world where every thing conspires to delight and entertain us most agreeably? Let us not strive any longer with our fate; nor buy applause so dear as at the expence of racks and death. The law itself is not so severe as to condemn for involuntary offences; and the more just our fears are, the less there is of will in the compliance. What pretence can we have then for this obduracy? Or why should we be so fond of a mistaken courage, which is indeed no better than despair and obstinacy, when nothing but death is before us if we stand out; and life and security, plenty and pleasure, are surely ours, if we do but submit?"

CHAP. IX.

BUT no language similar to this was uttered from the mouth of one of these brave youths; for the apprehension of the racking pains they were about to endure little affected their minds. They triumphed over their impending misfortunes; and when the tyrant commanded them to eat of the forbidden viands, they, with one voice, and, as it were, with one spirit, made him this reply:

"To what purpose, O king, is the delay? If with design to know our final resolution, be assured we are ready to encounter death in its most frightful forms, rather than transgress the laws of our fathers. For, besides the reverence due to the example of our ancestors upon other accounts, this is what our obedience to the law, and the precepts of Moses, requires from us. Do not then attempt any more to persuade us to apostacy; do not

"not put on a counterfeit pity for those who know you hate them: even death itself is more supportable than such an insulting, dissembling compassion, as would save our lives with the loss of our innocence. Thou thinkest to terrify us by threatenings of death and torture, notwithstanding the same experiment made upon the old man hath so lately taught thee how ineffectual all such methods are upon the servants of the true God; and if the old men of our nation endure so courageously such exquisite pains for their religion, is it reasonable to suppose that the young ones will suffer the reproach of being behind them in constancy and patience? As we have been educated under his particular care and instructions, so we shall conquer after his example. Try us, therefore, and see if it be in thy power to destroy our souls, when we suffer in the cause of God and religion? This is impossible: your cruelty cannot hurt us; for all the effect our pains can have, will be to secure us the glorious rewards due to unshaken patience and injured virtue. Upon you the consequence will be very different and dreadful; for, by the murders of so many innocent men, you arm the Divine vengeance against yourself; and, for the temporal punishments which you inflict, will become so obnoxious, as to suffer the punishment of everlasting torments."

The tyrant, enraged at their contumacy, gave the word of command; and the guards immediately brought forth the eldest of the seven brethren, and having torn off his garment, and tied his hands behind him, cruelly scourged him; and continued their lashes till they were tired, but could avail nothing. They then put him on the wheel, where his body being extended, he underwent the severest tortures of the rack; thus reproaching his tormentor: "Monster of cruelty! enemy to the Divine Justice! you torment me in this manner not for homicide or impiety, but as an assertor and defender of the sacred law." The guards then exhorted him to comply, eat of the king's meat, and thereby obtain a respite. But he answered, "Think not, base men, that your wheel can destroy my reason. Break my limbs in pieces, burn my flesh, distort my arteries; yet all the torments you can inflict on me shall serve but to convince you, that it is the peculiar glory of an Hebrew to be invariably firm in suffering for the cause of virtue." They then put fire under him, and exposed his body, as much extended as possible, to the devouring flames, inasmuch that he exhibited a spectacle horrible beyond description, and thus continued till nothing was left of human form, but a skeleton of broken bones.

During the shocking scene, this brave youth, and worthy descendant of faithful Abraham, was not heard to utter a groan, but bore his torments with such invincible fortitude, as if he had been translated to immutability in the midst of the flames, exclaiming, "My brethren, follow my example: desert me not in this noble conflict, nor disclaim the relation of generous constancy, by which we are allied in soul more nearly than in blood. Engage, resolutely engage, in the sacred warfare; nor doubt but that the Almighty Creator of the universe will be propitious to our nation, and avenge himself on the cruel tyrant." With these words the brave youth expired.

While the spectators stood fixed in astonishment and admiration, the guards advanced with the second brother, and fixed his hands in manacles of iron: but, before they put him to the rack, they demanded if he would accept the conditions. Finding, by his reply, he had adopted the same noble resolution with his brother, they tore off his flesh with pincers, and flayed off the skin of his beard, face, and head. He bore this torture with singular magnanimity, saying, "How welcome is death in any form, when we suffer for our religion and laws! Art thou insensible, inhuman tyrant, that thou art rather thine own tormentor than mine, in finding thy tyrannic aims defeated by our constancy? The comforts of conscious virtue alleviate my pains, while the dreadful load of your im-

piety shall fall on your own head, and the Divine vengeance make an example of such a monster to the whole world."

CHAP. X.

THE second brother having made this glorious exit, the third was produced, and pressed with arguments and entreaties to taste and preserve his life. But he replied, with vehemence, "Are you ignorant that I am the son of the same father and the same mother with those that went before me? Shall I then, in this last scene of life, renounce the honour of that alliance? The same institutions were taught us all, and I will abide by them until death." The freedom of this speech enraged the executioners, who, to express their malice and resentment, stretched his hands and feet on the engine, and broke them to pieces: but when they found this method did not deprive him of life, they drew off his skin at the ends of his fingers, and flayed him from the very crown of his head. Not content with mangling his body in this merciless manner, they dragged him to the wheel, where, being yet more distended, he saw his own flesh torn from him, and streams of blood gushing from his body. When at the point of death, he exclaimed, "Merciless tyrant! we suffer thus for the religion and law of that God who is able to reward us: but remember, thou shalt suffer pains much more insupportable for thy impiety and cruelty."

Having died thus equally glorious with his preceding brothers, the fourth was produced by the guards, and persuaded to bethink himself, and be wiser than those who had gone before him. His answer was, "Your fire has not heat enough in it to make me despond or renounce my opinion. I solemnly swear by the happy exit of my brothers, by the eternal destruction of the tyrant, and the glorious life of the pious, I will not renounce their magnanimity. Invent and bring thy torments, tyrant, and make the experiment whether I am not a branch of the same stock, and animated with the same soul, as those whose blood thy impious hands have spilt." Antiochus, on hearing these words, was so excessively enraged, that all the force of passion was visible in his countenance. He gave immediate orders to cut out his tongue; whereupon he thus proceeded: "You may deprive me of the instrument of utterance; but that God who seeth the heart, knows the inward sensations of the silent. Here is the member; you cannot, by this act, deprive me of reason. O that I could lose my life by inches, to support the cause of religion. Though you take away the tongue, which chaunts the praises of God, remember that his high hand will very soon let its vengeance fall down upon your head."

CHAP. XI.

NO sooner had this brother, exhausted with pain, and miserably mangled, finished his course, than the fifth sprang forward of his own accord, exclaiming, "Prepare your torments: I am here ready to suffer the worst you inflict. I come voluntarily to die in the cause of virtue; and, by a cruel catastrophe, to procure an endless punishment on you for the barbarities you have committed on the bodies of my brothers. Mortal enemy to virtue, religion, and mankind, what have I done, wherein have I transgressed, to deserve this merciless treatment? Do we not worship the universal parent of nature according to his own decrees? Do we not act in conformity to the institution of his most holy laws? These are things that ought to meet with reward instead of punishment."

While these words were in his mouth, the tormentors bound and dragged him to the wheel, to which fastening his knees with iron rings, they stretched him round the engine, and then broke

his joints. Being miserably tortured in this manner, he thus spoke in unspeakable anguish: "Tyrant, thou dost us the greatest honour against thy inclination; for the glorious torments you inflict upon us, only serve to testify an extraordinary zeal for our laws and religion."

When he had borne testimony to the truth of his religion, after the example of his heroic brothers, the sixth youth was brought before Antiochus, and being demanded, by the tyrant, whether he would accept deliverance in the terms aforementioned, resolutely answered, "It is true, indeed, I am younger than my brothers, but my mind is the same with theirs. We had all of us the same parents, and the same instructions, and it is but necessary that we should all die alike for them; therefore if you are determined to put me to the torment on my refusal to eat, torment me." Hereupon they fastened him to the wheel, and having broken his bones, put fire under him. Then the guards heated their spears, and thrust them into his back and sides, till his very entrails were burnt up. In the midst of these torments he exclaimed, "O glorious conflict, in which so many brethren have engaged for the sake of their religion, and all came off victorious; for a mind rightly informed of the truth, and armed with steady principles of virtue, must for ever be impregnable. I will accompany my brothers, and relying on my own probity as my defence, now submit to death. But thou, tyrant, must not think to avoid a punishment which your cruelties deserve; for a death, attended with the most dreadful of torments, hangs over your head. Six of us have baffled thy rage and malice. As for your fire, it feels cold to us; your tormenting engines are far from giving us pain; and all the violence you can use is fruitless, and of no consequence. For so long as our law is so nobly asserted, we retain a reason that all the world and its punishments cannot subdue."

CHAP. XII.

THE sixth brother being dispatched at last, by being thrown into a boiling cauldron, the seventh, and youngest, appeared, whom, when the tyrant saw fettered and pinioned, and though so implacably outrageous against the rest of his brethren, his heart began to relent. Calling upon him, therefore, to approach the tribunal, he endeavoured to soothe him with these words:

"You see what kind of deaths your brothers have undergone; but their disobedience and contumacy have been the sole means of all their torments, and the cruelties they have sustained. Yet you, if you obey not my commands, shall be exposed to the same, nay, worse torments, and so suffer an immature death: but if you comply with my desires, I will take you into the number of my friends, you shall have a considerable post in my kingdom, and be a governor in the state." Not content with these persuasions to the son, he addressed himself to the mother, with seeming compassion for her loss, entreating her to prevail upon her child, in pity to her at least, to save this small remnant of the family, and not to bring on her the affliction of having all her offspring so sadly torn away at once. But his mother, addressing him in the Hebrew tongue, exhorted him to suffer, as we shall shew in the sequel. Upon this he suddenly exclaimed, "Take off my fetters, for I have something to communicate to the king, and all his friends." The king and his nobles hearing the promise the young man made, seemed greatly rejoiced; and his chains were immediately knocked off. Taking the advantage of this circumstance, he thus exclaimed:

"Impious and cursed tyrant, have you no fears nor apprehensions in your mind, after having received at the hands of the Almighty the kingdom and riches you enjoy, than to put to death his servants, and torment his worshippers? These cru-

elties shall be returned with an eternal punishment from the hands of the Divine vengeance. Is your conscience touched with no scruples, inhuman monster, thus to deprive of their tongues those who share alike the same nature and passions with you, and who are born of the same elements, and thus put innocent persons to cruel torments, and take away their lives in the most unmerciful and barbarous manner? They have undergone a glorious death, and shewn how much their piety and observance was for the maintenance of the true religion; whereas thou, impious man, shall be exposed to ills you little dream of, for taking away unjustly the lives of those who were worshippers of the Supreme Being. For this reason I will suffer death, and, in my last pangs, discover how much my desire was to follow the brave example of my brothers. I beg and entreat the God of my fathers that he would be propitious and merciful to our nation; but that he may chastise you while you live; and after death, that your punishment may be augmented." Having finished this address, he threw himself into the boiling cauldron, and so gave up the ghost.

CHAP. XIII.

FROM these particulars we have enumerated, it must be confessed that reason, guided and supported by religion, has power over the passions, when we see seven brothers in perfect agreement, and upon the same principle, despising and vanquishing the most exquisite pains, and even death itself. Is it not manifest, that had these men been governed by their passions, they had submitted to pollute themselves with unlawful meats, refused no condition to procure ease and safety, and been totally subdued? But since they combated these passions by a judicious use of reason, we are bound to acknowledge, with abundant praise to the holy martyrs who suffered, that, as they despised the most dreadful torments, so reason never more discovered its dominion over the subject passions than in those instances. For as the moles and forts upon the shore break all the force of the waves and weather, and render the harbour commodious and safe to ride in, so did this sevenfold fortification of reason protect the harbour of piety from all the storms and boisterous inundations of passion.

How moving, how affecting a sight was such a company, encouraging and assisting each other in the exercises of their piety, like the voices which contribute, every one by his distinct part, to make up a perfect melody? With such an harmony of hearts did they exclaim: "Let us die like brethren in the defence of our laws; let us imitate the brave example of the three Assyrian youths, who defied the furnace of the king of Babylon, in fighting for the cause of virtue; let us never despair, nor once be cast down. When religion and a good conscience are at stake, let us abandon all ignoble fears, and act with becoming resolution." Another said, "Assume courage, my brother, and suffer all with an insurmountable bravery of mind." Others of them recognized ancient facts. "Remember whence you derive your origin, and what father Isaac could suffer in the cause of piety." Then in general looking on each other with countenances serene, and highly pleased, they exclaimed, "Let us cheerfully consecrate our bodies to God. Let us pay him back the lives he lent us for his service, and devote these bodies to the defence of his most holy law. Why should we stand in fear of one who only seems to kill the body? The only danger worthy of our dread is that of souls abandoned to torments everlasting, which can never be the fate of such as keep and honour the truth. Let us then arm ourselves with an holy fortitude, so shall Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob receive us when we die, and all our pious ancestors congratulate and applaud our constancy."

As they were dragged one by one to the place of execution, whose turn was not yet come, encouraged those that went before them, with words

to this purport: "Brethren, do not dishonour us; nor elude the expectation of your brethren who have already suffered death."

These must have been very engaging exhortations; for none can be insensible what charms, what powerful influence so near a relation carries with it; what tender affections the All-wise Providence hath infused into their hearts, who have derived their being from the same father and mother, been maintained at one common table, conversed perpetually together under the same roof, instructed by the same teachers, and initiated in the same religion. Such was the affection, such the endearments, and, of course, such were the weight and efficacy the admonitions and mutual encouragements of these seven brothers to one another; for they were brought up in the same faith, trained up in the exercise of the same virtues, and the better men they were, the better they must love each other. Natural affection is never so happily improved as by perfect agreement in goodness, and united zeal in the love and service of God. And as each of these would love the rest more tenderly in proportion as he himself was more religious, so would he necessarily, in the same proportion, and upon the same account, become more worthy to be beloved by all the rest. And yet we may observe in this very case, a mighty conquest of reason over passion; for though the brethren had all the tender concern that nature and blood, birth and education, acquaintance and personal worth, could inspire them with, yet these manifold endearments were so vanquished and borne down when religion lay at stake, that, in a cause so noble, the very tortures and deaths of their dearest relations gave a sensible satisfaction to those of the number who yet survived, and were the undaunted, nay, even pleased, spectators of them.

CHAP. XIV.

THE pious and virtuous youths not only excited one another to suffer these terrible conflicts so as to make them surmount all the pains they might be put to, but also were the cause that their brothers, during their torments, bore every thing with astonishing resignation. Oh! minds more absolute than the most sovereign princes, and more free than liberty itself! Not one of them was observed to betray any fears, nor have any scruples on the approach of death; but all, as with one accord, running the race of immortality, embraced death amidst their torments. As the hands and feet obey the motions of the mind, and so direct themselves, even so did these youths, from a motive of piety, consent to die in its cause. As the number of days in which the world was created give us the idea of God, and shew the perfection of his majesty and goodness, so do these most renowned martyrs, by running the whole circle of pains and tortures, compose one finished piece of constancy and courage, and teach us that perfection of fortitude which banishes the slavish fear of death. But alas! how far short of this pattern do we stop! we, who cannot so much as hear or read without trembling and amazement, what they not only heard, not only saw, but felt and bore without the least disorder of mind.

Nor ought we to wonder that reason in man should have this dominion over his passions, when the mind of a woman contemned more cruelties than these, and of a different nature. For the mother of these seven youths had such presence of mind as to be a spectator of the tortures her children endured. Reflect on the force of natural affection, how diffusive to one's offspring: nay, this we observe in the brute creation, who have a tincture of the same kind of affection and love for their young as mankind. But there is no necessity for producing examples of brute animals to confirm this love for their young, when the very bees, at the time they are employed about making their honey, revenge themselves on those that approach them, and cause their stings to do the office of swords, and other military weapons, upon those that would attack their little ones.

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CHAP. XV.

BUT so true a daughter of Abraham was the mother of these gallant youths, that even compassion for her own children could not break in upon her duty. Such was her noble zeal, that, when two things were offered to her choice, religion and the present safety, and great preferment of seven sons, she wisely gave the preference to the former, which leads to eternal life and happiness. By what language shall I describe those tender passions of parents, that union of nature between them and their children, which, in a wonderful manner, draws upon their offspring the same lines and features of body, and impresses the same dispositions of soul? How can I represent the concern they feel for these images and parts of themselves, when in any manner of distress? How especially that of mothers, whose weaker minds, and natural excess of fondness, render them still more sensibly touched by whatever affects their children, than fathers are wont or expected to be? This mother was more under the influence of such affection than mothers in common. Seven painful births had made as many additions to this love; and every time her travail was repeated it was a fresh exercise of it, a fresh and strong endearment towards all for whom she had endured the same pangs.

But, notwithstanding all this, the fear and love of God overcame her concern for the present safety and advantage of her children. Never did she love them so tenderly as when their steady virtue, and constancy in the truth, charmed her affections, and endeared them to her; for they were just and wise, temperate and magnanimous, affectionate to each other, and dutiful to their mother to that degree, that they even died in the cause of their law in obedience to her. Though she had such extraordinary reasons to love her sons, yet not all the exquisite pains and cruelties they were exposed to could once divert the opinion and resolution she had formed within her breast, for she exhorted each of them singly, and all of them together, not to decline any sufferings, or death, for the sake of religion. Though she was an eye-witness to the torments inflicted on each of her sons, yet the cause of piety engrossed her soul, and she still maintained the sincerity of her intentions. Her piety was so firm, that it remained unchangeable by the horrid, the thrilling spectacle of her children being exposed to inconceivable tortures. Extraordinary mother! that felt greater pangs of sorrow now than she ever experienced at bringing them into the world. Perfect pattern of piety! Thou didst not utter a sigh at seeing thine eldest expire. The second giving up the ghost amidst his torments could not draw a tear from those eyes; nor could the third in his last terrible moments, or any one of them in the midst of their torments.

The songs of Syrens, and the dying notes of swans, with all their bewitching and enchanting melody, were not so persuasive to your ears as the last accents of your sons in their expiring moments. When nature and affection pleaded strongly with thee, and the pains and unparalleled sufferings of thy children added weight to their arguments, thou wouldest not accept a short deliverance with guilt, but gavest them up to death in prospect of a more lasting bliss. Thou didst thus approve thyself a true daughter of Abraham, an heiress of all his faith and fortitude.

Mother of our nation! protectress of our laws! bulwark of piety! more patient than man, and armed with more fortitude to undergo difficulties! the glory of thine own sex, and superior to ours! For as the ark of Noah, which then contained all the surviving world, rode triumphant upon the waters of the general flood, so thou, protectress of the law, tossed on every side with the deluge of the passions, and the torments of thy sons, as with the most violent storm, didst bravely bear up against the fierceness of a dreadful tempest.

6 I

CHAP.

C H A P. XVI.

TO return to the point at which I have been aiming; if a woman, aged, and the mother of seven sons, could not only sustain the sight of those children expiring in tortures, in consideration of the cause for which they suffered and died, it is evident, beyond dispute, that reason, supported by religion, hath a power superior to our passions. It has been abundantly proved, that not only men have overcome vast difficulties, but that a woman despised the most exquisite pains. The lions among whom Daniel was thrown were not so fierce, nor was the furnace of Mishael, though heated with the most raging fires, so hot as those violent passions which natural affection and pity had kindled in her breast, when she saw seven sons successively expire in agonies inexpressible. Yet reason and religion quenched these so furious and manifold affections.

It is reasonable to suppose, that had this woman the least degree of pusillanimity in her composition, she would have burst out into lamentations similar to the following. "Miserable woman that I am, who having brought seven sons into the world, am now parent of none! To what purpose, my sons, have I borne the many sorrows I have suffered for you, and the many solitudes in bringing you up? Beloved children, whose faces I shall no more behold, nor rejoice in their marriage and posterity, nor have the much desired blessing in being esteemed happy in any descendants of the second and third generation. I once was happy, happy above my neighbours, when surrounded with seven comely children; but now I am deprived of them, and left desolate; nor have I a son to pay me the last duty of interment."

The piety of this eminent woman disdained such complaints. She was so far from desiring any of her children to live, that it would have been matter of grief to her had they not died as they did. She therefore besought them to fulfil her joy, and encouraged them in dying for the cause of religion. Noble matron! the tyrant was subdued by thy perseverance; and, both in thy words and actions, thou hast approved thyself mighty; for when thou wert apprehended with thy sons, and saw Eleazar put to the torture, thou stoodst immovable, and thus addressed them in the Hebrew language.

"My sons, you have a glorious conflict before you, to which being called, that you may leave your nation a testimony of your faith and religion, contend cheerfully in defence of the laws of your country. It would derogate from your characters, to suffer an aged man to be exposed to the pains of the rack, while you shrink, in the prime and vigour of youth, under the same trials. Remember what life is, from whom you derived it, to whom you owe it, and that it is your indispensable duty to undergo every difficulty and danger in the course of the religion of its grand author. For him did our father Abraham hasten to sacrifice his son, the future parent of our nation. Nor did that son tremble, or once recede, when he saw a father's hand, armed with a weapon of death, uplifted to give the fatal stroke. For how was pious Daniel cast a prey to hungry lions, and the three children into the fiery furnace. You, who are partakers of the same faith, should not be disheartened, if you are made partakers of the same sufferings; for it is most dastardly, in those who have a true sense of religion, to betray a pusillanimity, when called upon to sustain difficulties."

Thus did this matron exhort her seven sons, whom she enjoined rather to suffer death than violate the divine law, especially when assuredly persuaded that those who die in the cause of God, shall live with

God, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the succeeding patriarchs, in mansions of immortal bliss.

C H A P. XVII.

IT is said of this dauntless woman, that, after being scourged, and otherwise severely tortured, by order of Antiochus, she finished her punishment by voluntarily throwing herself into the flames.

Courageous matron! thus defeating the tyrant's rage, disappointing his infernal schemes, and exerting a most noble faith, proof against all shocks that laboured to overturn it! Take comfort, therefore; thy patience is supported by a firm reliance on the divine goodness, and a well grounded hope of future reward. The moon, encircled with her attendant stars, shines not so bright in the firmament of heaven, as dost thou, reflecting light upon, and receiving it back again, from thy seven illustrious sons, fixed in the celestial mansions, and honourable in the Divine presence. Thy race descended from the stock of Abraham. Were we able to depict this act of piety in true and lively colours, our passion scarcely could sustain the mere representation. Were a monument to be erected as a memorial by the nation to which they are so great an honour, an inscription to the import of the following might become it.

"Here lies a venerable priest, an ancient mother, and seven gallant sons, cut off by the rage of a tyrant, attempting, but in vain, to overthrow the Jewish constitutions. These brave champions stood in the gap, asserted the religion and rites of their country, committed themselves and their cause to God, and persevered in despite of tortments and death."

The encounter was truly divine: virtue was the judge of the combat, and disposer of the prize; and patience was the proof and exercise of it. To this the victory was to be adjudged, and immortal bliss was to be the reward of the conquerors.

Eleazar was the first champion; the mother of the seven sons made a glorious defence; the brothers stoutly fought; the tyrant was their adversary, and the world were the witnesses. Religion obtained the victory, and yielded the crown to her champions. Who but must admire these noble assertors of the divine law? Who but, on gazing on them, must stand in amaze? The tyrant himself, and the whole court, were struck with admiration at their fortitude: but now they stand at the throne of heaven, and enjoy a life of immortality. Moses writes, "All his saints are in thy hand:" for these men, being devoted to God, are celebrated with immortal renown. Nor was the benefit of their trials confined to their own persons, but the blood shed upon this occasion was accepted by divine justice as a propitiatory sacrifice, and delivered Israel from the oppression under which they groaned.

Antiochus, considering the extraordinary virtue and resolutions of these men, gave testimony to their magnanimity, and, by a public officer, propounded it as a pattern worthy the imitation of his own soldiers. He enlisted many of the Hebrews into his service, and, by their valour, having subdued his enemies, became an absolute conqueror; learning, by experience, that religion inspires men with the truest courage; and that none are capable of serving their prince in wars, comparably to those undaunted contempters of life, who dare to encounter tortures and death for the sake of God, and a good conscience.

O sons of Israel! race of faithful Abraham! pay obedience to this law; that reason, assisted by religion, has dominion over the passions, not only of those which are called internal, but also external pains and troubles.

C H A P. XVIII.

THUS did these heroes nobly fight and conquer: nor did they overcome death and torments only, but the enemies also that inflicted both, restoring

storing peace to their nation, and the observance of that long neglected law, the contempt whereof provoked the Almighty to scourge the people with that worst of calamities, the tyrant Antiochus. But while he became an instrument of vengeance to others, he treasured more against himself; for, when he found he could by no means force the Jews to embrace foreign customs and rites, and abdicate their own, he departed from Jerusalem, and undertook an expedition against the Persians; nor was it long before the divine justice overtook him, and cut him off the face of the earth by a most miserable death.

For duty to the memory of the pious mother, I add another exhortation she gave to her seven brave and virtuous sons.

"I was long a chaste virgin, nor did I wander from my father's house. No seducer of youth corrupted me in the fields; nor did I fall a prey to the subtle craftiness of a betrayer. The prime of my life I past in the strictest conjugal fidelity to my husband. When you, my children, were grown up, your father died, happy in the esteem of all that knew him. He had the satisfaction of being the parent of dutiful sons; nor did he survive the loss of one of them. While he continued with you, he usually instructed you in the knowledge of the law and the prophets, and set before you the renowned examples of patience and suffering virtue: Abel murdered by his own brother Cain, Isaac designed for a burnt offering, Joseph imprisoned for his chastity, and Phineas zealous for the divine law. He displayed the virtues of Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, and of Da-

niel cast into the den of lions. He would frequently remind you of God's preserving providence by repeating from Isaiah, 'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and when through the rivers they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.' He taught your infant tongues that song of David, 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all;' and called upon you to observe that maxim of Solomon in his Proverbs, 'That wisdom is a tree of life to all that lay hold upon her.' Nor did he forget to teach that divine hymn of Moses, 'I kill and I make alive:' and again, what he pronounces of the law, and the diligent observers of it, 'It is your life, and through this thing ye shall prolong your days.'

Isaiah
xliii. 2.

Psal. xxxiv.
19.

Prov. iii.
18.

Deut. xxxii.
29. 47.

O melancholy, or rather glorious day! when the merciless Grecian tyrant kindled his impious fires, prepared his cauldrons, and, with infernal fury, dragged and bound to the engines of torture, and exercised, with the most excruciating pains, the seven-fold offspring of this daughter of Abraham! when he deprived them of their eyes, of their tongues, and put them to death with all the cruelties that malice could invent! These horrid barbarities were retaliated on their perpetrators; while those sons of Abraham, with their victorious mother, are translated to bliss unspeakable, admitted to the triumphant society of their pious ancestors, and enjoy with them a glorious immortality in the vision of that beatific Being whom they had so faithfully served, and to whom be ascribed all glory and praise, both now and for evermore. Amen.*

* Such of our Readers as are desirous of being acquainted with the Lives of the Martyrs, more particularly of those who have sealed the Truths of the Christian Religion with their Blood, are referred to

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End of the MARTYRDOM of the MACCABEES.



PHILO'S ACCOUNT

OF HIS

EMBASSY FROM THE JEWS OF ALEXANDRIA

TO THE

EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA.

PREFACE of the AUTHOR.

HOW long will men, though advanced in years, entertain notions, and exhibit a conduct in life, incompatible almost with the inexperienced youth? This can only be imputed to a reliance on fortune, and a deviation from the dictates of reason and nature; the former being ever fickle and wavering, the latter unchangeable and permanent. In this manner we invert the order of things, estimate uncertainties as certainties, and so on the contrary. The best reason which can be assigned for such error is, that weak and short-sighted men are incapable of forming a judgment of what is to come, led away by things present, and influenced by a fallacious sense, rather than the conviction of deliberate investigation. The eye, indeed, is a fit instrument to receive such objects as are near and conspicuous, but it is reason that penetrates future and invisible things. This eye of the mind is clearer than that of the body, which is too frequently rendered dim by luxurious excesses, or by ignorance, as the result of indolence, and greater mischief of the two.

These our times, however, and the many remarkable events that have fallen out in them, are sufficient to persuade us to a belief of a Divine Providence, a providence that takes particular care of the virtuous, and those especially who devote themselves to the worship and service of the Almighty. These are the people called, in Chaldee, Israel, which signifies "Seeing God;" a blessing, in my opinion, more estimable than the treasure of ten thousand worlds. For if the aspect of seniors, if magistrates, if parents, if precepts can excite in us an awe and reverence, and correct our manners and demeanour, how much more must we suppose it contributes towards the perfection of virtue, to soar above vulgar minds, beyond all created beings, to the contemplation of the great source of all things, even that Supreme Being, who is the chiefest good, and the chiefest happiness?

The human mind cannot comprehend, nor human language describe his excellencies: they cannot reach the perfections of the Deity, who is superior to every thing. If the whole creation were but one tongue, it would fall short in declaring his attributes, and displaying his omnipotence in the creation of the world, his sovereignty in the disposition of it, his wisdom in the order and government of it, and his justice, both towards good and bad, in the retribution of rewards and punishments.

Vengeance itself must be ranked amongst the Divine benefits; not only because it is a part of the Divine law, and naturally results from a principle of rectitude, in the distinction of the good from the bad, but as it frequently brings offenders to a due sense of themselves, and checks their progress in their enormities; for it is an obvious maxim, that the punishment of some is often the reformation of many.

CHAP. I.

The happy state of the first seven months reign of the emperor Caius Caligula, after the death of Tiberius.

THE commencement of the reign of the emperor Caius Caligula affords an ample display of the maxims advanced in the preface. Never did there prevail such profound peace and tranquillity throughout the whole empire. North, south, east and west, concentrated in perfect harmony; Greeks and Barbarians, soldiers and burghers, living together like brethren, in the mutual exchange of all neighbourly offices of friendship and commerce. It was a degree of felicity almost incredible, for a young prince to ascend the throne, not only with the universal acclamations of the people, but the accumulated possession of whatever his heart could desire; such as treasure, both in money and plate, wrought and unwrought, as well for ornament as convenience; a mighty armament, military and naval,

val, and a revenue flowing, as it were, from a perpetual source; for he had the whole habitable earth under contribution. His empire was bounded by two rivers, the Euphrates and the Rhine; the latter separating Germany, and other barbarous nations; the former Parthia, and the people inhabiting Sarmatia and Scythia, no more civilized than the Germans.

From the east to the west, as well upon the continent as in the islands, prevailed an universal complacency and joy. The people of Rome performed a general festivity, and all Italy, with the provinces, both in Europe and Asia, partook of the diffusive blessing: for if compleat happiness was enjoyed under the reign of any emperor, it was certainly under the present at this time, when mankind did not fluctuate between hope and despair, but had sure possession both of their public and private rights, and were blessed with a plenary indulgence of propitious fortune. Throughout the city and towns, nothing was to be seen but altars, victims, sacrifices, garlands, blithe and jocund aspects, musical performances, crowded theatres, banquets, and every species of entertainment and pastime that could gratify the senses. There was no distinction between the rich and the poor, the lofty and humble, the creditor and debtor, the master and slave, but all promiscuously mixed together. Such, in fine, was the felicity of the times for plenty and pleasure, and the universal satisfaction of persons and families, that what we find described in the fabulous account of poets, concerning the Saturnian days of old, now appeared to be verified. This was the happy state of things during the first seven months of the reign of Caius.

CHAP. II.

The emperor falls into a desperate disease in the eighth month of his reign, to the general affliction of the provinces, which are afterwards as much rejoiced at his recovery.

CAIUS, in the eighth month of his reign, and in the career of his prosperity, fell into a very acute distemper; for having quitted the temperate, and consequently healthful, course of life, he led under Tiberius, he addicted himself to every species of luxury and dissipation, and pursued inordinate gratifications to a degree of bestiality. He followed, in a word, every corrupt and sensual practice, that could tend to enervate both the mind and body; and as health and strength were the attendants on temperance, so were weakness and disease the concomitants of debauchery and riot.

It was now about the beginning of autumn, at which serene season the returning ships from all quarters are upon their voyage homeward bound, that is to say such as do not winter in foreign parts. By this opportunity the news of the emperor's indisposition was immediately dispersed; so that a sudden sorrow and dejection succeeded the late universal content and joy; for all the cities, towns, and houses, were filled with mourning and sadness, and a gloomy aspect appeared in every place. The provinces were seized with an indisposition worse than that of the emperor, which was confined to the body alone, but the other reached the mind. They were anxiously apprehensive of losing not only the peace they enjoyed, but their lives, liberties, and estates. They seasonably recollected all the calamities that generally rose up in the empire when deprived of its prince, such as wars, depredations, devastations, banishments, plunder, imprisonments, fears, dangers, and even death itself. The only remedy against this train of calamities, they imagined, was placed in the preservation of the emperor.

Upon hearing, therefore, that his distemper was somewhat abated, (for nothing moves with such velocity as fame,) they seemed to enjoy an interval of happiness, which was soon diffused to the farther fron-

No. 42.

tiers of the empire. All the cities were pleased with the tidings; though they retained their anxiety, till they received the welcome news of Cæsar's perfect recovery, which gave them as much joy as if the case had been their own. The inhabitants, both on the continent and islands, immediately returned to their mirth and festivity. It never was known, in the memory of man, that any nation or country demonstrated such a general and public rejoicing, for the recovery of their prince, as was seen, upon this occasion, throughout the world, for the safety of Caius, when he was restored to his former health. It appeared like a momentary transition from savage to social life, from deserts to political communities, from confusion to order; and all this was owing, as they thought, to the government and protection of a generous and rightful prince. But mankind in general do not penetrate into the merits of causes, and therefore are pleased and rejoice without sufficient ground.

CHAP. III.

Caius gives proof of a depraved disposition in his treatment of young Tiberius.

IN a very short time the truth of the last remark evidently appeared in the instance of Caius, who, after having been celebrated for the profusion of his bounties and favours all over Europe and Asia, as the most illustrious benefactor to all glorious purposes, public and private, degenerated into a monster of cruelty, and discovered that he had been carrying on a scene of dissimulation.

The late emperor Tiberius had, by his son Drusus, a grandson, called Tiberius, and another by Germanicus, called Caius, who succeeded him on the Imperial throne. He was recommended by Tiberius in preference to the succession, provided he should shew the sense he had of the obligation, in his respectful behaviour to his relative, whose father had been the elder son. But it did not satisfy Caius to enjoy that by adoption, to which the other had a right by seniority; so that most barbarously, and ungratefully, he caused his near kinsman, co-heir of the empire, and next successor to Tiberius, to be put to death, under a pretext that he was engaged in a plot against his life, of which, from his tender age, there was not the least room for suspicion. Indeed, it was the opinion of many, that, if the youth had attained to a few years more, the emperor would have nominated him as his successor; for he had a very particular reason for being jealous of Caius. But he died before he put this design into execution; and Caius had recourse to artifice, in order to deprive his colleague of his common right, imagining by this means to avoid censure. The scheme was thus executed: he first sent for Tiberius, and then calling a council of his friends, addressed them in words to this effect:

“ My intentions are to tender my love to this my relation, in making him my colleague in the empire. But youth, alas! without experience, stands in need of a governor itself, more than a commission to govern others. If it were not for this difficulty, I should be happy in easing myself of one part of the cares and troubles of my office over so many nations, by dividing the burthen, for fear of sinking myself under the weight. In the mean time let him depend upon me for protection and advice, not only as a governor to his pupil, but as a father to his son; which, for the future, shall be our respective denominations.”

This address wrought so effectually upon the whole council, and the young prince himself, that the design of the plot was in a great measure accomplished; for, instead of confirming the adoption, and possessing Tiberius of that to which he had a title, it made void that which was granted him already; so that Caius was now left at liberty to treat his colleague in what manner he thought proper.

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For the Roman law gives parents an absolute authority over their children, and the supreme magistrate an uncontrollable power over the people. Caius therefore, in order to gain his point, had only to declare Tiberius an enemy, and proceed against him according to pleasure. This, without scruple of conscience, he did, either to his years or consanguinity, or to his quality, as having been trained up by the emperor with a view of appointing him to the succession.

It is reported that he commanded him to put an end to his own life, strictly prohibiting many tribunes and centurions, who were present, to assist in so detestable an act, as if he made a point of conscience of not spilling royal blood by a common hand. He was desirous of appearing tenacious of the laws, and covering his hypocrisy with the mask of sanctity. The royal youth, upon this, who had never seen a murder committed, nor had been trained up to the exercise of martial arms, as the sons of kings generally are in times of peace, offered his throat to those who approached him; but every one declining the office, he took a poinard himself, and asked where he should strike, to put an end to a wretched life; and, after receiving information, became his own executioner. Thus died, at the instance of a cruel brother, the unfortunate and innocent Tiberius.

C H A P. IV.

Caius ungratefully puts Macro to death, to whom he owed his life and fortune.

WHEN Caius had thus removed the first and principal cause of his jealousy, and there remained no competitor for the disaffected party to set up against him, he prepared to make Macro the second sacrifice, in which he evinced a most cruel and ungrateful disposition. Macro had rendered him many signal services, not only after he had obtained the empire, (for it is the province of flatterers to fawn upon the great,) but also previous to his advancement; for he was deemed the chief instrument that induced Tiberius to appoint him to the succession.

The late emperor, through years and experience, was well acquainted with mankind, and had sagacity to discern the springs and motives of human actions; nor was he less powerful than prudent. He was sensibly touched with frequent suspicions of Caius, and had too much reason to think he was averse to the whole family of Claudius; or if he had any tenderness for his relations, it was for those only on the mother's side. He had therefore many apprehensions for his grandson, left, being left in his minority, his life should prove but of short date. Nor did he look upon Caius as competent to sustain the weight of empire, being a man frothy and inconsistent, without genius for political rule, or a mind adapted to sublime pursuits.

Macro, however, exerted his utmost efforts to dispossess the emperor of his prejudices, lest their prevalence should exclude Caius from the succession. He would frequently insinuate to him what a deference and veneration he had for his person and dignity; and that he retained so generous a friendship and respect for his kinsman, that he would most cordially yield the empire to him alone; adding, that his modesty and reserve were unfortunately taken for want of sense and resolution.

When he found that the specious arguments he offered were of none effect, he made no scruple of covenanting for him, and being his security, as he had sufficiently proved his loyalty to the Cæsars, and particularly to Tiberius, to whom he had been of singular service, in discovering and suppressing the conspiracy of Sejanus. In short, he extolled Caius to the skies, if defending him against causes of suspicion, and uncertain and dubious charges, may be deemed a commendation. Not to multiply words, he could not have done more for his nearest relative than he did for Caius. Many pre-

tend to say that this extraordinary respect was founded on the several good offices which Caius rendered Macro, as he was at that time highly in credit with the emperor. Others alledge that the wife of Macro, from a certain attachment to Caius, was constantly importuning her husband to espouse his cause; and it is well known that female solicitation is very powerful, and rarely fails of success.

Macro, who had no suspicion of dishonour, imputed these blandishments of his wife to conjugal affection, and was thereby so far imposed on, that he took his most deadly enemies for his sincerest friends. In consequence of this, as he was conscious to himself that he had been the means of preserving Caius at several times, he took his usual liberty of counselling him openly, without harbouring the least suspicion; for his design was, like a great matter, to make his work perfect and lasting, that it might not perish through his own negligence, or be destroyed by others. For instance, if at any time he saw him sleeping at an entertainment, he would take the freedom to awaken him, secretly hinting, that it was neither decent or safe, since it exposed him to danger. So likewise when at any time he fondly gazed at dancers, or betrayed a childish smile at the ribaldry of buffoons, or vocally accompanied musical instruments, he would strive to check him, by admonitory suggestions to the following purport:

“ It is not for you, Sire, to see, hear, and gratify your senses, like other men; but you are now to advance yourself as much above the rest of the world in the dignity of your mind, as in the elevation of your person. For what can be more incongruous than for the master of the world to entertain himself with the amusements of singing, dancing, insipid jesting, and other trifles of that kind? Whereas it is his part, in all cases, times, and places, to uphold the majesty of an imperial prince, as a shepherd set over the whole flock, and aggrandize his character daily.

“ When you are at the circus, the theatre, or any other public spectacle, you are not so much to attend the thing in itself, as the pains taken to form the entertainment, and to reason the matter thus: if people take such care and pains to please spectators, without any benefit to mankind, purely for popular applause, and at last reckon it as ample reward to carry the cause with credit, what shall we expect from the profession of a much more excellent art? That is, the art of government, which provides for tillage, planting, navigation, and the security of commerce, in the establishment of a reciprocal exchange of commodities all over the provinces for the supply one of another. Some persons and places have, indeed, been tainted with a venomous envy for this salutary provision and agreement; but the malignity never went so far, however, as to poison the whole world, nor the greater part of it; here and there a man, or a family, or, perhaps, a city or two, might be concerned, but for whole countries, or nations, there has been nothing of it; especially since your illustrious family has had the administration of the government. The monsters that formerly had the confidence to domineer in the very hearts of the towns, are now glad to shift for themselves, like wild beasts, into caves, and hiding places, and have left us, in exchange, a beneficial intercourse of correspondence with all quarters of the earth; which is all subjected entirely to your good pleasure and conduct. This empire, in fine, looks like a mighty ship, and yourself, by Providence, set at the helm, where you are left answerable for the safety of the vessel, as you tender the good of mankind. Wherefore be sure to have care of it, and make it the business and pleasure of your life to promote the happiness of your people. Private persons may do many good offices among themselves, some one way, and some another, both public and private; but it is from the bounty and wisdom of the prince alone, that the people can ever pretend to be free and easy. He must have an open hand, and an

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"expanded soul, and no bar to his liberality, but what shall be found necessary for a reserve, to answer all the ends and chances of government."

Thus did this unfortunate counsellor endeavour to work upon the mind of Caius; but all in vain; for his admonitions were not only scornfully rejected, but he was frequently reproached with taunts to the following effect:

"Here comes my preceptor; but, I thank my stars for it, I am out of my wardship. He sets up for my master; but I am past my childhood; so likewise am a monitor that understands the world better than himself. The pedant takes upon him to instruct an emperor how to behave himself towards his subjects, and an emperor who understands all the arts of court politics much better than he can pretend to. This man has the vanity to act the part of my master; but I would willingly know where he learnt that skill himself that I want? Alas! I have been trained up, from my cradle, to the mysteries of state under a variety of tutors; as fathers, brothers, uncles, cousins, grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers, besides a continued succession of so many great princes in a right line, both by father and mother; to say nothing of the seeds of royal virtues, that shew themselves commonly in the forming of a governor. For as children often resemble their parents, not in face and manners only, but in their very motions, humours, habits, and gestures, so does nature infuse royal abilities into the very veins of a governor. And shall an idiot take upon him now to instruct me in the mysteries of an art that I brought into the world with me? Yet an obscure, mean wretch tutors me upon a subject of which he knows nothing himself."

In this manner did Caius alienate himself from Macro, devising falsehoods to lay to his charge, and cloaking them over with the semblance of the truth. While he was deliberating on this matter, he availed himself of certain expressions that Macro had uttered as the ground of an accusation. They were these.

"Caius is a man of my preferring, and more obliged to me for what he is, than to his very father. It was my interest that not only once, but thrice, rescued him from the rage of Tiberius, when he would have put him to death. After the death of Tiberius, when the prætorian bands were under my command, I gave up my guards into his hands, with this admonitory precaution, that the empire could never be safe and entire, but in the hands of a *single person*."

This was not only true beyond contradiction, but believed by many who heard it, as they were not acquainted with the mutable and inconstant temper of Caius, and of that dissimulation and hypocrisy of which he was master. However, not many days after this, the unfortunate Macro and his wife were removed out of the way, to gratify the ambition and barbarity of Caius. Sad recompence for loyalty and affection in the extreme! It is beyond dispute that Macro, who, with sedulous endeavours, strove first to serve Caius, and then caused the empire to be vested in him alone, received this reward for his pains. It was reported that the unhappy man and his wife were forced to lay violent hands on themselves, notwithstanding the former attachment of Caius to the latter; but the follies of unlawful passions are irregular and unaccountable.

CHAP. V.

The cruelty of Caius towards Syllanus, his father-in-law, and several others.

WHEN this treacherous prince had rid himself of the danger of a competitor, and taken off Macro and all his domestics, he turned his mind to

a third exploit, in the conduct of which he had recourse to deeper stratagem than that of the two former. He had a father-in-law, named Marcus Syllanus, a person brave in arms, and of illustrious descent, who, though his daughter was snatched away by an untimely death, paid Caius the same respect as before, not doubting of a reciprocal return; but he cherished hopes that proved vain and fallacious in the end.

Syllanus, being a man frank and open in his temper, would frequently introduce the topics of morals and politics, as the offices and functions of a prince, and the measures of government and good order. He often admonished him upon these points, with a freedom becoming his quality and station: besides, the death of his daughter being fresh in his memory, the sense of the affinity he thought could not be so soon forgotten. But the emperor interpreted this friendly counsel as reproach, and looked upon it as a dishonour done him, for any man to arrogate a degree of prudence, temperance, fortitude, or justice, superior to himself; so that he conceived an aversion to Syllanus, as he had done to other instructors, and considered him as his professed enemy. He supposed him a main obstacle to the pursuit of his inordinate desires; and therefore, in a fit of outrage, bid a final adieu to the memory of his deceased wife, and followed the barbarity with a treacherous practice upon the life of her father, tho' one of the most respectable of his time. The fame of this murder, and others little less considerable that followed upon it, struck the whole world with horror and indignation; but fear restrained open reprobation, while every one maintained their own private opinion.

The common people, however, whose minds are given to change both in point of words and actions, could scarcely be brought to believe it possible, that a prince, who was so humane, candid, and generous, one day, could prove so merciless, false, and bloody, the next, and therefore took upon them the justification of his conduct, and urged, in his defence, the equity of the cause. They stated, that, as to Tiberius his co-heir, the law of nature would not admit of a partner in sovereignty; that it was only an act of prevention to take away the life of a man who would have slain him, had it been in his power; that it could not have been so justly termed homicide, as a favour of Divine Providence, in removing Tiberius for the common good of mankind, to prevent them from being divided into parties, and to escape as well foreign as civil wars, that might follow thereupon; for nothing is more desirable than tranquillity and peace; that peace was the result of good government, that is, a government where no competitions are encouraged by any divisions of the prince.

Their opinion respecting Macro was, that he had become immoderately ambitious, having banished from his mind the Delphic oracle, which enjoins every one to know himself, and would have been the source of his happiness, had he not defeated it by his inattentions and non-compliance; that it was unbecoming a man to arrogate the part of the prince, or strive to reduce the emperor Caius to a level with himself; and that it was the sovereign's province to command, the subjects to obey. In this manner did some illiterate people decant upon wholesome counsels and admonitions, either owing to their resentment, or want of knowledge to distinguish things, and trace effects from their true cause.

Syllanus, in the mean time, was not free from the censure of the envious, who insinuated, that it was absurd in him to suppose or pretend, that a father-in-law was vested with as much authority over his son as a real father; that private citizens, on their sons being advanced to dignified stations, made no scruple of giving them the precedence; that Syllanus discovered gross simplicity and ignorance in intermeddling with affairs that by no means concerned him, not having sense to know that his affinity to the emperor expired with his daughter; for though marriage

marriage connects families for a time, the alliance is dissolved by death.

These observations were handed about to save the emperor's credit as much as possible; for the public having a fixed opinion of his humanity and probity, could not be induced to believe that a total reverse of character could so suddenly be produced.

CHAP. VI.

The excessive ambition of Caius in arrogating Divine honours.

HAVING thus gained his point, in the disputes abovementioned, against three principal parties, and obtained victories over citizens of equestrian and senatorial dignity, and another over one of his own family, Caius supposed that the most powerful being removed out of the way, he should become formidable to all around him. Such, indeed, was his ambition and arrogance, that he could no longer contain himself within any bounds, or even the limits of human nature, but aspired to Divine honours, and was for translating the emperor into a demi-god. The ground of his whimsical pretence was, "that, as the master of other flocks, such as shepherds, herdsmen, and the like, are of a more excellent nature than the beasts, so the supreme governor of men in society ought to be esteemed far more elevated than the scale of human nature, and admitted to rank with the gods."

On his first embracing this opinion, like a man infatuated, he grasped at a romantic tale instead of a true one. At length, having ventured to publish his consecration, he proceeds farther, and ascended by certain gradations. At first he emulated the demi-gods, as Bacchus, Hercules, Castor, Trophœus, Amphiaraus, Amphilocus, and the like. Upon this he was continually changing character and dress, like the mimic in the dramatic scene. At one time he would personate Hercules, with his club and lion's skin; at another he would assume a martial bonnet, and represent Castor. Sometimes he would appear in a fawn's skin, and a thyrsus wrapt in ivy, in imitation of Bacchus. But he reserved to himself this peculiar privilege, that, whereas his fellow demi-gods were content with the honours and ceremonies respectively appropriated to them severally considered, Caius engrossed them all to himself, in order that he might soar above those whom he envied.

But what excited the admiration of his followers was his extraordinary adroitness in metamorphosis; not that he had three bodies, like Geryon, but his transforming one body into so many shapes, like Proteus, whom Homer introduced as turning himself into a variety of appearances, such as elements, animals, and rivers.

But wherefore, O Caius, do you assume the figures and trophies of those images, without imitating the virtues that are respectively ascribed to them? The labours and hazards of Hercules were all employed for the good of mankind, in delivering the world, both at sea and land, from the monsters that infested it. Bacchus cultivated the vine, and extracted a cordial drink, in the juice of the grape, that cheers both the body and mind. It subdues our cares, and soothes our misfortunes. Wine recreates the health, and makes us more active and valiant. It is of singular advantage to private persons, families, and cities; and a cheerful cup is but a transition from labour to rest. The Greeks and barbarians introduced it to crown their festivals, which without it would have been languid, dull, and spiritless.

Of the twins of Jupiter, Castor and Pollux, it is reported that the one gave immortality to the other. For as the one was born subject to mortality, and the other immortal, he whose condition was the happier, chose rather to dispense with his privilege than not discover his love to his brother. Accordingly

he devised an expedient to compound the difficulty, which was by dividing the immortality and mortality of the two brothers equally betwixt them, and fixing two different natures upon the same basis of equity and reason. And this is the very fountain and spring of all justice.

These worthies having distinguished themselves, by their good offices, as the friends of mankind, were upon that score held in profound admiration, and deemed worthy of divine honours. But with respect to Caius, it may be asked, what great or good act he ever performed to entitle him to the honours of a demi-god? To begin with Castor. Instead of emulating the heroic bravery of so generous a friend and brother, he put to death his brother and co-heir in the flower of his age, and condemned his sister to banishment to secure his usurpation. What has he done after the example of Bacchus? Has he produced any invention beneficial to the community? Has he diffused with Bacchus joy and gladness? Do Europe and Asia partake of his munificence? Inventions he has, indeed, discovered, but such as, like an epidemical pestilence, turn joy into mourning, and render mankind weary of their lives. He ransacked the east and west, and all the other regions extending north and south, for their choicest commodities, to satisfy his unbounded avarice, which he returned by taxes and imposts, to make the burden of the oppression intolerable. So much for the imitation of Bacchus.

In like manner did he exhibit a noble portrait of Hercules, by the valiant and indefatigable achievements of his arm, by his wholesome laws, upright determinations, by a plentiful increase of the fruits of the earth, wherewith he blessed the islands and the continent? Might we not rather exclaim, indolent, pusillanimous mortal! who expelled peace and tranquillity from his cities, and rendered the inhabitants mutinous and seditious!

Was Caius desirous of being stiled a god for the abominations and destructions which he brought upon his subjects in general, and that they might be perpetual? I must differ in opinion, persuaded that if he had been admitted to rank with the gods, his sinister and perverse views would have soon dejected him to a level with mortality. If divinity is the consequence of excelling in virtue, it follows that mortality results from being notorious in vice: he could not therefore pretend to the friendship that subsisted between the sons of Jove, who was both an homicide and fratricide. Nor could he partake of the excellent nature either of Hercules or Bacchus, who distinguished themselves by their good offices; whereas he acted in contradiction to every principle of honour and virtue.

CHAP. VII.

The vanity and arrogance of Caius increase, insomuch that he aspires to a more exalted rank amongst the gods of antiquity.

CAIUS at length was actuated by such a degree of infatuation, that, not content with entering into a competition with demi-gods, he proceeded to rival those of an higher class, as Apollo, Mars, and Mercury. He imitated the latter, by assuming an elegant mantle, a caduceus in his hand, and binding winged buskins on his feet. Having laid aside these ornaments, he personated Apollo, encircling his temples with a radiant crown, holding a bow and quiver in his left hand, and the graces in his right, intimating that we should be forward in doing good offices.

Next to this he instituted dances for the singing of Pæans to him who just before was representing Bacchus: for whenever he assumed the habit of this god, they called him *Lævius*, *Libes*, and *Lycæus*. Several times he appeared with a breast-plate, an helmet, a shield, and advanced in a pompous manner, with a sabre drawn, in imitation of Mars. On each side he had a band of homicides, or bravoes, called

called Salii, ready to execute any cruelty he enjoined them, and gratify his savage disposition, that delighted in blood. By these horrid spectacles he struck terror into the people, who were surprized that he should assume the honours of those whose virtues he despised, and content himself only with their ensigns; though these outward habiliments are annexed to the images as intimations of the bounty and goodness of the gods to those that truly love and fear them. For example, to what purpose is Mercury represented with winged buskins? because, being the messenger or ambassador of the gods, (whence he has a Greek appellation that denotes the same,) he is prodigiously swift, and borne along with expanded wings, and surprizing rapidity. He is also depicted with a caduceus, which is the badge of a conciliator or peace-maker: for it is the herald that determines war, either by striking peace, or making treaties: if these means were not admitted, there would be no end put to the hostilities of jarring princes, and injuries and insults would be continued to be committed without controul.

What could be the design of Caius in putting on the winged buskins? Was it to publish the depravity of his principles and conduct throughout all the provinces of the empire? A scandal that, on the contrary, should have been buried in silence. Nor was there a necessity for this rapid course; because, had he not remained upon one spot, he would have poured mischiefs upon mankind, as it were, in a deluge. Why assume the caduceus, that emblem of peace, when he was constantly raising feuds and animosities, and filled every city, Grecian and barbarian, with intestine sedition, and civil discord? Away then with every claim to the character of Mercury. Let us now consider in what instance he resembles Apollo.

He wears, it is true, a radiant crown, the rays of which, representing those of the sun, are beautifully imitated by the artist, as if either the sun, or a general light, pleased him much better than the night, and the thickest darkness, to perpetrate his horrid designs in. Honest and virtuous actions stand in need of the noon-day to render them conspicuous, but base and sinister practices, that will not stand the test, require the thickest darkness to cover them. Let them, therefore, be condemned to the regions of Tartarus, and never see the light. The ensigns he might transpose with the greatest propriety, putting the bow and quiver into his right hand, that he may strike with sure aim at men, women, children, cities, and families, according to custom, and the Graces into his left, unless he had rather scatter them entirely; for it is plainly evident he does but abuse them, in coveting the possessions of other people, and, after having stripped the owners, putting them to death; bringing this calamity upon them because they were rich. As to Apollo's medicinal quality, he manifestly inverts it; for that god was the inventor of salutary remedies, and so well disposed, that he was always ready to heal those disorders of which others had been the cause.

Caius, on the contrary, brought diseases on those that were well, mutilations on those that were sound; and inflicted death, with his own hand, on the living, before nature had determined their time. He made diligent search after several sorts of poisons, whereby, had not the divine justice prevented him, all the best and most virtuous men in every city, under his dominion, had certainly been destroyed. This damnable preparation was designed for the noble and wealthier sort, chiefly the Italians, and those within the metropolis; as there was more gold and silver hoarded up within that compass of ground, than in the whole world beside. Therefore he made his own country the point to aim at, and shewed himself the scourge, the plague, and the destruction of his subjects.

Apollo was likewise as famous for his prophetic mind as his medicinal knowledge, but all his endowments were applied to the benefit of mankind. By his oracles he directed the doubtful, who were in danger of taking good for evil, and kept them

from wavering, or deviating into the paths of error. Nay, his foreknowledge of future events was so certain, that men placed an implicit reliance on the result of their consultations.

If we oppose to these the frivolous oracles of Caius, which prognosticated infamy, confiscations, exile, and death, to all men of rank and merit, what affinity will they appear to bear to those of the true Apollo? Away then with these false Pæans made to imitate those that are genuine; for if the adulteration of coin be deemed criminal, it is much more so to prostitute divine honours.

But nothing could be more ludicrous or contemptible, than for a body and mind, so enervate and effeminate, to rival the strength and fortitude of Mars, and endeavour to impose on the spectators by various and singular appearances, as the mimic does upon the stage. We are no strangers to the courage of Mars. I speak not of the fabulous deity, but of that by which we understand natural fortitude, exerted in behalf of the innocent and oppressed, as is evinced from the original Greek word, which signifies *to help*. Mars has two names: one of them imports a lover of peace, so far as it conduces to the good of the public; and the other a friend to war, that is sure to be attended with bloodshed and confusion.

C H A P. VIII.

Tyranny of Caius towards the Jews for refusing to pay him divine honours.

IT has been rendered sufficiently apparent that Caius had no pretence to rank amongst the gods, either superior or inferior, as there was no kind of affinity betwixt them, either in nature or essence, in inclination or manners. Our desires are often directed by a blind fatality, especially when ambition, and an unbounded liberty, are annexed to them; and this was formerly the ruin of our nation. The Jews were the only people that raised suspicions in the mind of Caius, as most resolute in obstructing his design, because they had been taught, from their infancy, by their parents and preceptors, and chiefly by their divine laws, that there was but one God, the Father and Creator of the Universe. The rest of the world, though under terrible apprehensions for the consequence of his proceedings, were obliged to join the general voice, in extolling that ambitious mortal to the very skies.

Some introduced the manners and customs of the barbarians into Italy, by which the Roman worship and rites were much corrupted. The nation of the Jews, in fact, was the only one that lay under suspicion of opposing the deity of this fantastical emperor. They were known to have resigned themselves voluntarily to death, as if it were but entering upon a state of immortality, rather than suffer an infringement upon the least article of the rites of their country. Because, as we observe in buildings, if one part be wanting, though the rest may seem to stand firm, yet time will moulder it by degrees, till it falls to pieces.

The point in question was no trifle, but of the highest importance: for a man, born mortal, to endeavour to metamorphose himself into the form of an immortal God, is an impiety than which nothing can be more execrable. It opens an inlet to the most enormous crimes, as infidelity and ingratitude to the universal benefactor, who amply distributes his bounties to the whole race of mankind. This was the cause that involved our nation in so destructive a war; for what greater misfortune can befall a servant, than to be subject to a master who is his avowed and professed enemy? Subjects are the servants of emperors; and a mild and lawful government is the happiness of mankind. But the government of Caius rendered the condition of his subjects insupportable. He was a prince without humanity, who knew no other law than his own will, and abrogated all other provisions as superfluous. Of all people under the sun, the state of the Jews was most desperate, under the arbitrary sway of a monster

monster of tyranny, instead of the father of his people.

CHAP. IX.

The horrid outrage of the Alexandrians against the Jews, upon the occasion of the persecution of Caius.

WHEN the tumultuous and seditious people of Alexandria had notice of the rigorous proceedings of Caius towards the Jews, they immediately took advantage of the opportunity of executing a long meditated revenge. Had the emperor permitted, or given express orders for, their violent proceedings, we could not have been more exposed to their rage and fury, or, by the right of war, been more reduced to their power. They massacred us with relentless cruelty; broke into houses, turned men, women, and children out of doors, and plundered and carried off all effects of value. This they did not after the manner of thieves in the night, who act under the apprehension of being detected and brought to justice, but committed their depredations in the very face of the sun, boasting of what they had done, and exposing their plunder with as much confidence as if it had been their legal property. Nay, they formed themselves in bands and companies, who shared in the booty, and divided the spoil in the market-place, while the proprietors looked on, and were grossly reviled and insulted.

It was certainly a hardship in the extreme for men of rank and property, who lived in affluence, to be turned out of their habitations, and exposed to want, and that without a moment's warning, or the least default on their side. But no consideration had weight with those miscreants, who persisted in their outrages, and were more cruel and rapacious than the most savage of the brute creation.

These calamities, however, are more tolerable than those which will appear in the sequel; for they forced, out of every corner of the city, thousands of men, women, and children, like so many sheep, into a narrow place, resembling a cave, making no doubt of finding them, within a few days, a pile of carcases, for want of food or breath, the place being close and smothering, and the air tainted with the frequent respirations of so great a concourse of people. These miserable wretches, when they could no longer sustain the hardships to which they were exposed from hunger and suffocation, betook themselves some towards the sea-side, others to remote burying-places, all desirous of a little pure and wholesome air. Those who were found remaining behind in other parts of the city, or ignorant of the calamities that threatened them, appeared abroad, and were unmercifully treated, either wounded with stones, or beaten to death with clubs. A few out of the number, who were pent up in a narrow corner of the city, were beset with spies, who watched narrowly that none of them privately made their escape, which was naturally to be expected; not so much for their own sakes, as to save their families from perishing by hunger. The Alexandrians kept a strict guard upon that quarter, to prevent their getting away; and as many as they intercepted, they first put to the torture, and then to death, with all the rage and cruelty imaginable.

There was another party of them that lay in ambush about the ports of the river for the Jewish merchants, whose effects they took away in the sight of the owners, and then making piles of the planks of their vessels, burnt many to death. Others were burnt in the midst of the city after a most miserable manner. There being no dry wood to be found, they brought branches that were green and in sap, and having set these on a flame, the poor wretches were thrown in, and endured greater torments from the smoke than the fire, because, from the greenness of the matter, a thick smoky fire arose that burnt but weakly, and was soon extinguished, leaving few or no ashes at all. Several were dragged with cords through the middle of the market-place, amidst the insults of the mob, who spared not even the bodies of the dead, which, with more barbarity than sa-

vage beasts, they cut into pieces, inasmuch that no remains could be found for burial.

The governor of the province, who, by the interposition of his authority, could, in a very short time, have put a stop to the outrages of these miscreants, affected ignorance of the very things he saw and heard, so that having liberty to pursue their measures, they proceeded to acts of greater violence. Having collected themselves into numerous parties, they went to the oratories, or places of prayer, which were in several parts of the city, and either plundered them, cut down the trees about them, or entirely levelled them with the ground. Some they burnt, by throwing fire into them, with so much rage and fury, that the houses adjoining could not escape their destructive hands; as it is difficult to stop a conflagration where there is combustible matter to work upon.

I decline relating an account of the monumental and illustrious memorials of the Roman princes that were made a sacrifice in this conflagration by this frantic mob; shields, crowns, and golden statues, which they ought to have held in veneration. But their fury was beyond all restraint. To fix themselves in the good graces of the emperor as firmly as possible, and promote the execution of his destructive design on the Jews, to whom they knew he was mortally averse, they had recourse to new arts of flattery and insinuation, and thus proceeded.

As there were many of our oratories which they had not been able to set fire to, because of the great number of Jews that dwelt in them, they devised other means of destroying them, together with their rites and manner of worship. They set up the statue of Caius in all of them; but in the greatest and most famous, his statue was raised aloft, but with so much haste, and over-officious duty, that, having no new horses cast, they took out of the gymnasium, or place of exercise, four rusty ones, with their ears, tails, and feet very much worn, which, according to report, had been dedicated to Cleopatra, the last queen of that name. Now the insult committed in this action was palpable. Was it according to the rules of decorum to dedicate to a Roman emperor, who endeavoured to emulate a god, what had been erected to the honour of a woman; things that were foreign to the purpose, and had been the ensigns of another? Were not they fearful of incurring the displeasure of Caius, by honouring him with such a gift; an emperor passionate, and one who had arrogated to himself all honours, and those the most splendid and magnificent? However, for this famous action, they were in hopes of obtaining praise, and greater favour than they had hitherto done. They changed, however, their oratories into new temples, and increased the number of temples that were dedicated to Caius, not so much to honour him in the action, as to gratify their own passions, in wreaking their vengeance by any means upon the Jews, as can be rendered evident. It is observable, that, during the reign of ten kings, whom they count in succession for three hundred years, not one of them had a statue dedicated to him in the oratories, though they gave these very princes the title of gods in their inscriptions, and for what reason? because they certainly knew that they were men, since, among their deities, they have abundance of creatures, belonging to land and water, as well as birds of the air, with whose altars, temples, and groves, all Egypt is well stocked.

But as these people are the grossest of flatterers, and court princes for their fortunes rather than their persons, they might say, perhaps, that, as emperors are greater and more considerable than the Ptolemies, so it is but reasonable they should have more honour done them. A most ridiculous pretence! Why did they not decree the same honours to Augustus before Caius, who stood indebted to him for the empire? a prince who, for the whole space that he held the government, never occasioned one war, either in Greece or Barbary, but every place, to his death, enjoyed the sweets of peace, and the tranquillity of a quiet government. Was noble descent an

obstacle to his preferment? Evidently otherwise; for he was much superior to Caius, both by father and mother. Was he inferior in point of erudition? It is denied; for none of his contemporaries could pretend to more learning or prudence. Could any valid objection be founded on his advanced age? Far from it; for he not only gave signal proofs of his understanding in early life, but was eminent for the continuance of his abilities in its decline. Yet such a character must be passed over in silence, while one, in every instance of merit deficient, arrogates a claim to being deified. Augustus was a virtuous man, and virtue, according to the maxim of the greatest philosophers in every age, is the only hability. He obtained the venerable name of Augustus, not as an hereditary honour transmitted from his ancestors, but as due to his personal merit, and thence descending to his posterity.

The whole world seemed to contend for sovereignty when he came to the empire. The maritime and Mediterranean provinces, under the conduct of each Roman general, distinguished for his dignity and honor, were parties in the famous struggle. The vast countries and regions of the world followed one another, and engaged in the grand decisive battle that was to award the globe to the conqueror. The remotest nations were roused to partake of the two interests, one side or the other; and the land and sea joined their forces; so that during this grand revolution, almost all mankind had been swallowed up in the destruction and mutual defeats that were given by either side, had not one man, a prince of an august family, come in time, and given his assistance when affairs were at the last gasp. This prince was Cæsar, who, after he had driven back the storm that raged on every side, restored a perfect calm to the afflicted race of mankind, who remedied the public calamities that visited both the Greeks and barbarians, that, beginning at east and south, diffused their baleful influence to the west and north, while the countries that lay betwixt them were exposed to all manner of evils. This was he that restored liberty to all the provinces, and freed them from their chains. This was he who removed not only the fear of wars, but also all manner of depredation and plunder. This was he who scoured the sea of pirates, and caused it to be navigated by vessels of merchandize; who brought order out of confusion, and reduced the most barbarous and inhospitable of nations to a social and benevolent disposition. He gave large immunities to the Grecian cities, and annexed to Greece the richest and best situated countries of the barbarians. He maintained peace, administered justice, and scattered his bounties amongst the people in so generous a profusion, that they wanted for nothing; and this was his course and practice to the end of his days. Yet, after all these obligations to so great and glorious a benefactor during his auspicious reign, there was never heard of any such things as statues or images to his honour in any of their oratories: though, if any mortal had a right to such extraordinary tokens of respect, it was certainly this prince; not only as the founder of the august Imperial family, and the best deserving of all mankind, but as taking the power out of many hands into one, and assuming the conduct of it himself: for it is a very just maxim, "that many voices are the cause of many mischiefs." Besides, the whole world had decreed him divine honours, such as temples, groves, porticos, more beautiful than which, none, either ancient or modern, were ever seen in any cities, particularly that temple dedicated to Cæsar in Alexandria, under the name of Sebaste, a piece incomparably transcending all others. It stands situate opposite a most commodious harbour, very high, and large in proportion. It is an eminent land-mark, full of choice paintings and statues, with donations in abundance. It is ornamented with gold and silver. The model is curious and regular in the disposition of the parts, as galleries, libraries, porches, courts, walks, and consecrated groves, magnificent and elegant as expense and art could render them. Can it then reasonably be supposed, that, amidst so universal a consent of nations, any thing was wanting that was justly

due to the honour of Cæsar, without setting up statues in the Jewish oratories? Why therefore were they omitted? Without prevarication for this reason.

They were so well convinced of the generosity and justice of Cæsar, that they were persuaded he would be as tender of the rights and privileges of the several provinces as of the Roman ceremonies. He received these honours from blind flatterers, not from any principle of approbation, but because the dignity of the empire seemed to require it, as these acts procure a veneration for government. That he was never elated by these obsequious duties, is evident from his never suffering himself to be addressed in the style of the gods, so great was his aversion to so servile a way of adulation. Nay, he declared his satisfaction with the Jews' refusal to comply with that abominable practice. He would never else have suffered so considerable a part of the city beyond the Tiber to be inhabited by Jews, and the greater part of them freemen too, that is men, who, having been prisoners of war, were set at liberty by their masters, and permitted to live according to the laws and religion of their country. He was no stranger to the nature of their oratories, and their worship on the sabbath days, conformably to the practice of their forefathers. He knew likewise that they collected their first fruits, and sent them to Jerusalem, together with certain ministers, who obtained sacrifices for them; yet he neither expelled them the city, or punished them otherwise, as he might have done. In Palestine itself they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, without check or restraint. Nor did he prohibit them from holding the assemblies where they taught their laws; nor, by any edict or proclamation, annul their solemn custom of sending and offering their first fruits. On the contrary, he held our worship in such veneration, that many of his domestics presented gifts which are extant in our temple, wherein he commanded victims to be offered every day, at his own charge, to the Most High God. These solemnities are still performed, and will so continue as a lasting monument of the virtues of this excellent emperor. Upon all occasions of distributing money and corn amongst the people, he was pleased to order the Jews their proportion; and if the day for dispensing it happened on the sabbath, when we are not allowed to give nor receive, the officers were commanded to reserve their share till the next day. This generous care so enhanced the reputation of the Jews, that it kept their enemies in awe, and deterred them from violating their customs and rites.

The Jews were likewise favoured with the sanction of Tiberius, though Sejanus endeavoured to irritate him against them, and to involve Italy in new commotions. But Tiberius, on the death of the traitor, discovered that the crimes he had laid to the charge of the Jews were mere calumnies, and that his principal design was to remove them out of the way, as the men most likely of all others to oppose his wicked measure, and the scheme he had concerted to take away the life of the emperor. In consequence of this, orders were dispatched to all the governors of provinces, to treat such of the Jews, as appeared to retain their allegiance, with lenity; so that, upon the whole, no innovation was made within the tribes; but, on the other hand, they were commended as lovers of peace, while laws of morality tended to establish the public tranquillity.

C H A P. X.

Caius is exasperated against the Jews of Alexandria by the artful insinuations of an Egyptian, called Helico.

CAIUS was at length so puffed up with ambition and vanity, that he believed himself to be the god he pretended; and, amongst all his subjects, Greeks or barbarians, none were so inclined to countenance the phrenzy, as the people of Alexandria, who are certainly addicted, in the highest degree,

gree, to dissimulation, flattery, and hypocrisy. They possess the arts of prevarication and insinuation; and are highly qualified for raising public commotions, and overturning a system or good government. Those who wish to form an idea of the veneration they have for the name of God, need only reflect that their asps, and several other creatures, are honoured with it: therefore, as they are so prodigal of this sacred name, they impose on the timorous, and such as are not acquainted with their horrid impiety; but to such as are duly informed, and rightly estimate things, it is as open as the day.

Caius, ignorant of this, was so infatuated as to believe that the Alexandrians held him to be a god; for such was their dissimulation, that there was no apparent difference betwixt the false worship and the true, the acclamations and external formalities being the very same. Thus misled, he imagined the innovations they brought into the oratories to be the pure result of their minds, and a strong desire to please him. He had frequent accounts sent him from Alexandria of these transactions; nor could any poem, written in celebration of him, afford him such pleasure; and, to add to his satisfaction, the intelligence was conveyed to him by one of his domestics, who well knew how to gratify the humour of his master. The greater part of the creatures about him were Egyptians, a vile, abject herd, trained up in the worship of serpents and crocodiles, and totally corrupted in mind and body. Of this Egyptian band one Helico was the principal, a sordid slave, who, by subtle arts, had crept into the palace. He had received his education under a former master, who presented him to Tiberius Cæsar. But the turn of that prince being rather grave and serious, and Helico's talent confined to ribaldry, instead of affording him entertainment, he excited his disgust; for that emperor, even in his guilt, had an aversion to things light and trivial. But, on the demise of Tiberius, and the succession of Caius to the imperial throne, Helico consoled himself, from the character of his new master, with a promising view of working him up to a subserviency of his utmost wishes.

This subtle miscreant now ruminated in his mind that the time was at hand in which he should exert himself. He was conscious that he possessed talents adapted to the disposition of his present master, and that his peculiar turn for joke, banter, whim, and repartee, would gain upon him. He knew that his ears were open both to adulation and calumny, that the laws and ceremonies of the Jews was a forcible subject to work upon, and therefore determined to avail himself of those objections to them, which he had begun to acquire from his earliest infancy.

Such was the design this sycophant and impostor intended to prosecute to alienate the mind of Caius from the Jews, in the prosecution of which he used every artifice that was practicable. He did not deem it expedient to behave openly in this affair, but acted under covert; and, through the disguise of hint and allusion, did the Jews more injury than he could have done in quality of a professed enemy.

This was no sooner known to the ambassadors from Alexandria, than they made it their business to bring Helico over to their interest, by present gifts, and large promises of treasure and honour, as soon as Caius should come to Alexandria. Helico was extremely pleased with the reflection of the respect he was to receive in the presence not only of his master, but of so many eminent persons as would be sure to appear from all quarters upon so solemn an occasion, and in veneration of so great a prince; so that he promised himself the accomplishment of his utmost wishes.

The attention of the Jews had been hitherto so taken up by known and open enemies, that they never suspected the danger of a secret one in the person of Helico. But when they came to be convinced of their mistake, they endeavoured to soothe him by fair words, as the man whom of all others they had most reason to dread. He was the emperor's constant companion at all his exercises and enter-

tainments; indeed, in every scene of sensual pleasure. Being principal of all his attendants, he had the entire command of his ear; and as he was free from other avocations, he had constant opportunity of poisoning his mind with fables, interspersed with detraction and ribaldry, calculated at once to amuse and prejudice him against our nation. His apparently principal aim was the pleasure of the prince, but this in reality was transient; for the main scope of this pernicious slave's intention was to throw oblique accusations, in order to ruin us in his opinion. At length he seemed to have laid aside the mask, employed the whole force of his battery against us, and plied his artillery with such address, as could not fail to work a most powerful impression on the mind of the emperor.

CHAP. XI.

The Jews of Alexandria send deputies to the emperor Caius Cæsar to complain of their grievances. Philo is appointed chief of the embassy.

THE Jews exerted their utmost endeavours to soothe Helico, and dispose him in their favour; but finding him remain intolerably proud and inaccessible, they let that project fall, and bethought themselves of another expedient, which seemed no less necessary, and yet to promise a better effect, not knowing at this time, but that the malicious designs of Helico might arise from some personal and particular pique. They came to a determination of presenting Caius with a petition and remonstrance on their grievances, with a prayer for relief annexed. This petition was no more than an abstract of a longer address, that was delivered a little before to king Agrippa, who fortunately put into Alexandria in his way to Syria, to take possession of a kingdom conferred upon him by the emperor. We were thus far advanced in our way towards Rome, under a great mistake, as it appeared; for whereas we made no doubt of finding Caius a prince of honour and justice, he proved, on the contrary, our most implacable enemy; though, in words and countenance, he assumed the mask of a generous friend. Our first reception was in the Campus Martius, where he complimented us with his right hand, to indicate that he was propitious. He sent a person to us, whose office was to receive all ambassadors, to inform us he would take cognizance of our cause at leisure; from whence people in general, both Jews and strangers, concluded that the purport of our embassy was as good as accomplished. But wisdom and experience taught me better than to judge from appearances, so that I was inclined to suspect that with which others seemed so highly pleased. These reflections passed in my mind: "What can the emperor mean, when ambassadors from almost every nation in the world are here, by saying he will give audience to us only? He is not a stranger that we are Jews, and would be satisfied with being put upon an equality with the rest. It might be the height of phrenzy in us to hope for such a privilege from a youth who is a stranger to us, and a prince of absolute authority. He must be more favourably disposed towards the people of Alexandria, and for their sakes he presses the matter to our issue. I sincerely wish that the parties may find an impartial judge in him, and that he may not prove a patron to them, and an enemy to us."

CHAP. XII.

Caius orders Petronius, governor of Syria, to set up his statue in the temple of Jerusalem. Information is brought to Philo and his colleagues.

WHILE I harboured these reflections in my breast, I was surprized with a dismal accident, that boded destruction not only to the Jews, but all

all mankind. As it was dangerous to address the emperor, we followed him out of town to Puteoli, whither he went to take the air at the sea-side, and divert himself from place to place, visiting divers towns and villas, which are there very numerous and splendid. During our abode there, in daily expectation of an audience, a person came to us trembling, out of breath, with his eyes swollen, and having beckoned us aside, as it were out of hearing, demanded, in slow accent, if we had heard any news? With this he endeavoured to discover something, but a flood of tears put a stop to his speech. He attempted it again and again, and was still prevented, till at length, alarmed at so horrid a spectacle, we entreated him to acquaint us with the reason of his coming, as we could not suppose it was merely for the sake of weeping; adding a request, that, if there was cause for mourning, we might bear our part in an exercise to which we had been long accustomed. At length, after many deep fetched sighs, he said, "Our temple is doomed to destruction: Caius has commanded his image to be set up in the sanctuary, with the inscription of the name of Jupiter." This affecting information struck us with amazement; we stood like persons mute and senseless; the truth of it was quickly confirmed by other messengers. At length we withdrew into our apartment, shut ourselves up, and consoled our misfortunes, public and private, with uncommon dejection of mind.

After a long fatigue, we repented of having exposed ourselves to the hazards of raging seas, to petition for a redress of injuries to which we were every day liable, without knowing but a greater and more terrible tempest than what we had suffered at sea hung over our heads upon land. The last storm was no more than the consequence of a natural cause, which distinguishes the seasons; for the works of nature are but, in other words, the operations of Providence to promote the common good of mankind. But the author of this tempest had nothing good or humane in him; he was a turbulent and ambitious youth, and so much the more dangerous in having the power of the whole empire to support him. Who could have courage enough to approach him with a petition, or open his mouth in behalf of the temple to the most sacrilegious of all men living? It would be repugnant to common sense to expect mercy out of cruelty, and to place the hope of preservation in the breasts of persecutors. It was sufficiently apparent that he would condemn every one who had refrained from doing honours to that famous temple, which the east and west worshipped as religiously as if it had been the sun. Besides, if an audience had been granted, what could be expected but certain death? In this dilemma I thus addressed my colleagues:

"Why should not we die then, especially when he that lays down one life for the laws and religion of his country, is sure of a life more glorious in exchange? But he must be a madman that casts away a life at this rate, which no body is the better for. So that such an instance as this would but be the addition of one more to the roll of our former calamities; especially, as we are under the characters of ambassadors, and in a point where the principals are more concerned than the deputies. Nor shall we want envious and malignant spirits, and of our own people, to make the worst of things, and to impute any glorious resolution to a wrong cause. The ambassadors, they will say, found themselves at a crisis, and so quitted their station, deserting the commonwealth when they found it in danger, in order to the promoting of their own private interest. But the less must give way to the greater, private matters to public; and wherever this order is broken or confounded, the whole government is at stake, and out of frame. In one word, where the polity of the Jews comes once to be subjected to the question, it is a step towards abolishing the very name of the nation, where there is an agreement of power and good will in the doing it. We cannot, in fine, abandon the Alexandrian Jews, for the whole nation of the Jews is here at stake;

No. 43.

"and it is to be feared, that this cruel oppression will extirpate us all from off the face of the earth. It will be said, perhaps, that, if we can make nothing of it either way, we are at liberty to come off at last, in case of the worst. To this I answer, he that makes such a proposition has neither courage or foundation in scripture in him. Generous natures will hope the best, and holy writ lays the foundation of that hope to all those that heartily embrace the doctrine. Who knows now, at last, but this may be for a trial of our constancy and virtue in the worst of fortunes? Adieu then to all worldly comforts and supports; they are false and fickle, and leave us when we have most need of them. Adieu, I say, to vain confidences; and let us cast ourselves in a firm and lively faith upon the goodness of God, who hath so often delivered us already, and will never forsake us." After this manner we comforted ourselves, and one another, in all cases of surprize, and in the hopes of better times.

Pausing after this address, we applied ourselves to the bearer of this dismal news. "You do not consider (we told him) that what you have said is but as so many live coals thrown into our ears as you have uttered words; for you have only told us the matter of fact, which tends nothing to our satisfaction without the reason of it, and without knowing what it was that led the emperor into this horrid resolution."

The bearer thus replied: "To tell you that which every body knows, Caius has a mind to pass for a god; and looking upon the Jews as the only people likely to oppose him in his blasphemous pretence, he resolved, if possible, to remove that obstacle out of the way, towards facilitating the work. This could not be better done, he thought, than by beginning with a contempt and indignity upon the holy temple, which was allowed, at all hands, to be the most glorious piece in the universe, both for ornament, and a vast treasure, in presents and oblations, which had been so many years in collecting, and which Caius, in the conclusion, had the confidence to assume to himself. Besides, he was now further exasperated by Capito, the quaistor; which Capito was also the receiver of the tributes in Judæa, and a man that, by his actions and oppressions, had made himself odious to all the provinces. He came thither poor; and when he had so enriched himself by fraud and corruption, that he was afraid of being called to an account, he found it his best way to complain first, and to prevent an accusation of calumny, by the improvement of an opportunity that lay fair for his purpose.

"Jamnia is a city of Judæa, wonderfully populous, and the inhabitants all Jews, some few strangers excepted, that, to our cost, came thither out of the bordering countries to see fashions: besides that, they are never without some plot or other against the laws and customs of the Jews. As soon as these people came to understand the extravagant ambition of Caius after divine honours, and his deadly malice to the whole Jewish nation, they caused an altar to be erected of clay wrought into bricks, out of pure spite to the citizens: for they well knew that this violation of our laws would prove the ground of a quarrel, and so they found it; for the Jews gathered together presently, and demolished the altar; the other party applying themselves to Capito for redress. Capito was the author and contriver of the whole tragedy; and consoling himself to see every thing succeed so to his wish, he sent an account of it immediately to Caius, with inflaming aggravations to make the matter look worse than it was. This arrogant, headstrong prince had no sooner received the intelligence, than he gave orders for erecting a glorious Colossus in the temple of Jerusalem, in revenge of the brick altar that was pulled down in Jamnia: and this was done by the counsel of his two advisers, Helico, the

court

"court buffoon, and Apelles, the tragedian, who, from a libertine in his youth, went over afterwards to be an actor upon the stage; a sort of people that are looked upon, in their theatrical liberties, to be the loosest and the most shameless of all professions. These were the men that Caius pitched upon to instruct him in the arts of singing and raillery, without so much as ever thinking of the duties of justice, and the care of maintaining the public peace. Thus did Helico, like a scorpion, attack the Jews with Egyptian venom, and Apelles, at the same time, as an Ascalonite; that is to say, as a member of a nation that is never to be reconciled to the bordering Jews."

Every word of this wounded us to the very soul. However, these learned counsellors lived to receive the reward due to their impious actions. Apelles was commanded by Caius, on several crimes being exhibited against him, to be laid in irons, and put to exquisite torture at particular intervals, and so consequently to a lingering death. Helico was afterwards put to death by Claudius, successor to Caius, for crimes of the like nature.

C H A P. XIII.

Petronius finds great difficulty in executing the command of Caius for erecting his statue in the temple of Jerusalem.

AT this time arrived the order of Caius for erecting and consecrating his statue, drawn up not rashly, but with all the care and accuracy possible. Petronius, governor of Syria, was expressly commanded to draw out one half of the army that lay upon the river Euphrates, as a guard of defence against any inroads and incursions of the eastern kings and nations, and with these troops to attend the statue, not for the solemnity of the dedication, but for a terror to any that should dare to oppose him. "Cruel prince! who well knew that these people would rather die a thousand deaths than submit to such an imposition. Wherefore then bring out an army, but to consecrate the impious act with the blood of many thousand innocents?"

Petronius having perused the order, was divided within himself as to the execution of the commission. There was danger in refusing, and danger in delaying; besides infinite difficulties, on the other hand, in case of compliance; for he made no doubt of the Jews standing out all extremities, and encountering all hazards. Nations in general are tender and jealous of their privileges and customs, but the Jews are particularly so, as they believe their laws to be of a divine stamp, and are trained up to the love and study of them from their infancy. They are forcibly impressed on their minds; and the more they think of them, the greater reverence they have for them. They treat all their proselytes with the privileges of free citizens; and the veneration they have for the dignity of their profession is so sacred, that they would rather part with any thing than the minutest point of their duty. But there is nothing which they hold in so much esteem as their temple, which appears from the law, that makes it death, without mercy, for any man to set foot within the sanctuary, while the exterior part is open to all of their own nation from whatever quarter they come.

This was a matter of such great importance, that Petronius bethought himself over and over upon it, without coming to any resolution. He called a kind of council in his own mind, and, upon summoning up divers arguments and opinions, this was the result: That there must be no innovation in matters of religion; first, because nature and equity are both against it; secondly, for fear of unhappy consequences, not only from God himself, but the passions of violent, revengeful men. He also adverted to the prodigious extent of this populous nation, that was not comprehended within the space of one country, but diffused almost throughout the

world. All the provinces of the continent, and the islands, were peopled with them; so that their numbers were not much inferior to that of the natives. To provoke, therefore, so many myriads of men, must appear hazardous; for a general insurrection might probably arise in all countries at once, to repel this injury, and thereby give birth to an insuperable war; without taking notice of the vast numbers of inhabitants in Judæa, remarkable for their extraordinary strength and mighty valour, being ready, at all times, to die gloriously, rather than abandon or forsake the rites of their country; though, in the opinion of detractors, they are called barbarous, when, in fact, they are free born, and brave men.

The governor entertained jealousy also of the troops on the other side of the Euphrates, as Babylon, and several other provinces, he knew to be in the interest of the Jews. He was well assured that large sums of money were annually remitted to the temple in the name of first fruits, through passages difficult and dangerous, which their piety and resolution rendered easy. He had therefore reason to apprehend, that, as soon as they heard of this new dedication, they would immediately rise up in arms, beset, surround, and cut them to pieces.

When Petronius had revolved these particulars in his mind, he reflected a little on the humour and character of his master. He considered that the person under whose command he was to act, was a young prince, whose will being his law, it was dangerous to oppose, whether right or wrong: that should he obey the command of the emperor, fierce war would be the consequence, and the event precarious. On the other hand, should he disregard the royal mandate, his destruction must answer for it at the hands of Caius.

C H A P. XIV.

Petronius, governor of Syria, gives orders for making the statue of the emperor Caius. The principal of the Jews refuse to receive it. They send deputies to remonstrate with Petronius upon the occasion, and to prevent the execution of Caius's order.

MANY of the Roman officers, who served under Petronius in the government of Syria, were inclined to undertake a war, taking it for granted, that the rage of the prince would fall upon them first as the authors of a sedition. What gave them opportunity for this was, their having time to deliberate matters whilst the statue was preparing; for it was not yet sent over from Italy. This seems to have been a special act of Providence in favour of the Jews, to protect them from an insufferable injury. Had this happened, the consequences would have been dreadful. Confusion and disorder would have immediately broke out in the violation of their laws, before they could have consulted on due methods of proceeding; for sudden events despoil the force of reason.

Petronius, at length, gave orders for a statue to be fabricated in a place not far from his residence, and sent for the greatest masters of Phœnicia to advise withal about it, and, on their coming, supplied them with the necessary materials, appointing Sidon as the place for the work. He sent notice, likewise, of the emperor's pleasure to the high priests and magistrates of the Jews, advising them patiently to submit to the mandate of his master, and guard against the ills that threatened them on their refusal. He acquainted them that he had a numerous army of Syrians at hand, who were prepared to lay waste the whole country with fire and sword. Petronius was of opinion, that, if he could but soften the minds of these grandees, the multitude of courtiers would follow their example. But he was grossly mistaken in his conjecture; for the bare mention of the affair threw them into such consternation, that they burst into a profusion of tears, and, after expressing every token of lamentation, thus exclaimed: "What
avails

avails all our former felicity, to arrive, at an advanced period of life, to be eye-witnesses of that which none of our ancestors beheld before? But we will sooner deprive ourselves of those eyes than survey so great an abomination."

The report of this strange innovation no sooner reached Jerusalem, and the region of Judæa, than the people, all as one man, proceeded towards Phœnicia, where Petronius then resided. The officers of the Roman governor, upon first sight of their prodigious multitude, advised him to take care of his own security. As the Jews advanced still nearer and nearer, they appeared as a cloud overspreading the country, but without either arms or guards. The air was filled with outcries and lamentations; and when the noise was gone, the echo still continued. At length, when the clamour ceased, they entertained themselves with discourses and ejaculations suitable to the melancholy occasion. They marched in six divisions, old men, young men, and boys; old women, young women, and virgins; three on the one hand, and three on the other.

When they came within sight of Petronius, who was seated in a chair of state, they fell prostrate before him, all in their ranks as supplicants, observing such decorum in their action, as if they had been actuated by one spirit. Petronius commanded them to rise and draw near, which they obeyed with much reluctance. At length, covered with sackcloth and ashes, they advanced towards the governor, with their hands behind them, like condemned prisoners, when one of their chiefs thus addressed him:

"We are without arms, to shew that we bring no hostile intention with us; but those hands, that nature gave us for the use of arms, are put out of condition to serve us in that capacity. We bring our very bodies at mercy too, our wives, children, and families, in quality of petitioners; first to Petronius, and then, by his means, to Caius. We have not left one soul at home; and our prayer is either that we may be all preserved, or all destroyed. We are naturally lovers of peace; and it is our interest, as well as our inclination, so to be, in regard to benefits we receive from it. When Caius came to the empire, and the notice of it to Vitellius, your predecessor in the government, at that time living among us, we were the first of all Syria to congratulate his accession to the sovereignty, and to spread the joyful news of his elevation throughout other cities and places. Was it not our temple also that first offered up vows and sacrifices for the happiness of his life and reign? and is ours to be the first, if not the only temple, that is to be deprived of the exercise and enjoyment of our religious worship? If the quitting of our houses, privileges, and possessions, public and private, may be worth your acceptance, we are ready to lay them all at your feet. Also our plate, household goods, or what is more precious, you may have it all for asking; and with so good an heart, that we shall reckon ourselves upon the receiving hand, even in what we give upon this single condition, that the temple may stand as it did, and continue inviolate, as we received it from our forefathers. Grant us this single request, and we ask no more. But if nothing less than our religion will content you, take away our lives too, without forcing us upon a life of torment, worse than a thousand deaths. We are threatened here with armed troops and military executions, if any of us shall presume to obstruct the intended dedication. No man is so mad as to set himself up in contradiction to his master; but let them strike, cut, and hack us to pieces, and do all that a victorious enemy can pretend to, so long as they may do it securely, without any danger of their own blood. What needs an army to be drawn out for such an execution, where there is only a massacre on the one side, and not so much as a defence on the other? As for sacrifices, we may do the work of our own priests ourselves; upon the victims of our own wives, brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters, and content ourselves with the denomina-

tion of men, women, and children slayers; for hard cases must have hard names. What have we to do, after spilling so much innocent blood of other people, but to lay violent hands upon ourselves, and mingle our own with it in one common mass? ending our days, at last, with this prayer in our mouths, that God will not be offended with us for an action that carries along with it so great a deference to the authority of the emperor, and at the same time to the sanctity of our holy profession. This will be the case, if we have hearts to condemn a life that a good man would be ashamed to lead. There is an old story among the Greek fables of Gorgon's head, that turned every thing to stone that did but look upon it. The report, it is true, is but a fiction, and yet not without some emblematical and striking resemblances of truth, especially in many accidents of astonishment and surprize. The displeasure of a master is mortal, or somewhat else that comes near it. Now, Petronius, do you imagine, if some of our people should see such a statue brought into the temple, as you have here before you, (which heaven forbid,) they would not look like men turned into marble at the spectacle? their eyes set in their heads, and nature itself out of condition for all the offices of life? But to come to a conclusion; we do not desire an absolute discharge of our obedience, but time and leave only to address ourselves, by our deputies, to his imperial majesty for relief. Who knows but he may be wrought upon to grant us a toleration of our holy laws and worship, and a liberty in common with the rest of the world? For we ask no more than what all other nations enjoy without exception, in the preservation of those rites and traditions that we have received inviolate from our forefathers, in favour both of customs and manners. Who knows, I say, but such a remonstrance as this may soothe him? The hearts of princes are variable, like those of other people; neither is their displeasure immortal. We are wounded here with calumnies; and there is no remedy like truth, which is all we have to offer, and that we may not be condemned without an hearing; or, to put it at worst, if we should find the prince inexorable, the cause is but where it was; for he may still do the same thing afterward, that he would have done before. Our last request, Petronius, in the names of this vast multitude, is, that you would be so generous as not to oppose an embassy that has so many thousands of lives depending upon it; and be pleased to know that we do not contend for profit (but for piety) in any other sense than as *godliness is the greatest gain*."

CHAP. XV.

Petronius applies to Caius concerning the Jews. Diffimulation of the emperor.

THIS remonstrance, in behalf of the Jews, was uttered with such ardour and emotion of mind, that it moved the compassion of all that heard it, as appeared by their looks and gestures. It wrought likewise upon Petronius among the rest; for the governor was a man of a mild and gentle disposition, and easily prevailed upon either by words or actions. The Jews were thought to ask nothing but what was fair and equitable, and the sight of the petitioning multitude was truly affecting. Entering into a consultation with his friends, he found that many, who just before were rigidly against the petitioners, were divided; some disposed to favour them, others undetermined as to the matter; which difference of temper highly pleased him. He was sensible, at the same time, of the implacable spirit of the emperor, and the innate barbarity of his mind, yet he seemed much actuated by a regard for the piety and religion of the Jews.

We cannot determine by what motives he was thus influenced in favour of the Jews; whether he had been at any time instructed in their learning, and imbibed some notions from their books, since he had obtained the government of Asia and Syria,

in the several towns of which the Jews resided in abundance; or whether he acted as a man whose genius led him to the study and knowledge of things in general; or whether God suggests good counsel to good men for the common benefit of themselves and the public, as it fell out upon this occasion. The statuary had their orders to provide as perfect a figure as art and hands could make, but not to hasten, as works expedited are seldom of any duration, whereas perfect models endure time and age.

The Jews, however, could not obtain leave to send deputies; nor, indeed, was it safe for them to commit an affair of this importance to the will of a prince, at once powerful, cruel, and fantastical; so that Petronius found it dangerous either to grant or refuse. At length he determined on sending a letter to Caius, without any accusation of the Jews; and imputing the cause of the delay of the dedication to the artists, who necessarily required a certain space of time to complete the statue. It occurred likewise to the governor, that such delays would inevitably occasion a longer respite, and that Caius, in the mean time, might suffer himself to be gained over. Besides, the grain was now ripe, and there was reason to fear that the Jews, abandoning themselves to despair for the sake of their religion, would push on their violence in contempt of their lives, destroy the harvest, and lay the whole country waste.

This was no idle apprehension; so that early care was taken, by Petronius, for reaping the grain, and gathering the fruits; partly by way of prevention, and partly for a public supply in case of need. It was at that time reported, that the emperor had some design of a visit to Alexandria; though it did not seem very probable that so great a prince should expose himself to the dangers of very tempestuous seas, with so prodigious a train, when the way about, by the rout of Asia and Syria, would have been much easier and safer. Had he taken this method, he might have embarked or disembarked at pleasure; having, at command, two hundred vessels for the use and service of the coasts, besides others, of considerable burthen, for navigating the ocean.

In consequence of this report, all the cities of Syria were under a necessity of procuring a sufficient store of provision, especially those on the sea-coast. A prodigious multitude was expected to come, not only from Rome, but other parts of Italy, besides numbers from the provinces that lay between, and those of all conditions, as men of rank, civil and military, together with soldiers, mariners, and servants; for all of whom there was not only required necessary accommodation, but a supply of every thing suitable to the dignity of so illustrious a prince.

It was the general opinion of those whom Petronius consulted upon the occasion, that the emperor, on perusing the contents of the letter, would commend the prudence of deferring the dedication; not so much for the sake of gratifying the Jews, as the advantage of securing the harvest. The letter, in fine, was approved, transcribed, and dispatched with all possible expedition. Caius no sooner inspected it, than he betrayed a visible indignation; and at length burst out into this exclamation.

"Well, Petronius! you are yet to learn obedience to an emperor. Your continuance in office swells your ambition. You know not that I am persuaded of your partiality for the laws of the Jews, a nation to me most obnoxious. You neglect the command of your prince. You shew yourself a coward to a base multitude, when you have a power under your command sufficient to encounter the kings of Parthia, and the whole force of the east. You urge compassion for neglect of duty, and plead the harvest as an excuse; but it shall not be long before your head shall pay the forfeit. You likewise adduce, by way of palliating your disobedience, the gathering in of the fruits, as though, if Judæa were barren, the bordering provinces were not able to supply provisions, or make up

"the deficiency of a country, which is but one government, with all their increase. But why do I deign to reason upon this business? or why suspend the execution of my menaces on a miscreant that deserves my highest displeasure?"

After some pause, Caius determined to dissemble his anger for a time; and therefore dictated, to one of his secretaries, an answer to Petronius, apparently in commendation of the governor's foresight and precaution. He was fearful of some of his governors, lest they should introduce innovations, especially in large provinces, such as the track of land comprehending Syria to the Euphrates; so that having cajoled Petronius, in this letter, with formalities of respect, and fair words, he only concealed his resentment, which was implacable, till a fit opportunity should offer for shewing it; though he enjoined him, at all events, to attend to the dedication of the statue, in preference to all other pursuits.

CHAP. XVI.

King Agrippa comes to Rome, and is greatly affected on hearing of the dedication of the statue. His elaborate epistle to the emperor upon the occasion.

SOON after this king Agrippa came to Rome, to pay his duty to the emperor, after his usual manner, without any knowledge of what had passed between Petronius and Caius. However, from the emperor's clouded visage, he conjectured that some resentment lurked and was brooding in his breast. He considered with himself if he had not, either in word or action, offended him; but, being unconscious of any misdemeanor, he concluded, as was really the case, that his resentment was against others. Yet perceiving again that his stern aspect was directed at him, he fell into his former apprehensions. He was several times desirous of enquiring the cause, but as often put a restraint upon himself, lest his rash curiosity should bring upon his own head those menaces which were designed for others.

Caius, who was very expert in reading the mind in the visage, observing Agrippa fearful, thus addressed him: "Agrippa, I perceive you are in doubt, and will therefore remove your scruples. You cannot be ignorant, from the long time you have conversed with me, that I discourse with my eyes as well as with my tongue. The good people of your nation encroach a distinction from the rest of mankind, refuse Caius the honour of being stiled a god, and, in their contumacious disobedience, plunge themselves into certain destruction. It is my positive command to have the statue of Jupiter set up in their temple, and now multitudes are assembled from all quarters, under the pretext of supplicants, but, in reality, to trample my orders under their feet."

As the emperor was proceeding, king Agrippa suddenly changed colour, was seized with a total trepidation, and his legs failed him to that degree, that, without support, he must have fallen to the ground. He was at length conveyed to his apartment speechless, and almost motionless.

Caius, by this accident, was more exasperated against the Jews, and from it drew this inference. "If Agrippa, my familiar friend, who is indebted to me for so many good offices, has so great a veneration for the rites of his country, that he cannot hear a word against them without being affected almost to death, what must I expect from others, who have no consideration of that kind to prevail with them in my favour?"

Agrippa all that day was in a kind of stupor, till towards the evening he began to raise his head a little, and, with much difficulty, opened his eyes; though his sight was so much impaired, that he could not distinguish the persons who stood around him. A little after this he fell into a gentle repose, and seemed to rest better than he had done, from the

the drawing of his breath, and the beating of his pulse. When he awoke, he exclaimed, "Am I with the emperor? Is he present?" His attendants, in answer, bade him "be of good courage, as he was in his own apartment, and the emperor was not there." They desired him, as he had slept long enough, to raise himself a little, and look on those around him, who were his friends, domestics, true and faithful servants. The tenderness they expressed for him in his distress, brought him, in some measure, to himself again. Upon the physicians ordering the company to withdraw, that the patient might be quiet, and at liberty for remedies and refreshments, he said, "Trouble not yourselves about delicacies for my palate; a coarse diet, and good appetite, are all I ask; and more yet than I should make use of, if it were not for the hopes I have left me of living to be serviceable, even at this last extremity, to my miserable country."

These words were accompanied with a flood of tears. He contented himself with what was barely necessary to support existence, drinking water without the least mixture of wines; and having finished his meal, made this remark; "I have paid a debt to nature, and have nothing more left me to do, but dutifully to solicit Caius on the present melancholy state of the Jews." Having thus spoke, he called for a tablet, and wrote to the emperor as follows:

"SIRE,

"BETWIXT the fear and the reverence I have for your Imperial Majesty, in the dread of your high displeasure on the one hand, and in the veneration I have for the dignity of your sacred character on the other, I have rather presumed to lay my humble duty at your majesty's feet in writing, than to venture upon it in a verbal address.

"It may be laid down for a maxim, that all men living have a natural affection for the place where they were born, and an awful reverence for the laws they were brought up in; which is a truth that hath been abundantly asserted in the piety, great prince, of your profession and practice: and it is as natural for every man to approve of his own way, because we are governed, in particular cases, more by passion than by reason.

"As to myself, I need not inform you, Sire, that I am by nation a Jew, by birth of Jerusalem, the seat of the holy temple, that stands there dedicated, in a most peculiar manner, to the honour of the Most High God. As to my predecessors, some of them have been kings, others high-priests; upon which dignity they valued themselves more than upon the authority royal, inferring, that as God is above man, so the sacerdotal character is above the civil; the one exercising itself in Divine matters, and the other only in human.

"Such is the nearness of my relation and manifold obligations to this nation, country, and temple, that I cannot but implore your royal grace and favour on their behalf. First, for the nation, that they may not be forced over from the profession of their own religion to the contrary; especially considering how true and loyal they have ever been to your illustrious family; no people under the heavens so frank of their vows and prayers for the welfare and prosperity of your empire; or so free of their sacrifices and oblations, not only upon solemn festivals, but daily; and this not only in plausible words and forms, but with a piety of reverence and affection that came from their very hearts, and without any exceptions, saving only in cases of inconsistency with their laws and religion.

"I have this to say further now for the holy city, and the place of my birth, which is not to be looked upon as the metropolis only of Judæa, but of many other colonies that have been plant-

"ed from thence; as Egypt, Phœnicia, Upper and Lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and several parts of Asia, as far as Bithynia and Pontus: and so in Europe, there is Thessaly, Bœotia; Macedonia, Ætolia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the better part of Peloponnesus: and not only the continent, but the islands also of most eminent note, are filled with Jewish plantations; as Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete; to say nothing of those beyond the Euphrates: for, in short, a small part of Babylon, and some other governments excepted, there is hardly a city of eminence, but is in the possession of the Jews. That if this be the case, I am not a suitor for my own country alone, but for the common good of Asia, Europe, and Africa; sea and land, islands and continent, all under one: for the interest of the whole depends upon the same act of clemency: and I hope my confidence will be the more pardonable for the zeal I have to be an instrument in a mediation so much to the honour of Cæsar. For what can be more agreeable to the spirit and genius of so glorious a prince, than the ministering to fair an occasion of obliging the whole world at once; and consequently the perpetuating of your name and memory to all ages, as the guardian angel of mankind?

"You have been pleased, at the request of some particular friends, to make whole towns free citizens of Rome, and masters of those that were but servants before; and in so doing, your kindness was as great to the procurers of this bounty; as to the receivers of it. I am sensible of being under the command of a master; and yet give me leave to value myself upon the title of a friend too; a friend not inferior to many in dignity, but above all others in good-will and respect: for it has ever been so; and, in honour and gratitude, it must ever so continue. Yet, after all this, I have not the confidence to intercede for my countrymen for grants and privileges; no, not so much as for the common freedom or immunity from taxes. The grace that I have to beg would be of high advantage to them, it is true, and of no sort of inconvenience to Cæsar: for what greater blessing can a subject desire than the favour of his prince? Was it not Jerusalem that first congratulated Caius on his accession to the empire? Was it not Jerusalem again that sent the joyful tidings of it into all the neighbouring provinces? The very transaction of making the Jews subservient to such a revolution may deserve some sort of acknowledgment. As the eldest son of the family is reputed the most honourable, because it was he that first entitled his parents to the reverend names of father and mother, so that city, one would think, that first saluted Caius by the name of emperor, should be treated as well, at least, if not better, than any of the rest.

"I have been thus far an advocate for my country; but my last prayer must be for our temple. This temple, Caius, is the house of God; and there was never any image made with hands admitted into it. The works of painters and statuaries are the figures only of sensible gods; but for any artist to offer at any sort of representation of the invisible God was looked upon as an abomination. Agrippa, your grandfather, had a mighty reverence for this temple. Augustus provided expressly for supplying it with the first fruits from all quarters, and the offering of daily sacrifices in it. Your great grandmother had likewise a high veneration for it. Neither Greek, in fine, or barbarian, neither prince or potentate, no, nor the deadliest enemies we had, sedition, war, bondage, desolation, or the most destructive of other calamities, could ever prevail upon us to receive the idol of an image into the temple. Not that it had no enemies, but its religion was safe still; for being dedicated to the father and author of all things, it struck people into a dread of the judgments that frequently attend such violations; so that they durst not ven-

“ ture to sow the seeds of wickedness, for fear of
 “ reaping the fruits of it themselves. We need
 “ not to look abroad for instances, having so many
 “ nearer home.

“ In the reign of Herod, my grandfather, your
 “ grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, passed the com-
 “ pliment upon him of a visit into Judæa, where he
 “ coasted along the sea-side up to Jerusalem. Upon
 “ a view of the temple, he was so transported
 “ with the glories of the fabric, the solemnities
 “ of the sacerdotal rites and ceremonies, the sim-
 “ plicity of the people's manners, and, in fine, with
 “ the delight of so curious and wonderful a specta-
 “ cle, that he was continually enhancing the ho-
 “ nour of that illustrious structure; insomuch that,
 “ for the time he staid there, he never missed so
 “ much as one day's attendance, but still paid his
 “ constant visits, entertaining himself all the while
 “ with the contemplation of the holy vessels, the or-
 “ der of the sacrifices, and the awful majesty of
 “ the high-priest, in his rich pontifical robes, as he
 “ sat exalted above the rest. In fine, when he had
 “ presented his donations to the holy temple, and
 “ shewed himself as indulgent to the citizens as
 “ was possible, saving only an exemption from
 “ taxes, Herod accompanied Agrippa to the sea-
 “ side, upon his return, where they exchanged mu-
 “ tual acknowledgments of the high obligations
 “ they had the one to the other; the people strewing
 “ the passage all the way he went with boughs and
 “ flowers, in token of the veneration they had for
 “ his piety and bounty.

“ So, Sire, your great uncle Tiberius; was not
 “ he manifestly of the same principle and judg-
 “ ment? Did not our religion and temple stand
 “ firm and safe through the whole three and twenty
 “ years of his reign, without any sort of inno-
 “ vation? Nay, there is something that I both can
 “ and must say to Tiberius's honour; though I
 “ myself had very hard treatment from him. But
 “ truth is truth, and I am sure you will have the
 “ patience to hear it.

“ When Pilate was governor of Judæa, he dedi-
 “ cated to Tiberius certain gilt bucklers; not so
 “ much out of respect to the emperor, as in pure
 “ spite to the Jews; and they were erected in the
 “ palace of Herod in Jerusalem. They had no
 “ sort of figure upon them, nor any thing that was
 “ prohibited, but barely the two names of the de-
 “ dicator, and the person to whom they were dedi-
 “ cated. When this story came to be noised among
 “ the people, they made application presently to the
 “ king's four sons, with some other branches of
 “ the royal family, and several other persons of
 “ eminence, to employ their interest with Pilate to
 “ have these bucklers removed, as a violation of
 “ the laws and religion of their country, which
 “ former kings and emperors had ever reputed sa-
 “ cred. Pilate, who was harsh in his disposition,
 “ made the mediators so rude and churlish a reply
 “ to the motion, that it put the multitude into wild
 “ and disorderly exclamations.

“ Let people be quiet, they cried, that would be
 “ quiet, without inflaming men to war and sedi-
 “ tion, and to the embroiling of the public peace,
 “ as if the honour of the emperor depended upon
 “ the violation of the law; never think of cover-
 “ ing an injustice with so weak a pretext. If you
 “ have any thing to shew in your justification, from
 “ Tiberius, whether edict, letter, or any thing
 “ like it, shew us the warrant, and we have no more
 “ to do than to address ourselves, with humble pe-
 “ titions and remonstrances, to our lord and master,
 “ for redress, without taking any further notice of
 “ Pilate; for Tiberius, we are sure, will never ap-
 “ prove of this oppression.

“ This mode of applying themselves to Cæsar,
 “ by remonstrance or deputation, startled Pilate
 “ more than any thing else, for fear of laying him
 “ open to the world with the history of his other
 “ iniquities, as corruption, justice exposed to sale,

“ rapine, violence, ruin, torments, innocent blood,
 “ and the most barbarous of cruelties. This cho-
 “ leric man was yet so divided within himself,
 “ that, as he had no mind to gratify the subject, so
 “ he had not the confidence to withdraw any thing
 “ that was made sacred by a dedication, being well
 “ acquainted with the humour of Tiberius in such
 “ cases. When the great men found matters in this
 “ state, and that Pilate repented himself of what
 “ he had done, however he dissembled it, they re-
 “ presented the case to Tiberius by way of letter,
 “ in the most tender and dutiful manner that could
 “ be devised. Tiberius had no sooner notice of Pi-
 “ late's language and behaviour, than he brake out
 “ into a violent passion, though a man not easily
 “ moved.

“ The first thing he did was, without any delay,
 “ to write to Pilate about it, with a severe rebuke
 “ for his insolence, and a positive command imme-
 “ diately to remove the bucklers, and to have them
 “ transported into the temple that was built at Cæ-
 “ sarea (a sea-port) in honour of Augustus. This
 “ expedient was as good as a salvo to the honour of
 “ the emperor, and the ancient customs of the city.
 “ These bucklers, in those days, had no gravers
 “ work upon them; and the point now in ques-
 “ tion is the graven image. It was then only in
 “ the governor's palace; but it is now to be erected,
 “ as I am informed, in the sanctuary; a place so
 “ venerable and sacred, that only the high-priest is
 “ allowed entrance, and that but upon one day in
 “ the year too; and after a solemn fast, to burn in-
 “ cense to the glory of God, and to offer up pray-
 “ ers to the Almighty, according to custom, for a
 “ happy year, and the common peace of mankind.

“ If any other of our own people, either priest
 “ or layman, shall presume to enter this holy place,
 “ contrary to the law, it is made death without
 “ mercy. As for example, if the high-priest shall
 “ dare to enter above one day in a year, or three or
 “ four times over, for the purpose, upon that day
 “ of his entrance, it will most certainly cost him
 “ his life; so tender was our lawgiver of preserv-
 “ ing the reverence of that holy place sacred and
 “ inviolate. Now if the rigour was so strict and ca-
 “ pital in these nice cases, you may easily imagine,
 “ Sire, what an uproar it would create to have an
 “ image set up there, where the high-priest himself
 “ was not to be admitted but upon certain limita-
 “ tions. How many of our priests would sacrifice
 “ themselves, their wives, and children, in one com-
 “ mon pile of carcases, rather than outlive the
 “ sight and sufferance of such an abomination?

“ This was the case in the days of Tiberius. As
 “ for Augustus, the best and the greatest prince
 “ that ever sat upon the imperial throne, his very
 “ name being given him out of a deference to his
 “ conduct and virtue, a prince to whom the whole
 “ world was indebted for the blessing of an univer-
 “ sal peace, this illustrious prince, I say, upon some
 “ discourse he had concerning our temple, was given
 “ to understand, that no carved image was suffered
 “ to be brought into it, and for this very reason,
 “ that the invisible God was not to be represented
 “ by a visible figure. Upon which he was highly
 “ pleased with the reason, and the piety of the
 “ thing; and being a prince moreover of profound
 “ literature himself, he passed several reflections
 “ upon what had been said; partly recollecting
 “ what he had heard from the learned men he had
 “ constantly about him, and partly agitating the
 “ matter in his own thoughts. He was, in fine, so
 “ great a lover of letters, that his very table dis-
 “ courses were as good as philosophical lectures;
 “ and his festival entertainments were accommo-
 “ dated to the relief and satisfaction both of body
 “ and mind. Not to multiply instances in proof
 “ of this prince's generosity and good-will towards
 “ our people, I shall produce only two.

“ First, upon notice that there was not such care
 “ taken for the return of our first-fruits as the mat-
 “ ter required, the emperor wrote to the governors

“ of the provinces in Asia, not to give any sort of
 “ interruption to the Jews meeting in their syna-
 “ gogues; (but this liberty was not to be extended
 “ to any other.) For the Jews meetings are not
 “ like the feasts of Bacchus, to encourage drunken-
 “ nels and sedition, but schools rather of piety and
 “ common justice. And as for their yearly first-
 “ fruits, they were only intended for sacrifices to be
 “ offered up to God in the temple. This was fol-
 “ lowed with an express command, not to put the
 “ Jews to any trouble about their meetings or col-
 “ lections, after the manner of their country. I
 “ may mistake the word, but the substance I well
 “ know of, as your majesty will find in a letter
 “ from Norbanus, whereof this is a true copy.

C. Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrate
 of Ephesus, greeting.

“ Cæsar has signified unto me by letter, that
 “ whereas the Jews continue their old custom of
 “ religious meetings, and of gathering monies to
 “ be sent to Jerusalem, under the name of first-
 “ fruits, it is his imperial majesty's will and plea-
 “ sure that they be all left at liberty so to do. Of
 “ this you are to take notice, and to pay your obe-
 “ dience accordingly.”

“ What clearer evidence, Sire, can there be in the
 “ world of Cæsar's opinion of our temple, than the
 “ indulging of the Jews in the public exercise of
 “ their worship, the freedom of their collections
 “ for holy uses, and the countenancing of them in
 “ other offices of piety?

“ There is yet another argument of the good-
 “ will that Augustus bare us; that is to say, he or-
 “ dered the daily sacrifice of a bull and two lambs,
 “ out of his own revenue, to be offered up to the
 “ honour of our God; and the practice of it hath
 “ been kept up ever since to this very day, without
 “ any intermission. This oblation Cæsar designed
 “ for the altar; and yet he very well understood
 “ that there was no image in the case, either within
 “ or without. But this wise and learned prince was
 “ nevertheless convinced of the necessity of having
 “ some glorious temple upon earth, dedicated in a
 “ peculiar manner to the invisible God; where men
 “ might offer up their devotions in hopes of having
 “ their prayers heard and granted, and without any
 “ visible figure.

“ With your majesty's leave, once again. What
 “ did your great grandmother, the empress Julia,
 “ but copy her great master and husband, Au-
 “ gustus, in the profusion of her royal bounties
 “ upon this temple, as vessels of gold and silver,
 “ with other ornaments and presents to an inesti-
 “ mable value? To what end was all this without
 “ image-work? For womens minds are commonly
 “ weak, and hard to be wrought upon, save only
 “ by sensible objects. This princess, however, that
 “ was as much beyond other women in perspicuity
 “ and judgment as in all other excellencies, sup-
 “ plied the failings of the sex by study and medita-
 “ tion, and gave herself up so entirely to thought
 “ and speculation, that she looked upon the practi-
 “ cal part to be only a shadow of the other.

“ Now, great Sir, after so many glorious instances
 “ of tenderness and clemency out of your own fa-
 “ mily, and those of your ancestors, in particular,
 “ from whom you have received both your life and
 “ government, be but so gracious towards our
 “ people as your predecessors have been every one
 “ of them before you. Here are emperors inter-
 “ ceding for our laws to an emperor; several au-
 “ gust princes to one; grandfathers and great
 “ grandfathers to a grandchild; many to a single
 “ person. And what is the request at last, but
 “ this? They do humbly beg of you not to make
 “ void those laws and customs, that, from their first
 “ establishment, have been kept sacred to this very
 “ day. These acts, it is true, may be vacated, and

“ these innovations wrought, perhaps, without any
 “ judicial vengeance upon the transgression; but
 “ whoever considers future uncertainty, and that
 “ Divine Justice is nevertheless sure for being some-
 “ times slow, will tremble to think of the conse-
 “ quences, if at the same time he believes there is a
 “ God.

“ If I should take upon myself to enumerate the
 “ infinite obligations I have to your majesty, my
 “ time would not serve me to recount them; nei-
 “ ther would it become me to handle so sacred a
 “ subject; but the thing speaks itself. It is no se-
 “ cret, Sire, that I was in irons, and that I stand in-
 “ debted to yourself for my liberty; but I hope
 “ you did not ease me of those chains to load me
 “ with heavier. In that case my suffering was only
 “ in one part of my body, but in this my very soul
 “ sinks under the burthen. You did first deliver
 “ me from the dread of death, and you received me
 “ afterwards out of death itself; so that Agrippa
 “ desires no more now, than that Cæsar would pre-
 “ serve the life he has restored; for otherwise, I
 “ have only outlived a less calamity to perish by a
 “ greater.

“ It is to your royal bounty that I am a debtor
 “ for the gift and dignity of a crown; and after
 “ that for the addition of another, and a greater
 “ command, in Trachonitis and Galilee. But af-
 “ ter the multiplying of so many extraordinary fa-
 “ vours upon me, do not deprive me, I beseech
 “ you, of things the most necessary of all others.
 “ I am not solicitous for fear of either losing my
 “ commission, or of being dragged to my former
 “ station; but my request is, once for all, that the
 “ laws of my country may be protected and main-
 “ tained. For what will the world say of me else,
 “ either Jews or others? One of these two things
 “ must necessarily follow; either I shall be looked
 “ upon as a betrayer of my country, or as a person
 “ utterly lost to the honour of your friendship:
 “ and what could make me more miserable than
 “ either of them? For supposing myself to be still
 “ in the number of your confidants, and at the same
 “ time to suffer my country to go to destruction, I
 “ must certainly incur the character of a false man
 “ for employing my interest no better, upon a pre-
 “ sumption that emperors and princes deny no such
 “ boons to their favourites. Or, if I should be so
 “ unhappy as to have lost your good graces, do not
 “ lay me in chains, I beseech you, as Tiberius did;
 “ but instead of my liberty, take away my life this
 “ very moment: that is all I ask. For what sig-
 “ nifies life to me after the loss of your friendship,
 “ which is the only hope and comfort I have in this
 “ world?

C H A P. XVII.

*Caius, on the receipt of Agrippa's letter, orders Petro-
 nius to make an alteration in the temple of Jerusalem.
 Repents of it, and countermands his order. Goes to
 Alexandria, and claims divine worship.*

A GRIPPA, having dispatched this letter to
 Caius, kept close in his apartment, and waited
 the consequence with the greatest impatience and
 anxiety, under apprehensions that his importunity
 might be unseasonable; for the liberty and safety
 not only of Judæa, but of all the Jews over the
 face of the earth, were at stake upon it.

While the emperor was perusing this letter, he
 perceived his design had not succeeded: sometimes
 he was won over by the justice of so good a cause,
 and sometimes by the intreaties that were annexed
 to it. He condemned Agrippa in part, in part ac-
 cused him, and laid to his charge the inordinate love
 and affection he discovered for his countrymen, who
 had been the only people that, through contumacy
 and disobedience, had refused the dedication of his
 image. However, he commended the king for not
 concealing

concealing his mind, which he said shewed a great soul, and generous disposition. To all outward appearance he seemed perfectly reconciled, and returned an answer to Agrippa's letter, couched in very mild and obliging terms. He gave the king a kind of promise, that there should be no more mention of the dedication; and at the same time ordered a letter to be written to Petronius, to suffer no innovation to be made in the temple at Jerusalem. However, to render it apparent that his disposition and resolutions were not entirely changed, it was particularly stated in the letter, that, though he exempted one metropolis, if any of the bordering cities were found to obstruct others that were desirous to erect temples, altars, or statues to him, such as gave the impediment were either to be put immediately to death, or be sent to him.

This was the spring of numerous seditions, and the cause of civil wars: it was no other than a shrewd and tacit abrogation of the favour he seemed to have conferred with so much simplicity and justice. Those who were enemies to the Jews discovered their hatred more against them than they did honour to Caius, who punished such very severely as were found to make any disturbance. He gave orders again for his statue to be set up in the temple; but Divine Providence so ordered it, that the people were quiet beyond expectation, nor afforded the least pretences for so doing, though the smallest fault was attended with the worst of consequences. Caius, indeed, continued busy and troublesome as ever. The favours he had granted rendered him uneasy, and his former desire re-kindled within his breast. He gave orders for another statue to be made at Rome, of brass, covered over with gold, throwing aside that cast for him at Sidon, lest any tumult should arise among the people. Care was taken to put this statue privately on ship-board, that it might be transported into Judæa, and set up in the temple before the people were aware. He also took shipping for Egypt, thinking thereby to accomplish his design the sooner.

The emperor had an extreme desire to see Alexandria, and spared no cost for accommodation upon his passage, being of opinion that this was the properest place in the world for advancing his fantastical designs, both with respect to the authority and example of a leading city, and its convenient situation for universal commerce. Indeed, it is generally found, that not only the lower class of men, but cities too imitate the example of their superiors.

Caius was so variable and inconstant in his temper, that if he had done any thing good, he would immediately repent of it, and pervert it into some prejudice and injurious effect. For instance, he once set some prisoners at liberty, and though nothing criminal could be alledged against them, ordered them to be put into chains again, merely to render their condition more miserable and helpless than it had been before. Others, that expected to die, were only banished; and they deemed it a very fortunate circumstance; not that they were conscious of any crime, but because the rigid and implacable disposition of their judge made them despair of pardon. These people, in fine, went into banishment with as much good-will as others commonly return from it, and deported themselves as cheerfully in their exile, as if they had been at liberty in their own habitations. But it was not long before Caius cut them all off by a military execution, without assigning any cause of offence; so that all the noble families in Rome were put into mourning for the loss of their friends and relatives by this execrable assassination.

If he presented any with sums of money, he would neither own it as a gift, or as a loan upon consideration of interest, but find some means or other to recover it as a fraud or theft, to the great detriment of those who received it. Nor did he deem it sufficient to force back what he had given, unless the whole estate, hereditary and acquired, went along with it. Those who imagined they stood highest in his favour and esteem, were dealt with in another man-

ner, a pretence of friendship being the constant snare by which they were inveigled and fleeced to an intolerable degree. This was by putting them to prodigious expences to support frequent journeys, as whim or frolic led him, and offer him luxurious entertainments. Whole fortunes were sometimes squandered in the preparation for a single feast, insomuch that they were reduced to the necessity of taking up sums of money at interest, so great were the splendour and magnificence upon these occasions. This consideration, however, caused some to reject his friendship and kindness as not only unprofitable, but dangerous and injurious. Indeed, they found that all his plausible appearances were only snares to entrap the unwary.

Thus variable and violent were his temper and conduct; but the Jews, to whom he had a mortal aversion, most sensibly experienced their effects. He began with them at Alexandria, by seizing on their oratories, and filling them with statues representing his own image, and that without controul, none daring to dispute his authority. The temple of the holy city was now the only remaining sanctuary the Jews had left them, and this Caius had the confidence to attempt to appropriate to his own use and service, under the title of "The Temple of the New Jupiter, the illustrious Caius." Was there ever such despicable arrogance? A man arrogating the supremacy of the Deity! a man who has the world at his disposal, and cannot be content without aspiring to the heavens! Is the Almighty to have no part in a world of his own creation? Not so much as a field, a city, or a temple? Not the least trace of spot set apart for the service of the true God? What miseries did Caius draw upon himself and his empire by this execrable project! A thing as impious as impracticable, and not to be thought on without dread and horror.

CHAP. XVIII.

The cruelty of Caius towards Philo and the other deputies of the Alexandrian Jews.

WE shall now enter upon some particulars on the subject of the embassy, to which I was eye and ear witness, when we first opened our commission. We were no sooner entered into the presence than we plainly perceived, from the behaviour of the emperor, that, instead of a judge, we should find him our accuser and enemy. A fair and impartial judge would have examined the matter in counsel, investigated it from point to point, heard both sides indifferently in their turns, and, upon advice with the commissioners, passed sentence in open court. All this, and more, would have been done in form, especially in a case of this consequence, where the lives and liberties of so many thousand Alexandrian Jews were all at stake, and the matter so clear, that during a space of four hundred years it had never been so much as called in question. But so far was this merciless tyrant from complying with the ordinary methods of law and justice, that, on the contrary, he treated us with a brutality of insolence and contempt below the basest of slaves.

Mecænas and Lamias had two gardens betwixt the palace and the town, which, for three or four days, had been the retreat of Caius, who had designed this place as the scene of the tragedy of the Jews, while we ourselves were to be the spectators. His orders were for all the villas to be opened, his pleasure being to take a minute survey of each. It was not long before we were introduced, when, as soon as we beheld him, we prostrated ourselves with abundant reverence before him, and saluted him in the style of emperor and Augustus. He returned the compliment in such a manner, that we could not construe, with any degree of certainty; demanding with a smile, "If we were the race odious to the gods, who presumed to despise him, declared a god by all mankind except ourselves, and pay adoration to a god unknown?" At the same time, with hands uplifted, he burst out into an exclamation too blasphemous

phemous to be repeated. These outrages were looked upon by our enemies as the prognostics of a certain victory; and there was not one attribute peculiar to God himself, but they ascribed to Caius.

Upon this occasion one Isidore, a crafty sycophant, took occasion to insinuate to Caius, that, "if he did but know the mortal hatred the whole body of the Jews had for his imperial majesty, he would abhor them much more than he did; for while the whole world were offering their prayers and vows for the safety of his person, and the prosperity of his government, the Jews were the only people that refused to do him honour." Upon hearing this calumny, we unanimously exclaimed, that "we were slandered and belied, having had our sacrifices in form for the prosperity of Caius and the empire; and that we did not feast upon the victims as some did, but committed the sacrifice whole to the sacred fire, and that upon three remarkable occasions. First, upon his accession to the imperial throne; secondly, upon his recovery from a dangerous illness, which so many nations lamented; and thirdly, for the success of his arms in Germany."

Caius, in a frantic tone, replied, "I grant you did sacrifice, but not to me; it was to another. Where then is the duty?" This unexpected answer threw us into the greatest consternation; we stood amazed, and knew not what to say. The emperor, in the mean time, went into the villas, surveying all the apartments, commending some, disapproving others, and giving orders for alterations to be made where he thought proper. We followed him up and down wheresoever he went, being all the time exposed to the reproaches of our enemies as objects of general ridicule. Indeed, the whole affair had the appearance of a farce, where the judge personated the accuser, and the accuser represented an unjust judge. It was one scene of faction and malice, without any semblance of justice and truth. But such accusers, and such a judge, ought much rather to be buried in silence, than have their proceedings exposed in writing. We could make no answer that could please him; and the laws of our country imposed silence in several cases.

When Caius had given some necessary orders about the buildings, he asked us, with a grave, serious countenance, what was the reason of our abstaining from swine's flesh? Our adversaries were highly gratified by this enquiry, as it indicated the disposition of the emperor, and was poignantly satiric upon us. Some of his attendants, however, reprimanded others for the licentious freedom of their smiles in the presence of the emperor, who might justly deem it the greatest indignity that could be offered him.

With respect to the question concerning the swine's flesh, our answer was, that several people and

places had their several fashions and customs, and our adversaries were prohibited the use of some things, as we were the use of others. After some farcicalms had passed, we came to the point in question; but the emperor, perceiving that we were about to produce such vouchers that were irrefragable, broke off the discourse, and hastily withdrew into a spacious apartment, where, having walked and ruminated with himself some time, he came out, and demanded of us, "what we had to say?" We represented our case as concisely as possible; but he left us again, and withdrew into another apartment, where he had a collection of ancient paintings carefully deposited.

The prosecution of our cause being thus delayed, we grew impatient, and, indeed, had nothing to apprehend but certain death. In this anxiety of mind we betook ourselves to the true God, with prayer and supplication to protect us from the rage and menaces of the false one. In compassion to his servants, he mitigated the fury of the prosecutor, who only passed this short reflection, "that those men who would not believe him to be a god, were, in his opinion, rather miserable than wicked;" and having thus spoken, he retired, and commanded us also to withdraw.

Thus were we delivered from a scene of torment, banter, and ridicule, being grossly reviled by the surrounding spectators, as well as shocked with the blasphemies to which we were under a necessity of being ear-witnesses. What was the ground of his implacable rage against us, but that we were the only people in the world who refused to own him for a god? We speak not this as men fearful of death for the sake of the love of life; on the contrary, we should have deemed it the highest blessing, had it advanced the common cause of our profession. But in this case death would rather have been an ignominy; for the miscarriage of deputies are generally imputed to the ill conduct of their principals. This reflection pointed out to us the propriety of seeking a deliverance, while we were in anxious uncertainty as to the sentence the emperor might pronounce upon the issue; for how could he enter into the merits of the cause who would not hear the particulars? Was it not a matter of extraordinary weight and importance for all the Jews upon the face of the earth to rest their dependence upon us five deputies? If Caius had gratified the Alexandrians, what would have been the consequence? we should have had neither friends, towns, or oratories left. Our laws, rites, and privileges, would have been involved in one general destruction, and we must have sunk under the burthen of an insupportable oppression. Thus have we briefly shewn the cause that excited the aversion of Caius to the Jews, and induced him to persecute the whole race with unrelenting cruelty.

The End of PHILO'S EMBASSY.



T H E

L I F E

O F

F L A V I U S J O S E P H U S .

Extraction
of Josephus.

AS every nation has its peculiar marks of distinction, so amongst the Jews nothing tends more to aggrandize a family than a lineal succession to the sacerdotal dignity. In that respect I may put in my claim; not only as I derive my origin from a race of priests, but also from those of the first rank in the twenty-four courses which indicates the highest degree of advancement. By my mother's side I am allied to blood-royal; for the Asmonæan family, from which she is descended, enjoyed, during a series of time, both the kingdom and the priesthood together: but to give a detail of the succession.

Simon, otherwise called Psellus, was my great grandfather, who lived when Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, the high-priest, and the first of that name, had the pontificate. This Psellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, surnamed Aphias, who, in the first year of king Hyrcanus, married the daughter of Jonathan, the high-priest. This Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asmonæus. Matthias had a son, called Matthias Curtus, in the first year of the reign of Hyrcanus. His son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander; and from him descended Matthias, in the tenth year of Archelaus; to which Matthias I was born, in the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. I have three sons. Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of Vespasian; Justus, the second, in the seventh; and Agrippa, the youngest, in the ninth. This is a short account of my extraction as it stands upon record, as an irrefragable testimony, in opposition to the authors of invidious and calumniating reports.

My father Matthias was greatly esteemed in Jerusalem; not only from his honourable descent, but his strict probity and justice. I had a brother, called after my father, with whom I was trained up in the different branches of literature. Being blessed with a sound judgment and retentive memory, I made so early a progress in my studies, that, at fourteen years of age, the high-priests and elders did me the honour of advising with me on some intricate points of

law. At sixteen I began to inform myself of the different opinions of our three sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, proposing to myself to investigate their respective tenets, and fix my choice where I most approved. I passed through them all with much labour and mortification; but supposing the experience I had attained from them insufficient to the end proposed, and hearing of one Banus, who led the life of an hermit in caves and solitudes, no covering but the bark of trees, fed upon nothing but the spontaneous productions of the earth, and bathed himself night and day in cold water to allay inordinate desires, I followed his example, and having passed three years with him in these austerities, and gratified my curiosity in the experiment, I returned to the city in my nineteenth year, and conformed myself to the sect of the Pharisees, whose principles much resemble those of the stoics among the Greeks.

In the six and twentieth year of my age I happened to go to Rome, on the following very particular occasion. Felix, being at that time governor of Judæa, had sent several priests, worthy men of my acquaintance, as prisoners to Rome, upon a very frivolous pretence, to clear themselves of what might be objected to them before Cæsar. They shewed the utmost constancy, chusing rather to suffer any thing than depart from their duty, which consideration induced me to determine, at all events, to attempt to procure their deliverance. Accordingly I embarked for Rome, and falling into a desperate storm, with about six hundred in company, we were cast away, and the vessel was lost in the Adriatic gulph. Only eighty of the whole number, by a wonderful Providence, were preserved, being taken up early the next morning by a vessel of Cyrene, when we had kept ourselves a whole night above water by swimming.

Having thus escaped and got to Dicearchia, (by the Italians called Puteoli,) I became acquainted with Alityrus, a comedian, by birth a Jew, and in great favour with the emperor Nero. This man brought me to the knowledge of the empress Poppea, who

who immediately, at my request, procured the priests their discharge, and loaded me with presents; after which I returned to my own country.

Upon my arrival I found affairs in a very precarious situation, and the people appeared disposed to a revolt; so that I endeavoured to keep the rebellious within the bounds of duty, by representing to them the circumstances of the enemy with whom they had to do, who were politic, martial, and well disciplined; that I could not but dissuade them from exposing their country, wives, and children, and all that could be dear to them, upon terms so very unequal. I plied them with argument, counsel, and importunity, to divert them from an outrage that could not but be attended with many fatal consequences. But whatever I laid before them had no effect, so great was the insatiation caused by their desperate condition. But persuaded that too often inculcating the lessons I gave them would draw upon me their hatred and suspicion, as if I sided with the enemy, which might in the end endanger my life, I took sanctuary in the inner temple, and, after Manahem, and the principal robbers, were put to death, betook myself to the priests and chief men of the Pharisees. We were presently in a panic at the people taking up arms; and when we were not able to restrain their fury, we pretended to approve the steps they had taken; but advised them to decline any hostilities, as we were in hopes that Gessius Florus would come to our assistance, with a sufficient body of forces to quell the sedition.

But upon his coming, and giving battle to the rebels, he had the ill fortune to be defeated, and several of his men were slain, which overthrow became the source of great calamities to our nation; for those that were disposed for war entertained hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Besides, another cause occurred for rekindling this war, which was as follows:

The Syrians and Jews living promiscuously together in several great towns bordering upon Judæa, the former took their opportunity of seizing upon all the Jews, with their wives and children, who dwelt among them, and inhumanly put them to death, without any sort of provocation or offence; for there was nothing of a conspiracy, or so much as disaffection to the Romans charged upon them. But the barbarity of the Scythopolitans exceeded all the rest; for they not only forced the Jews of the place, that were their fellow-citizens, to bear arms against those of their own tribe that came before it, (a thing expressly forbidden by our laws,) but when they had worsted the enemy by their assistance, without any regard to justice, gratitude, or common faith, put them all to the sword, without mercy or distinction, to the number of several thousands. The Jews of Damascus were treated much in the same manner, as is related at large in our history of the Jewish wars. We mention this circumstance in particular, in order to make it generally known that we did not undertake this war upon choice, but were forced upon it by extreme necessity.

After the overthrow of Gessius, the leading men of the Jews finding themselves weak and unarmed, and in danger of a turbulent and powerful faction, thought it time to provide for their own security; so that considering how Galilee was divided, they sent me, and two other priests, Joazar and Judas, as commissioners, to try if we could prevail with the seditious people to lay down their arms; not so as to part with them entirely, but only to deposit them, for the present, in the hands of their governors, till they should have occasion to use them, and wait till they were better informed what the Romans intended to do.

When I had received these instructions, I proceeded to Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris very much agitated by a concern for their country, into which the Galileans had made inroads, on pretence of their standing up for the Romans, and their adherence to Sennius Gallus, then governor of Syria. But I effectually removed all their apprehensions, by obtaining for them a licence to

send as often as they pleased to Dora, a city of Phœnicia, to their hostages they had given to Gessius. The citizens of Tiberias had taken arms on the following occasion.

There were three factions in this city. The first consisted of men of honour and integrity, and Julius Capellus was their chief; who was joined by Herod, the son of Marius; Herod, the son of Gamalus; and Compilus, the son of Compilus: but as for his brother Crispus, whom Agrippa had made governor of the town, he now lived upon his estate beyond Jordan. All these were urgent for the citizens continuing their allegiance to the king and the people of Rome; Pistus being the only man of rank who, in compliance with his son Justus, went the other way. The second faction was composed of rabble, and seemed determined for war. At the head of the third was the above-mentioned Justus, who pretended to have scruples with respect to the war, but still was desirous of innovation, from a view of advancing himself by means of the confusion.

To this end he endeavoured to persuade the people, "That this city had ever belonged to Galilee, and reputed in the days of Herod the tetrarch, its founder, the capital of the province: that this right of precedence was never so much as questioned from the time of Agrippa, the father, till the government of Felix, when he gave it away to the younger Agrippa: and that the people of Sepphoris, in fine, never claimed any privilege above their neighbours, till they subjected themselves to the Roman yoke, and removing the records and treasure upon that revolution."

When Justus, by these means, had inflamed the people to a revolt, he told them in plain terms, "That, since the Sepphorites were so obstinately devoted to the interest of the Romans, they had no other means of vindicating their rights and liberties, than immediately to take up arms, and join with the Galileans in opposing the Sepphorites." This popular and plausible address wrought greatly upon the people. Besides, he was so well versed in the Greek tongue, as to write an account of these transactions, palliating and disguising matters as he found most conducive to his purpose. But I shall more particularly delineate the character of this Justus, and point out, in the progress of the narrative, how he and his brother had well nigh proved the destruction of our nation. When he had gained over some of the citizens by persuasion, and others by force, to take up arms, he marched out with them in a body, and set fire to the habitations of the Gadarenes and Hippenians, about Tiberias and Scythopolis.

To pass over from the state of Tiberias to that of Gischala. John, the son of Levi, finding several of his fellow-citizens highly impatient of the Roman yoke, endeavoured to keep them within the compass of good faith and obedience. But he could not gain his purpose; for the Gadarenes, Tyrians, and others, having joined their forces, attacked and took Gischala by storm, laid it in ashes, and then returned home. John was so exasperated at this outrage, that he collected his troops, marched, fought and defeated them. After that he rebuilt the place, and, for better security, encompassed it with a strong wall.

But the people of Gamala stood firm to the Romans from the following cause. Philip, the son of Jaconius, king Agrippa's lieutenant, having escaped out of Jerusalem while the enemy was before the palace, fell into another danger of being destroyed by Manahem, and his band of robbers, but was preserved by some of his Babylonish relations, who were then at Jerusalem. Upon the fifth day after his escape, he disguised himself by a cap of false hair, and shifted away till he came to a certain village of his own, near the castle of Gamala, where he sent orders to some of his subjects to come to him. In this place he was seized with a sudden fever, which providentially proved the occasion of saving his life; for, upon falling into this distemper,

Three factions in the city of Tiberias.

Justus inflames the people against the Romans.

The actions of Justus.

John, the son of Levi, on the side of the Romans.

Defeats the rebels, and rebuilds Gischala.

Philip's wonderful deliverance

per, he wrote to Agrippa and Berenice, by a certain freeman of trust and credit, with orders to deliver his letter to Varus, to whom had been committed the care of the palace in their absence, on a journey to Berytus, with an intention of meeting Gessius.

Varus, Agrippa's deputy, puts a messenger to death as an impostor.

Aspires to the kingdom.

When Varus found, by these letters, that Philip had made his escape, he was greatly concerned, lest the king and queen should discharge him from their service upon his return; so that he exposed the messenger to the people as an impostor; alledging that Philip was at that time at Jerusalem with the Jews, making war against the Romans; and upon this calumny he caused him to be put to death. When Philip had waited a considerable time, and received no news either of the messenger or the letters, he dispatched a second with another packet, to enquire what was become of the former; and he was taken off upon the same pretence. Now the Syrians of Cesarea had persuaded Varus that the Romans would certainly revenge themselves upon Agrippa for this rebellion of the Jews, and that, upon his death, the crown would devolve to him as a branch of the royal line, descending from Sohemus, the tetrarch of Libanus. Varus became so puffed up with this conceit, that he intercepted the king's letters, and guarded all the passes, in order to deprive him of intelligence of what was done. He put great numbers of the Jews to death, to make an interest with the Syrians of Cesarea; and likewise proposed engaging the Trachonites of Batanea with him in a war with the Jews in Ecbatana, which they call Babylonians.

In order to the prosecution of this design, he sent for twelve of the principal Jews in Cesarea, and dispatched them away in his name, with a message to their friends at Ecbatana, purporting, that Varus had heard of their entering into a conspiracy against their king, but that though he did not believe the report, he required them to lay down their arms, as the most demonstrative proof of their innocence. He also enjoined them to bring seventy of their principal men, to answer all objections in behalf of the rest. The twelve deputies accordingly went, and acquitted themselves of their commission; but, upon strict enquiry at Ecbatana, among people of their own tribe, not finding the least colour for any such rumour, they took, according to their instructions, seventy of the principal men along with them, and proceeded towards Cesarea. Varus, in the mean time, having planted himself in the passage with a guard of the king's troops about him, fell upon them, and cut all to pieces except one man; after which he advanced upon his design against the Jews at Ecbatana.

The Jews inveigled, and cut to pieces.

Philip goes to Gamala, and is tendered the assistance of the inhabitants against Varus.

Varus is removed, and succeeded by Equus Modius.

But, by a wonderful Providence, the only one of the seventy who escaped got thither before him, with the news of this abominable treachery; upon which the inhabitants put themselves in arms, and, with their wives and children, retired to the castle of Gamala, leaving their goods and cattle behind them to a mighty value. As soon as Philip heard of the adventure, he repaired thither, and was welcomed with universal acclamations of the people, who tendered him their lives and fortunes in a contest with Varus and his Cesarean abettors, if he would but do them the honour to command them; for it was now reported that the king was slain. Philip, however, endeavoured to restrain their zeal, by reminding them of the benefits the king had conferred upon them, the formidable power of the Romans, and the desperate hazard of a rebellion, inasmuch that they were brought in the conclusion to better reason. When the king had intelligence of the resolution of Varus, with respect to the massacre of all the Jews in Cesarea, he removed him from his government, and appointed Equus Modius to succeed him, Philip keeping possession of the citadel of Gamala, and the country bordering upon it, that continued their allegiance to the Romans.

When I came into Galilee, and received the news of these transactions, I wrote to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem respecting every circumstance, and re-

questing their commands as to my future proceedings. Their instructions were for me to remain where I was, and provide the best I could for the defence and security of the place, and to retain my colleagues if they approved it. But having acquired great riches from the tythes which were due to them as priests, they resolved to return; but, at my request, staid a little longer, till matters were better accommodated. We went together from Sephoris to Bethmaus, about four furlongs distant from Tiberias, whither sending a messenger, I summoned the elders of the people to appear before me. Upon their arrival, (and Justus among the rest,) I told them I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem, together with my colleagues, to confer with them about the demolition of the palace which Herod, the tetrarch, had erected there, and adorned with the images of divers animals, in direct violation of our laws, and requested them to put that work into immediate execution. Capellus, and the rest of his faction, opposed it a long time; but at length, after an hard contest, we carried the point.

Josephus continues Galilee, the command of the Jews Sanhedrim.

While this controversy was on the tapis, Jesus, the son of Sapphias, instigated an abandoned banditti to set fire to the palace royal, in expectation of considerable booty; for every thing he saw was magnificent and sumptuous; so that they pillaged many things, notwithstanding our utmost precaution. Having transacted our business with the people of Tiberias, we withdrew from Bethmaus into the Upper Galilee: but the faction of Jesus put all the Greeks in Tiberias to the sword, and all whom they deemed enemies before these hostilities.

The role here is not the role of the Jews.

The Jews put to the sword the Greeks in Tiberias.

When I had intelligence of these proceedings, I was much enraged, went down to Tiberias, and used all the care and diligence possible to save the household furniture of the palace from the hands of the pillagers. Among these were candlesticks of Corinthian bras, royal tables, and a great quantity of silver in the masts. Resolved to preserve whatever I saved for the king's use, I sent for ten of the principal men in the senate, and Capellus, the son of Antilus, and delivered to them the respective articles, with an express charge not to part with them to any one without my particular order.

From thence I proceeded with my colleagues to Gischala, to watch the motions of John, whom we found manifestly engaged in forming a party, and setting up for himself. He importuned me to give him authority to export the corn that belonged to the emperor, who had several magazines in the Upper Galilee. Perceiving the drift of his intention in this request, I assured him that I could not possibly permit him; as being obliged, by virtue of my commission from Jerusalem, to take care of all things within that jurisdiction, I could not dispose of such stores any other way than for the service of Cæsar, or the good of the province. Finding he could not prevail with me, he applied himself to my colleagues, who, through want of foresight, and the prevalence of avarice, were induced, by bribes and fair words, to comply with his request; so that having a majority of votes on his side, it was carried against me. John had no sooner gained this point, than he bethought himself of another invention.

John's importuning me to give him authority to export the corn that belonged to the emperor.

John's having a majority of votes on his side, it was carried against me.

The inhabitants of Cesarea Philippi were complaining to him (he said) for want of pure virgin oil, and desired him to supply them; the Grecian oil being forbidden them, and the king's prohibition barring them from going out of town to fetch it. John was evidently actuated herein by interest, not religion; for he knew that this oil bore forty times the price at Gischala that it did at Cesarea; so that he sent away the whole stock from one place to the other, under colour of authority from me, which, indeed, I did not grant him voluntarily, but from apprehension, had I refused, of being stoned by the multitude. John, in the end, gained vast sums of money by this stratagem.

John's complaint to him for want of pure virgin oil.

Having sent my colleagues from Gischala to Jerusalem, I made it my entire business to arm, fortify, and, in short, provide the best I could for the defence of my province. The free-booters I found were

John's having sent my colleagues from Gischala to Jerusalem, I made it my entire business to arm, fortify, and, in short, provide the best I could for the defence of my province.

were not to be reduced by force, and therefore tried the effect of composition; so that a treaty was entered into with several leading men among them to take them into pay, being all convinced that the charge of the pension would not be comparable to the spoil they would make by rapine and pillage. We came, in fine, to an agreement; and I took their oaths for the performance of articles, and so dismissed them. The conditions were these; that they should not offer any violence either to Romans or natives, nor ever set foot into our country but when they were called, or behind hand in their pay. For it was my principal concern to keep Galilee in peace, in order to which I made choice of seventy of their best men to go along with me, and made use of them as companions, counsellors, and assistants, and, with their approbation, pronounced my sentences, but with an inviolate regard to integrity and justice; so that, under the appearance of friends, they served me in quality of hostages.

I was now in the thirtieth year of my life, an age wherein the utmost virtue and precaution cannot secure a man from the lash of envy and detraction, especially in an exalted situation. Yet I can undertake to aver that I never was charged with any capital misdemeanour. I wanted nothing; I coveted nothing; nay, I refused my very tenths, though due to me as a priest, even when offered. I confess I took part of the spoils upon the defeat I gave the Syrians, and sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem. But when I had twice stormed Sepphoris, four times Tiberias, once Gadara, and several times brought John, who treacherously acted against me, into my power, I passed all over without taking revenge either of one or the other; and the Omniscient Being, to whom the secrets of the heart are open, was so gracious as to deliver me from the snares of professed enemies; and not upon that occasion only, but divers times afterwards, as will be seen in the sequel.

Such was the regard and benevolence of the people of Galilee towards me, that, when their cities were taken by assault, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they had a much greater concern for my sufferings than their own. This excited the envy of John, who, in a letter, requested me, when he came to Tiberias, to grant him permission to use the hot baths there for the recovery of his health. I immediately complied, having no suspicion of any wicked design, and gave him recommendatory letters to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias, to provide necessary accommodations for him and his whole train. At this time I took up my abode in a certain village of Galilee, called Jana.

John was no sooner come to Tiberias, than he tampered with the inhabitants to revolt from their fidelity to me, and come over to his interest. Several were won over by his entreaties, being fond of innovation, and glad of any opportunity that offered to promote their seditious views. Amongst his principal adherents were Justus, and his father Pistus, who immediately closed with the proposition, and joined interests with John against me. But, by good foresight, I prevented their design: for Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, sent me a messenger to inform me of the disposition of the inhabitants, and advised me to hasten thither, as the only means of preventing the city's coming under the jurisdiction of another. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, I took two hundred men with me, and travelled all night, having sent a messenger before me to inform the inhabitants of my approach. In the morning a great multitude came out to meet me, and amongst them John, whose countenance betrayed his guilt. Being conscious that his life was at stake, if he was discovered, he hastily withdrew to his apartment. When I had reached the place for public exercises, I dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, and then addressed the people of Tiberias from an eminence, upon the subject of good faith and allegiance, the honour of a generous constancy, and the dangerous consequences, as well as

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actual baseness, of betraying a trust; for one treachery would most certainly be avenged upon the head of the traitor by another, and after one act of perfidy their credit would be lost for ever.

I had scarcely uttered these words, when I heard a voice earnestly calling to me to come down and provide for my own security, as my enemies were just upon me, and this was no time for speeches. The truth was that John, having me at advantage in a place where I was little better than alone, drew a select number of men out of the thousand that he commanded, with orders to fall upon me by surprise. They were already advanced within a little of executing their design, which they had certainly done, if I had not leaped down that very moment by the help of one of my own guards, who led me off to the lake, where I found a vessel that conveyed me to Taricheæ, beyond all expectation, and out of the power of my enemies.

The inhabitants of this city, when they came to hear of the perfidious conduct of the Tiberians, were greatly exasperated, betook themselves to their arms, and requested me to head them, that they might avenge the cause of their commander. The report of this outrage was quickly spread all over Galilee, in order to irritate the Galileans, who presently assembled in prodigious numbers, and with great earnestness entreated me to assault Tiberias, and upon the taking of it, utterly demolish it, and expose the inhabitants, with their whole families, to sale for slaves. Those of my friends, who had escaped out of Tiberias, gave me the same advice. But I did not comply with it, dreading the thoughts of being the cause of a civil war, and being desirous of putting a stop to the dispute before they proceeded to blows. I also pointed out to them, that it was not their interest to pursue such measures, as a spectacle for the Romans that were to stand looking on. By these means, though with much difficulty, I allayed the impetuous rage of the Galileans.

But John, when he found his stratagem disconcerted, began to have apprehensions for himself; so that taking the forces he had about him, he quitted Tiberias, and went to Gischala, whence he wrote a letter in excuse for what he had done, as if he had acted against his inclination, and begged of me to entertain no suspicion of him, ratifying the same with dreadful execrations, in order to obtain credit to what he had declared.

This, however, did not satisfy the Galileans, who were too well acquainted with his perfidy in divers instances, so that they pressed me still (being a mighty body of men) to lead them on to the assault, that they might destroy him, and Gischala, the place of his nativity, at once. I gratefully acknowledged my obligations to them for the respect and goodwill they had shewn me, and assured them of the best services I could render them in requital; but, at the same time, importuned them to restrain the impetuosity of their rage, and permit me to endeavour to put an end to the tumult without bloodshed. When I had prevailed with the multitude, I withdrew to Sepphoris.

The inhabitants of this city (determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans) were not without apprehensions upon my approach, and so contrived for their own security how they might divert me some other way. With this view they sent a messenger to Jesus, the head of the robbers, upon the borders of Ptolemais, with promise of a large reward, if he would bring his company, amounting to 800 men, and make war upon us. The temptation prevailed, and it was resolved to fall upon us by surprise. In consequence of this, Jesus sent me word by a messenger, that he was desirous of making me a visit. When I granted his request, having no suspicion of his treacherous design, he took a band of his robbers, and set out on his journey with all expedition. But his intention was frustrated; for, upon his approach within a little of the town, I had intelligence brought me by a deserter of the whole contrivance.

Upon this information I went into the marketplace,

Josephus addresses the people of Tiberias.

Narrowly escapes out of the hands of John.

The people are enraged at the treachery.

The moderation of Josephus.

John pleads excuse to Josephus.

Josephus pacifies the multitude.

Jesus, head of a band of robbers, lays snares for Josephus.

Josephus appoints 70 of the chief Galileans his assessors in judgment.

His moderation and justice.

The fidelity and kindness of the Galileans to Josephus.

John's treacherous designs against Josephus.

They are misled.

place, as if ignorant of the plot against me, and was there attended by a numerous train of Galileans in arms, and several Tiberians amongst them. I then gave orders for the guard of the passes, and the centinels at the gates, to let in only Jesus himself, with some few of his followers, and exclude the rest; or, if they should attempt to break in by violence, to repel them by force. They did as they were ordered, and admitted Jesus with some few of his train, and then shut the gates against the rest. Upon his entrance, I commanded him to lay down his arms upon pain of death in case of refusal, with which he complied, finding himself surrounded with a guard of soldiers. Those of his followers, who were excluded the city, when they heard their leader was taken, betook themselves to a precipitate flight.

Jesus is taken.

Generosity of Josephus to John, and to the Sepphorites

After this I took Jesus aside, and told him I was not ignorant of the plot designed against me, nor by whom he was sent: however, I would grant him pardon after all these provocations, if he would promise, in future, to behave as a faithful subject. He accordingly pledged himself, in the most solemn manner, so to do; upon which I set him at liberty, and allowed him to collect the men he had brought with him. With respect to the Sepphorites, I charged them to be quiet and peaceable in future at their peril.

Josephus is for toleration in religion.

There came to me, about this time, out of the country of the Trachonites, two grandees, who had been vested with legal authority, bringing with them horses, arms, and money. The Jews were absolutely against receiving them, unless they would submit to the rite of circumcision: but I would not suffer any violence of that kind to be offered them, observing, that "every man ought to be at liberty to worship God according to his own conscience; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." When I had pacified the multitude, I furnished the men, that came over to us, with all necessities in abundance.

Ebertius, having engaged Josephus, retires.

During these transactions, king Agrippa sent Equus Modius, with a body of forces, to lay siege to the castle of Gamala. The detachment being too few to invest the place, they could only post guards at the avenues, in order to block it up. But when Ebertius, the centurion, who had command of the great plain, understood that I was come to Simonias, a village upon the confines of Galilee, distant about sixty furlongs, he drew up an hundred horse, that he had then about him, near two hundred foot, and some military troops from Gaba, and making one night's march, reached the village. Having drawn up my forces in order of battle, he endeavoured to bring me into the plain, as his main confidence was in the cavalry. But as my army consisted principally of foot, I found it would not be safe to venture myself on that odds of ground, and so kept my station. Ebertius did what he could to force me from my post, which, when he found he could not effect by means of his horse, he quitted his design, and withdrew to Gaba, having lost only three men in the action. I followed him immediately with a body of two thousand men; and when I came to Besara, a town upon the confines of Ptolemæis, about twenty furlongs distant from Gaba, where Ebertius was at that time, I took possession of all the passes about it to secure my quarters, and, in the mean time, carried off the wheat, and other grain to a prodigious quantity, that had been taken from the neighbouring villages, and belonged to queen Berenice, sister to king Agrippa. This provision I caused to be transported to Galilee, upon a number of camels I had brought thither on purpose. When this business was finished, I offered Ebertius battle, which, when he declined, I bent my course towards Neopolitanus, who was then in garrison with a body of horse at Scythopolis, and committed ravages in the country about Tiberias; so that having delivered this place from further annoyance, I determined to attend to the affairs of Galilee.

Josephus is provident in supplying Galilee with provisions.

During these transactions John, the son of Levi, who was, as before observed, at Gischala, being galled

to the very soul at hearing every thing succeeded to my wish, and that I was effectually established in the good opinion of my people, and at the same time a terror to my enemies, tampered with the inhabitants of Tiberias and Sepphoris, as well as those of Gaba, to revolt from their obedience to me, and join his party; insinuating to them how much easier their condition would be under his government than they found it under mine. The Sepphorites were, in truth, neither for one or the other of us, being wholly attached to the Romans. The Tiberians, though they would not be persuaded to revolt, promised to hold an amicable correspondence with him. But the Gabarenes espoused his interest at the importunity of Samois, a citizen of eminence, one of John's particular friends and companions. These people did not at first openly discover their defection, having apprehensions of the Galileans, whose kindness and loyalty to me they had several times experienced; but when they found a fit opportunity, they threw off the mask, and plainly shewed their treachery; in consequence of which I was exposed to imminent danger on the following account.

John enters the fortress of Josephus.

Solicitation by John against him.

Their hints to John.

The wife of Ptolemy robbed by the Dabaretans.

Josephus causes the booty to be returned.

A plot to depose Josephus.

John's son of Levi, the head of the faction.

A company of adventurous young men, of the village of Dabaretta, observing the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, travelling with a pompous retinue over the great plain, out of the king's jurisdiction into a province of the Romans, suddenly sallied out upon them, forced the woman to fly, and plundered all the carriages. This passed while I was at Taricheæ, whither they brought four mules laden with rich clothes, costly furniture, a great number of silver vessels, and five hundred pieces of gold. Being desirous of preserving the property of Ptolemy, who was of my own tribe, (and our law prohibiting us from robbing even an enemy,) I told the people, who brought them to me, that they were by all means to be kept till they could be sold to the best advantage, and the money to be laid out upon repairing the walls of Jerusalem. These adventurers, regretting the loss of so considerable a booty, of which they had made themselves sure, spread a report throughout the country adjoining to Tiberias, that I had a design to betray the province to the Romans. I pretended, indeed, they said, to employ the profit of the purchase upon rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, but that my real design was to restore it to the proprietor. Nor were they much mistaken; for, after their departure, I sent for Daffius and Jannæus, two citizens of the first rank, and both in great esteem with the king, and ordered them to take the effects that had been stolen, and see them conveyed to the king, threatening them with death if they communicated the affair to any one else.

A rumour now spreading throughout Galilee, that the country was to be betrayed by me into the hands of the Romans, put every thing into confusion, and so exasperated the populace, that they vowed revenge. The people of Taricheæ, among others, gave so much credit to the story, that they tampered with my guards, and other soldiers, to abandon me when asleep, and withdraw immediately into the circus, there to consult with the rest what measures were to be taken against their general. When they came thither, they found a great concourse of people assembled beforehand, calling out, with one voice, for justice upon the traitor: but the ring-leader of the tumult was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, at this time chief magistrate of Tiberias, a man seditious, turbulent, and naturally disposed to innovation. Presenting himself to the multitude, with the two tables of Moses in his hand, he thus addressed them: "If, citizens, you have no regard for your own interest and safety, let me recommend to you, however, to preserve a reverence for these holy laws, which Josephus, your governor, has made no scruple to betray, and consequently rendered himself so odious to all good men, that no punishment can be too exemplary and severe."

The multitude applauded this address with the loudest acclamations; upon which he took a band of armed men, and hastened to the place where I resided,

resided, with full determination to take away my life, while I was reposing myself without the least apprehension of danger. But Simon, my bodyguard, and the only man who now attended me, upon sight of the crowd pressing, roused me, told me the danger I was in, and advised me rather to fall by my own hand, than be insulted at the will and pleasure of an insolent enemy. I therefore committed myself to Providence, disguised myself in black, girded on my sword, and went through a bye way, where I supposed none of my adversaries would meet me, into the circus. I there threw myself prostrate on the earth, and exhibited so mournful a spectacle as excited general compassion. When I found the people in some measure softened, I endeavoured to influence their opinion in my favour before the return of the soldiers from the place of my residence. I admitted the truth of what had been objected to me, but requested them to permit me to inform them in what manner I had disposed of the money which arose from the plunder, when I assured them, I would cheerfully submit to death if it was their pleasure.

The people were for hearing me; but the soldiers, who were just returned, were for putting me to instant death. Through the clamour, however, that prevailed, they respited the execution, taking for granted that, after the confession of the treason, they should have just ground for taking away my life. Upon this, silence being proclaimed, I thus briefly addressed them:

"I am ready to die, my countrymen, if I shall be found to deserve it, provided I may lay before you a true state of the case for which I suffer before I go. I have ever looked upon this city as a sanctuary to strangers; inasmuch, that numbers of people have been prevailed upon to quit their native soil, and transplanted themselves hither to share with you their fortunes. What is my crime, but the dedicating a sum of money, from a zeal for the public service, towards the repairing of your walls? This, in short, is the ground of your displeasure."

The Taricheans, and other strangers, exhorted me to be of good courage; but the Galileans and Tiberians, on the other hand, were untractable and outrageous; so that it came to a direct feud between them; the one side plying me with menaces and hard words, the other undertaking for my security and protection. When I had promised to build walls at Tiberias, and other cities, they dropped the contest, took my word for the performance, and dispersed; after which unexpected deliverance I returned home, attended by my friends, and a guard of twenty soldiers.

But the heads of the sedition, apprehensive of being called to account for what they had done, collected about 600 soldiers, and came to my abode in order to set it on fire. When I heard of their approach, I thought it dishonourable to turn my back, and resolved to expose myself valiantly to the danger that threatened me. In order to this I gave orders for the doors to be shut, went into an upper apartment, and required them to send a party to receive the money, as the most effectual means of appeasing the tumult. Upon their sending one of the boldest of them all, I ordered him to be seized, severely scourged, one of his hands to be cut off, suspended about his neck, and thus turned out to tell his tale to those that sent him. At this procedure they were in no small consternation, from apprehension that I had a strong guard in my house, inasmuch, that they scoured off for fear of being treated in the same manner; and thus, through this stratagem, I escaped a conspiracy formed against me.

Notwithstanding this there was still some that irritated the multitude against me, and remonstrated, that the grandees, who fled to me for refuge, were unworthy to live, because they refused to conform themselves to the rites and customs of those with whom they lived for the sake of their own security. They traduced them with being sorcerers, and advising the

Romans to come against them; so that the multitude were deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations. Upon information of this, I represented to them, that it was neither generous or discreet to persecute those that sought refuge amongst them; and ridiculed the charge they had brought against them of sorcery; alledging, that the Romans would never be at the expence of maintaining so many thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by dint of spells and witchcraft.

This, for the present, pacified them; but they were soon stirred up again, through the insinuations of some contentious persons, against the grandees; and a party of them, armed, went to their residence at Taricheæ, in order to put them to death. When I heard this, I collected what men I could, and posted away to prevent the mischief; for the sufferance of so barbarous an inhumanity would have rendered me odious to mankind. Upon my arrival, I locked the doors of the house, and had a trench drawn round it leading to the lake; sent for a vessel, embarked with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos, where I gave them money to provide themselves with horses, and then dismissed them, with earnest advice to sustain their misfortunes with courage and resolution. I was extremely concerned that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet I thought it more eligible that they should perish by the hands of the Romans, than lose their lives by treachery within my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length, and king Agrippa frankly pardoned them: and thus ended these commotions.

The people of Tiberias having offered, by letter, their service to king Agrippa, provided he would furnish them with troops sufficient to protect them, I went amongst them; and, upon my arrival, they reminded me of my promise of rebuilding their walls, as I had done those of Taricheæ. I immediately consented, and gave orders for providing materials and workmen to put it in hand without delay. After three day's stay there, as I was travelling to Taricheæ, some thirty furlongs distant, it happened that certain Roman troops, being on their march within sight of Tiberias, the inhabitants took them to be of Agrippa's party, and suddenly burst into acclamations of the king, and most contemptuous reflections upon me. I soon received information from a messenger, in great haste, that the people were upon the very point of revolt; an event that embarrassed me much; for the sabbath being now at hand, I had dismissed the soldiers from Taricheæ, for the more quiet celebration of the festival. Beside, I seldom kept a guard about me in that place, as I had received divers proofs of the good affection of the people; so that having only seven soldiers, and some few friends about me, I found myself in great perplexity what course to take. It would have been to no purpose to recall my troops now the day was far spent, and I could make no use at all of the next ensuing. Then had I given liberty to the people of Taricheæ to plunder the city, their number was not sufficient for that purpose. Nor was there time for consideration or delay, as forces were hourly expected from the king, who would seize upon the town, and exclude me. These concurring reflections induced me to try the effect of a stratagem. I set over the gates of the town some persons in whom I could confide, with orders to be particularly diligent in observing those who wanted to go out, and summoned the heads of the chief families to come to me, every one of whom I enjoined to go on board some vessel, which I had provided for that purpose, having also procured pilots, and then charged them to follow me to Tiberias. This done, I embarked with my friends, and the seven soldiers, and sailed for the same place.

When the Tiberians perceived their mistake, and that no forces came from the king to their assistance, and saw the lake covered with vessels, they began to be apprehensive for the safety of their city, and presently changed their former opinion. They threw down their arms, came out to meet me with their

Another tumult.

Josephus effects the escape of the grandees that fled to him for refuge.

The Tiberians offer their services to king Agrippa.

Are ready to revolt.

Invention of Josephus

He goes to Tiberias, and quells the sedition by a stratagem.

wives and children, with the utmost submission congratulated me on my arrival, wished me success in my undertakings, and invited me into their city, imagining I was wholly ignorant of their former design. Upon drawing near the shore, I ordered the pilots to cast anchor a little farther off the land, that the people might not discern our vessels were empty. When I approached them, (being conveyed in a certain vessel,) I upbraided them with their folly, in relinquishing their allegiance without any reasonable cause. However, I assured them of forgiveness of what was past, provided they would send me ten of their ringleaders, with which they complied; and I immediately ordered them away for Taricheæ, there to be kept in custody.

Josephus sends the leading men of Tiberias in custody to Taricheæ

Adjudges Clytus, a principal incendiary, to the loss of one hand

By this stratagem I gradually got the whole senate of Tiberias, and many of their principal citizens, into my power, whom I sent to the beforementioned city. The multitude, reflecting upon the condition they were in, imputed the whole cause to one Clytus, a hardy, resolute adventurer, as a desperate incendiary, and requested that I would bring him to condign punishment. As I could not in conscience put a man of my own tribe to death, and yet was under an absolute necessity of making him an example by some means or other, I ordered Levi, belonging to my body guards, to cut off one of his hands. But the soldier, fearing to execute this order among so numerous a multitude, and I, being desirous of veiling his timidity, thus exclaimed: "Since you deserve to lose both hands, be your own executioner, lest, on refusal, you expose yourself to a severer punishment." Upon his earnest petition to spare one of his arms, I granted him that boon, when he immediately took a sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the tumult.

Lenity of Josephus to the prisoners at Taricheæ.

When the people of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheæ, perceived the stratagem I had put in execution, they were astonished to think I had terminated the sedition without effusion of blood. Matters being thus quiet, having ordered some of the prisoners to be released, amongst whom was Justus, and his father Pistus, I invited them to an entertainment, and took that opportunity of observing, that I was not ignorant of the superiority of the Roman power, though I confessed to have dissembled in that instance, because of the faction with which I had to contend. I endeavoured to bring them to the same opinion, and induce them, in the mean time, to live quietly under my administration, as they would never find a governor of more lenity than myself. I reminded Justus of the Galileans cutting off the hands of his brother before I left Jerusalem, upon a pretence of forging some letters; and of the Gamalites, upon a dispute they had with the Babylonians after Philip's departure, putting his kinsman Chares to death; whereas I had not treated his brother-in-law Jesus in that barbarous manner. Having communicated these particulars at table, I gave orders for Justus, and all his followers, to be set at liberty early the next morning.

A little before this Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion. When Philip was informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and Modius Equus, his old friend and companion, succeeded him, he wrote him a letter, acquainting him with every circumstance that had befallen him, and requesting him to take care that the enclosed were forwarded to the king and queen, who were then at Berytus. Modius was overjoyed to hear of the welfare of his friend, and dispatched the letters according to address.

Agrippa sends for Philip to court, and gives him honourable commissions

As soon as the king perceived these letters, and found that the report of Philip's putting himself at the head of the Jews against the Romans was false, he sent for him to court by a party of horse, and receiving him, on his arrival, with great cordiality, told his commanders about him, that that was the person they heard had revolted from the Romans. He sent him soon after this with some troops of horse to the fort of Gamala, with instructions to

bring away all his family, resettle the Babylonians in Batanea, and take all possible care to keep the people quiet. Philip had no sooner received his orders, than he hastened to execute his commission.

About this time one Joseph, the son of a mountebank, having, by his insinuations, induced several adventurers, young men, to espouse his interest, made an insurrection upon the inhabitants of Gamala, and then advised them to renounce their allegiance to the king, and take up arms, as the only means of recovering their liberty. Some were compelled to enter into their measures, and those who would not acquiesce were slain. Chares fell a sacrifice to their fury, as did his kinsman Jesus, with the brethren of Justus of Tiberias, whom we have already mentioned. The inhabitants wrote to me, desiring I would send them troops for a garrison, and workmen to build their walls; with both which requests I immediately complied.

This procedure was followed by a revolt of the country of the Gaulanites, as far as the town of Solyma, from the king. I built a wall about Sogannis and Seleucia, two very strong places by situation, and fortified several towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerthya, and Charabe, among the rocky mountains; and in the Lower Galilee the towns of Taricheæ, Tiberias, and Sepphoris; together with the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selame, Jotapata, and the mount Itabyr, in which places I had my magazines of corn and arms.

This prosperous course of my affairs excited such envy in the breast of John, the son of Levi, that he formed a resolution of accomplishing my destruction. To that end, having walled in Gischala, the place of his nativity, he sent his brother Simon, the son of Gamaliel, at Jerusalem, to request him to use his interest with the sanhedrim to remove me from my government, and appoint John as my successor. This Simon was a citizen of the first rank, by sect a Pharisee, who were supposed to excel others in an accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was also a man of eminent political talents, and admirably adapted to regulate affairs of state. Add to this, he was warmly attached to the interest of John, and as sanguinely averse to me.

In consequence, therefore, of this application from John, he advised Ananus, the high-priest, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, with others of the party, to stop my progress now I was raising myself to dignity, nor suffer me to arrive at the highest pitch of grandeur; it being their common interest to remove me from the government of Galilee. He pointed out the necessity of being expeditious in effecting such a design, lest I should gain intelligence of it, and invade the city with a numerous army. This was the counsel of Simon. But Ananus observed to them, that this was not to be effected so easily as had been suggested; because many of the high-priests, and heads of the people, could bear witness to the integrity of my administration; and observed, that it would not appear reasonable to proceed to a judgment upon any man without assigning his crime.

Simon, after hearing this from Ananus, desired that the matter might rest, and that what had passed between them might not reach the knowledge of the people, as he would make it his business to effect my removal in another way. Upon this he applied himself to the brother of John, and proposed the distribution of money and presents among the friends of Ananus, as the most likely course he could take for gaining his point. By this method Simon compassed his end; for Ananus and his companions, on receiving these bribes, concerted the means for deposing me from my government, without admitting one citizen to be privy to the matter.

With this view they concluded it most expedient to send into Galilee some persons who were eminent for their birth, and versed equally with me in the laws. Two of these happened to be laics, who were Jonathan and Ananias, and of the sect of the Pharisees; the third was Jozar, descended from the sacerdotal line, and also a Pharisee; but the fourth, who

who was Simon, was the chief of the priests. These four had instructions, when they came before the assembly of the Galileans, to enquire into the cause of their partiality to me. If it was said, because I was born at Jerusalem, it might be answered, so were they: if because I was versed in the laws, it might be answered, they were not ignorant of the constitution of their country: but if they proceeded to say, that they respected me for the dignity of the priesthood, they should reply, that two of their members were priests.

When Jonathan and his companions had received these instructions, they were presented with 40,000 drachmæ, out of the public money, to defray their expences: but hearing after that a certain Galilean, named Jesus, was come to Jerusalem with a band of six hundred men, they sent for him, and presenting him with three months pay beforehand, ordered him to follow Jonathan and his colleagues, and pay obedience to their commands. They moreover gave money to the three hundred citizens to defray their charges in general. These necessary preparations being made, Jonathan and his associates set forward, having in their retinue the brother of John, and the hundred soldiers, who were ordered by those that sent them, on condition I voluntarily laid down my arms, to take me prisoner, and send me to Jerusalem; but, upon any opposition, they were to put me to death without scruple, relying entirely on the command that had been given them. There were letters also dispatched away to John to be in readiness to make war upon me: and the Sepphorites, the Gabareens, and the Tiberians, were commanded to assist him with supplies.

Now Jesus, the son of Gamala, who was attached to me, and privy to the whole contrivance, sent my father word, from time to time, of every thing that passed, and from him I received a particular account of the whole matter. I was much troubled to think of the ingratitude and malicious practices of a faction in the city against me; nor was I less afflicted to find the trouble my father was in for my sake, and with what earnestness he pressed me to come over to him, that he might see me yet once again before he departed this life. Hereupon I made these particulars known to my friends, and informed them, that, in three days, I should leave the country, and visit the place of my birth. They were much concerned at hearing the same, and entreated me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them, as they should certainly fall to ruin if they wanted my government. But finding all their entreaties ineffectual, the Galileans, apprehending my departure would render them more contemptible to the robbers, sent messengers throughout the whole province to notify the same. This giving an alarm, brought great numbers of people, together with their wives and children, to the plain of Asochis, where I then was, to prevail with me to stay; not so much out of affection to me, perhaps, as their own fears and apprehensions; for they thought themselves secure as long as I remained with them.

That very night I had a surprizing dream: for having withdrawn to bed, full of sorrow and confusion from the contents of the letter which I received, it seemed that a person stood by me, and addressed me to this purport: "O thou, who art so sad, banish thy sorrow, and discharge thy fears; for all these calamities tend only to thy greater advantage and satisfaction; not only for the present, but likewise for the time to come; wherefore stand firm, and remember you were told, that you must wage war with the Romans."

Upon waking out of this dream, I arose with a design to go out into the plain. When the whole multitude of the Galileans, men, women, and children, saw me, they cast themselves prostrate, and, with tears and supplications, besought me not to leave them in this extremity, at the mercy of their enemies. When they found prayers would not avail, they pressed me with adjurations not to forsake them, and that with many a heavy curse upon the people of Jerusalem, that would never let them be quiet.

When I heard these words, and saw the sorrow of the multitude, I was melted down to pity and compassion, and brought, in the end, to a resolution of running any hazard whatever for their service. I now commanded them to draw me 5000 men out of their whole number, and furnish them with arms and provisions for a march, and sent away the rest to their respective habitations. As soon as these five thousand were ready, I joined them with three thousand more, and advanced with them to the town of Chabolo, on the frontiers of Ptolemais, where I took up my station, as if my design had been to fall upon Placidus, whom Cestius Gallus had sent into those parts, with a troop of horse and two companies, to burn all the villages in that quarter. Both armies were several times drawn out with a design of coming to action, but proceeded no farther than to slight skirmishes; for the more I pressed the bringing of it to a combat, the more the other declined it; yet did he not draw off from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

While matters were in this posture, Jonathan, with his colleagues, appeared, who had been sent from Jerusalem by the faction of Simon, and Ananus, the priest. At first they endeavoured to take me by stratagem, not having the resolution to attack me openly. To this end they consulted together, and sent me the following letter.

Jonathan, and his colleagues, from the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, to Josephus, greeting:

"Whereas the elders are given to understand, that John of Gischala hath been engaged in several perfidious practices against your person, they have sent me, in their names, to give him a severe reproof for so doing, and to require him, for the future, to pay all respect and obedience to your commands. And to the end that we may agree upon some better provision for the regulation of things hereafter, we make it our request that you will come hither to us with all speed. As the village is but small, we desire you will not bring any considerable retinue, as there is not convenience to accommodate a numerous train."

Jonathan's letter to Josephus.

This letter put me to the pause; for it occurred to me, that, if I went unguarded, they might seize my person, and treat me as they pleased; and, on the other hand, if I was attended with military force, it might serve as a pretext for condemning me as an enemy. The letter was brought me by an officer of horse, an intrepid youth, who had been formerly in the king's service. The evening was advanced, and being regaling with some friends, and several Galileans of rank, about me, word was brought me at table, that a Jew horseman desired to speak with me. Having ordered him to be introduced, he entered, and, without any deference to the company, delivered me a letter, which he brought, he said, from the Jerusalem deputies, and required an immediate answer, as he was to return without delay. The company were amazed at the confidence of the soldier, whom I desired to sit down, and partake of the conviviality, keeping the letter in my hand without opening it. Though he excused himself from accepting the invitation, I took care to protract the time, by introducing various subjects of discourse, and passing now and then out at the door, in complimentary attendance on some of my guests that were going to repose, availed myself of that opportunity for breaking open the letter, and glancing at the contents; then instantly folding it up, I held it still in my hand as before, without discovering that I had read it. All the company at length retired, but four particular friends, when I presented the soldier with twenty drachmæ as a gratuity. From the warmth of his acknowledgment, I found that money was his object; and resolving to attack him on his weak side, I promised, if he would sit down and be cheerful, for every cup he took he should be gratified with a drachmæ. He caught the bait, and becoming speedily intoxicated, unravelled the whole mystery

mystery of the plot laid to take away my life. Upon this discovery I gave him the following answer to his letter.

Josephus to Jonathan, and his colleagues in embassy, greeting :

Answer of Josephus to Jonathan.

" I rejoice to hear of your health and arrival in Galilee, as I can now return to my native country; this being a fair opportunity for my delivering up the care of the public administration into your hands. I should esteem myself happy in attending you at Xallo, or farther, without invitation, but am under a necessity of remaining where I am to watch the motions of Placidus, who has a design of breaking into Galilee. I therefore think it more adviseable, upon receipt of this letter, for you to come hither." Farewell.

This letter I delivered to the horseman, and sent with him thirty trusty Galileans, with orders to compliment the deputies on my part, but to proceed no farther. I joined to each of them a soldier in whom I could confide, to watch their motions, and observe that they did not combine, or enter into any schemes, against me with Jonathan and his colleagues. After their departure, the deputies, finding their first essay abortive, sent a letter to the following effect.

Jonathan and colleagues to Josephus greeting :

A peremptory summons to Josephus to appear at Gabara.

" This is to require you to appear within three days before us at the village of Gabara, without any guard, to make good the charges you have exhibited against John of Gischala."

The people one and all for Josephus.

When they had written this letter, and saluted the Galileans whom I sent, they went to Japha, one of the strongest and most populous villages of Galilee. Upon their approach, the inhabitants, with their wives and children, went out to meet them, and, with uplifted voices, called upon them to depart, nor interrupt their tranquillity; for they would own no other governor than Josephus. The deputies, after this disappointment here, withdrew to Sepphoris, the largest city of all Galilee. The inhabitants of this place, being in the Roman interest, went out to meet them; but said not a word either in my commendation or dispraise. From thence they proceeded to Asochis, where they met with the same reception as they had done at Japha. This contemptuous treatment rendered them so outrageous, that they ordered their soldiers to quiet the clamours of the multitude with clubs and cudgels. Upon their coming to Gabara, John met them with a body of 3000 men; from which step plainly perceiving their resolution was to give me battle, I left Chabolo with my 3000 men, and having set one of my trustiest friends to guard my camp, withdrew to Jotapata, being unwilling to be above forty furlongs from them, whence I wrote the deputies the following letter :

Josephus writes to the deputies again.

" If you find it absolutely necessary for me to come to you, there are four hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee, and I will come to any one of them you please, Gabara and Gischala excepted; one of them being the place of John's nativity, and the other of his alliance."

The deputies plot the destruction of Josephus.

The deputies, having received this letter, returned no answer; but convening a council of their friends, among whom was John, advised in what manner they should attack me. John was for sending circular letters to all the cities, towns, and villages of Galilee, upon a presumption that there was one or more in every place inimical to me, who might be suborned to join in an information against me as a public enemy. He observed further, that nothing more need be done towards gaining the citizens of Jerusalem over to the opinion of my being a mortal enemy to the Galileans, than to send them these attestations well certified, which would certainly invalidate my credit with that people. The counsel of John met with general approbation.

Notwithstanding this cautionary proceeding, I

heard every particular that passed by means of one Sacchæus, who brought me an account about the third hour of the night. I found now I had no time to lose, so that I immediately called for Jacob, (a brave man attached to me,) and sent him away with 200 men upon the scout betwixt Galilee and Gabara, with instructions to apprehend what passengers he thought fit, and send them to me in custody, especially if they had any letters about them. At the same time I dispatched Jeremias, one of my friends, with 600 soldiers, another way, to watch the passes from Jerusalem into Galilee, expressly charging them to seize all who carried letters about them, commit the parties to prison, and send me their papers. I sent abroad my mandates also throughout the whole province of Galilee, requiring all persons to attend me at Gabara the next morning, with their arms and three days provisions. Having divided the soldiers I had with me into four parts, I selected the most trusty, and commanded them to be near my person; and set centurions over them, to watch that no unknown soldier got amongst their number. Coming to Gabara next day, I found the whole plain before the town covered with armed troops, that came out of Galilee to my assistance, besides a confused multitude of country people. Upon my attempting to address them, I was interrupted with their acclamations, pronouncing me the benefactor and preserver of the country. I made them due acknowledgments for this token of their affection, advised them to offer no hostilities either individually or collectively, but to fix their tents in the fields, and be satisfied with their present pay, as it was my intention to put a period to the commotion without bloodshed. That very day the messenger sent by Jonathan with his letters happened to fall into the hands of the scouts I had planted in the roads, whom, according to orders, they strictly confined, and sent me the letters, which I found, upon perusal, to abound with invectives against myself. I determined therefore, without taking the least notice of the matter, to be as expeditious as possible in falling upon them.

When Jonathan and his colleagues heard of my arrival, they collected all their forces, and withdrew with John into the house of Jesus, which was a large tower, built in the manner of a citadel. As soon as their men had entered this place, they fastened all the doors except one, which they left open for me, waiting for my coming to pay them my compliments, now I was upon my journey. Besides, they gave orders to their soldiers to let me enter by myself as soon as I appeared, but refuse admittance to the rest of my followers. Thus they imagined they should easily get me into their power; but I effectually disappointed the hopes they entertained; for having had some apprehensions beforehand of their design against me, as soon as I arrived at the place, I retired to a lodging over against them, and pretended to betake myself to rest. The deputies, supposing me much fatigued, went into the plain to tamper with the multitude, and possess them with hatred and envy against me and my administration. But matters proved otherwise; for no sooner had the Galileans got sight of them, than they fell upon them with clamours and reproaches, calling out that I had acted the part of a faithful governor, and thereby attached them to my interest by the firmest and most indissoluble ties. At the same time they upbraided the deputies with coming, without their having offered them the least injury, to give a destructive blow to the affairs of their country; and advised them to return, as all their efforts would prove abortive.

Upon this encouragement I appeared, and presented myself to hear what Jonathan and his colleagues had to alledge against me. When I came publicly amongst them, the whole multitude received me with loud acclamations, and applauded my upright and generous conduct. The deputies, hearing this, were extremely apprehensive lest they should be exposed to the designs of the Galileans, the consequences of which might in my favour be fatal to them; they therefore bethought themselves how

how they should retire. But finding themselves obstructed in their intention, (for I required them to stay,) they expressed astonishment at my words, and, with dejected countenances, could not keep their eyes from the earth. I then desired the multitude to cease their acclamations, and strictly charged the soldiers to be very careful in guarding the passes, to prevent John from making an unexpected sally upon me; advising the Galileans, at the same time, to be ready with their arms for fear of an irruption of the enemy, which might put them into disorder, and dishearten them. I reminded the deputies of a letter they had sent me, pretending a commission from Jerusalem to hear and determine on certain matters in controversy betwixt John and myself, producing the letter at the same time in proof of my suggestion. I observed that, "admitting Jonathan and his colleagues had a just pretence for calling me to account for my conduct, as governor of the province, they must pronounce me innocent upon the evident testimony of two or three witnesses of unquestionable probity in my justification." I further appealed not only to two or three competent vouchers, but to every one present, if I had not behaved myself, both in a public and private capacity, as became a man of integrity and honour; and called upon the people of Galilee, in the most solemn manner, to speak the truth, and the whole truth, as if they were sworn evidences in the cause, and those men, who called themselves deputies from the sanhedrim, were really the judges.

I had scarcely uttered these words, when the multitude, with one voice, pronounced me their benefactor and preserver. They testified for my past conduct, and entreated me to pursue the same measures in future; affirming, with an oath, that the chastity of their wives had been inviolably preserved, and none of them exposed to any injurious or violent treatment through my means. I then read openly to the Galileans Jonathan's two intercepted letters, that were brought me by my scouts. These were replete with falsehood and invective, as if I had acted like a tyrant instead of governor over my people. I was not, I told them, willing to let my enemies know that I had their messengers in custody, lest it should hinder their sending that way another time; so that I pretended they were brought over to me voluntarily by the messengers themselves. The multitude, on hearing these things, were so exasperated at Jonathan and his colleagues, that they would have fallen sacrifices to their fury, had I not interposed and restrained them. I gave them, however, their liberty, on condition of their repenting, and returning home to those that sent them, and acquainting them with the real truth of my administration. I then dismissed them, though I perfectly knew they would never fulfil their promise. But the multitude continued extremely enraged, and entreated me to permit them to punish them as their crimes deserved. I still desired them to refrain, being persuaded that the least sedition would be prejudicial to the common good. All I could do could not appease their rage, till at length they beset the house where Jonathan and his colleagues resorted.

When I found my utmost efforts would not restrain them, I took horse, and ordered them to follow me to Segane, a village of Arabia, about forty furlongs distant from Gabara; and by this stratagem I obviated the imputation of being the author of a civil war. Being advanced within a little of the place, I ordered my troops to halt, and, after a few words of necessary precaution, not to be intemperate and vindictive, I selected an hundred men, of years and experience, and ordered them to make ready to go to Jerusalem, with a complaint against the ringleaders of these broils. I gave them, moreover, in charge, if they found the Sanhedrim disposed in my favour, to solicit a new commission for my continuance in the command of Galilee, and the removal of Jonathan and his colleagues. With these instructions I dispatched them away, on the third day after this meeting, with a guard of five hundred armed men. I wrote also to my friends in

Samaria, to grant my commissioners a fair and free passage through their country; for the city was at that time under the Roman jurisdiction; and it was necessary for those who were desirous of making a speedy journey to Jerusalem to pass that way, so that they arrived in three days. I conducted them myself to the frontiers of Galilee, having set scouts on the road to prevent a report being spread of their departure. After this I made a short stay at Japha.

Jonathan and his colleagues, finding themselves wholly disappointed in the designs they had formed against me, sent John back to Gischala, and went themselves to the city of Tiberias, in hopes of reducing it to obedience; as Jesus, the chief magistrate there, had, in a letter, promised them to bring the people over to their interest. But Silas, my lieutenant, sent me word, from time to time, of every proceeding, and pressed me, with the utmost expedition, to repair thither. I complied with his solicitation; but, on my arrival, had nearly lost my life, from the following cause.

The colleagues, having formed a desperate faction against me in Tiberias, were not a little startled upon my coming thither; but paid me the compliment, however, of a visit, congratulating me on the reputation I had acquired by the integrity of my conduct in the administration of Galilee, and not without assuming to themselves some share in the honour of it, both as being their fellow-citizen, and disciple. They professed a much greater kindness for me than John, and assured me with such deadly imprecations of their resolution to deliver him into my hands, as to obviate every degree of suspicion, and obtain my entire confidence. They then desired me to draw off to some other place, suggesting, to countenance the matter, that the sabbath approached, and it was highly indecent to occasion the least tumult on that day.

Upon this pretence I repaired to Tarichæa, not suspecting any thing; but yet, for the sake of security, I planted my spies and informers up and down the road, to observe and report to me what was said and done concerning me. On the day following the people met together in the prolencha, or oratory, a place of public worship, capable of containing a vast multitude. When Jonathan entered, he had not the assurance to make an open declaration, but merely hinted that their city stood in need of a better governor. Jesus, the chief magistrate, finding this, pulled off the mask, and openly declared, that "it was infinitely better for them to have four rulers than one, especially if they were men of honourable extraction and known prudence, as those were;" pointing to Jonathan and his colleagues, who stood by. Justus approved what Jesus had said, and brought several over to his opinion. But the main body of the people could not be induced to favour the proceedings, and a sedition had unquestionably arisen, had they not thought proper to break up the assembly; for the sixth hour was come, and it is the custom of our nation to dine before the sabbath begins. The deputies therefore put off the debate till the day following, without coming to any present issue.

Having intelligence of every thing that was transacted, I resolved to go to Tiberias in the morning, and, upon my arrival, found the people assembled together in the oratory, without understanding the intention of their meeting. The colleagues so little suspected to see me there, that they appeared in a kind of confusion. At length they meditated the divulging of a report that a body of Roman horse was seen upon the confines, at some distance, about thirty furlongs from the city, at a place called Homonea. They then proceeded to represent to the multitude the obligation they were under not to suffer the enemy to commit barefaced depredations in the country: but this was designed to draw me out of the city, under pretence of lending them my assistance, and in the mean time give them an opportunity of making the citizens my enemies.

Though I well knew their design, yet, that I might not appear less anxious for their security than I ought

Jonathan and colleagues endeavour to reduce Tiberias.

The colleagues in the professions to Josephus to betray him.

A meeting in the oratory to supplant Josephus.

The debate adjourned.

A stratagem of the deputies.

Counterfeit
letters pro-
duced.

ought to be, I marched out of the city. But finding at the place not the least footstep of an enemy, I hastened back to the city, where the senate and people were assembled together, and the deputies were laying before them a long accusation against me, as inattentive to the duties of my station, and addicted to wanton pleasures. They then produced four letters, pretended to have been written them from those who dwelt on the frontiers of Galilee, entreating them, through a pretence that a body of Roman troops would be with them in three days to ravage their country, to hasten their arrival amongst them as much as possible, and not defer the time. The credulous Tiberians admitted the whole story as current, and unanimously exclaimed, that it was now high time to send a seasonable relief to their allies. As I knew the drift of the colleagues, I answered, I would readily obey their orders, and promised, without hesitation, to go and carry on the war in their defence. But as it appeared, from the letters, that the Romans had made their irruptions into four several places, I persuaded them that there was a necessity to make a division of the army into so many parts, and put the four deputies at the head of them, as it was the duty of good patriots and valiant men to serve their country in their persons, as well as with their conduct and counsel; at the same time I pointed out to them the impossibility of my being at the head of any more than one party. This advice was approved by the multitude, who obliged the deputies to take a share in the expedition; though they were greatly chagrined when they found their designs frustrated by the stratagem I used to disconcert their measures.

The hypo-
crisy of
Ananias,
one of the
deputies.

But one of them, named Ananias, a seditious turbulent man, persuaded the multitude to have a fast kept the next day by all the people, and ordered them to come without arms, which, he observed, would avail nothing, unless favoured by the assistance of the Almighty. This proceeded from no religious motive; and was, in reality, designed to disarm me and my party. I was, however, under a necessity of complying with the proposal, as I would not seem averse to so pious an admonition; in consequence of which every one withdrew to his own habitation.

A plot to be
executed by
the depu-
ties.

The colleagues wrote in all haste to John to come early the next morning with all the force he could make; for if they could but get me into their hands, the business was done. John, receiving the letter, resolved to obey the summons. The following day I ordered two of the most resolute and faithful of my guards to conceal their daggers under their garments, and attend me, in order to resist any violence that might be offered me. I put on a breast-plate, and girt on my sword, as secretly as I could, and in that manner went to the proscencha.

Josephus
provides a-
gainst it.

Jesus, however, refused to admit all my attendants, and only suffered me to enter with some particular friends. As we were just on the point of entering upon our devotions, Jesus began to discourse on the rich furniture, and the mats of silver, that were taken upon the firing of the royal palace, and asked where it was to be found, and who had it in possession? This was done to spin out the time, till John might come up with his army. I answered in brief, that it was all deposited in the hands of Capellus, and ten of the principal citizens of Tiberias, to whom I referred them for the truth of my declarations. They then enquired what I had done with the twenty pieces of gold? I told them I had given them to the envoys I had sent to Jerusalem to defray the expences of their journey. The colleagues replied, I was highly culpable in paying my particular agents out of the public treasure.

Captious
questions
put to Jose-
phus.

These proceedings exasperated the multitude, who plainly observed their malice against me; and I, desirous of irritating them more, if possible, against the colleagues, added, that, "if I was culpable in gratifying my messengers out of the public stock, I would willingly refund the whole sum." The fairer matters appeared on my side, the more outrageous were the multitude, when they perceived the whole

story founded upon envy and calumny. This fell out so contrary to expectation, that Jesus ordered all but the senators to depart, observing, that the business could not be transacted amidst the clamour of a multitude. The people exclaimed, on the other side, that they were determined not to suffer me to remain without them. Upon this a messenger whispered Jonathan, that John would be with him immediately, with his party; so that, upon this encouragement, he broke out into these words: "Imagine not, citizens of Tiberias, that I would have Josephus punished for the undue appropriation of the gold, but for imposing on a credulous multitude, in the tyrannical affectation and exercise of an arbitrary power." At that word certain bravoes, that were in the plot, set upon me, and had undoubtedly destroyed me; if my particular friends had not immediately drawn, and kept them off; the common people at the same time threatening to stone John; so that, betwixt them both, I was rescued out of the hands of my enemies. Upon my withdrawing to make my escape, I met John upon the way, with his troops, upon their march to the assistance of Jonathan. This put me upon some apprehension of danger; but I found means to evade them, and reach the lake, where, having the good fortune to find a vessel, I embarked, and passed over to Taricheæ; a deliverance beyond all expectation.

He is
upon a
rescue.

Escape
Tiberias.

The first thing, after my arrival, was to summon the chief men of the province, and relate to them the barbarous treatment I had received from Jonathan and the Tiberians, contrary to common faith, humanity, and justice. This so incensed the Galileans, that they insisted on an immediate declaration of war against John and his colleagues, in order to extirpate such monsters of iniquity. I endeavoured, by fair means, to restrain their impetuosity, advising them, for the present, to wait till we had an answer from the deputies we sent to Jerusalem; for there was no resolution to be taken without their approbation. With these words they were pacified; and John, when he found his design ineffectual, went back to Gischala.

Not many days after this the deputies brought word from Jerusalem, that the government there was much offended with Ananus, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, for presuming, without any public authority, to send their agents to remove me from my government of Galilee; and that the people were so incensed at this proceeding, that they were ready to set fire to their houses. They brought letters also, by which the head men of Jerusalem, with the consent of the people, confirmed me in my government; and commanded John, and his associates, instantly to depart the place.

They
to the
city.

Upon the receipt of these letters I went to Arbela, where the Galileans being assembled, the deputies made a report of what passed at Jerusalem, how heinously they took the base actions of Jonathan and his colleagues, and how they confirmed me, by their decree, in the government of the country, with a command to the pretended deputies to quit their pretences. I took care to send them the letters by a messenger, to whom I gave orders to be very strict in observing their design. Upon the receipt of the letters, they were put into the utmost confusion, and sent for John, and the leading men of Tiberias and Gabara, to consult about the present state of affairs, and advise what measures it was expedient to pursue. The Tiberians were for their keeping the power still in their own hands, and not abandoning a people that had delivered themselves up to their protection; especially against an enemy that had threatened them with an invasion, as they falsely and maliciously represented I had done.

John not only gave into this opinion, but advised the sending two of their body to Jerusalem, with a charge of mal-administration against me, which, he said, betwixt the credit of the accusers, and the variable humour of the common people, could not fail of making an impression. The counsel of John being approved, they sent Jonathan and Ananias to Jerusalem upon the commission, with a guard of a hundred

hundred soldiers to attend their persons, the other two staying behind at Tiberias. The inhabitants of that place immediately set about repairing their walls, betook themselves to their arms, and sent for John's troops, that were then at Gischala in a considerable body, to be within distance of assisting them against me, if there should be any occasion.

Jonathan and his people being now upon their march, and advanced as far as Dabaritta, a village upon the borders of Galilee, fell about midnight into a party of my out-guards, who took away their arms, and kept them prisoners according to order. Levi, who commanded the party, gave me notice of the encounter; and two days after, as if I had been ignorant of what had happened, I sent a messenger to the Tiberians, to advise them to lay down their arms. But they returned a very scurrilous answer, supposing that Jonathan and his party were by that time arrived at Jerusalem. I was resolved, notwithstanding, to requite them by means of one stratagem or another; though I could not be persuaded to make war against my own fellow-citizens. In order to inveigle them out of the town, I took 10,000 of my choicest troops, and divided them into three bodies. Part of them I planted privately in Dora, and a thousand of them in another village, upon the mountains, four furlongs from Tiberias, with orders to be ready upon the first signal to make a sally. I came out of the village myself, and encamped on an open plain within sight of the Tiberians, who made towards me, and treated me with reproachful language: nay, they proceeded so far in their folly and insolence, as to provide a mock funeral for me; and, with fantastical pomp, exposed my image in the field, surrounded by mourners. But I only made this farce the subject of my mirth and diversion.

Being desirous to intercept Simon and Joazar by a stratagem, I sent a messenger to them, desiring them to come a little way out of the city, conducted by their friends, as I was ready, upon meeting them, to enter into an alliance, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Joazar, who was crafty and suspicious, kept himself at a distance; but Simon, lured by the prospect of advantage, came over to me, attended by his guards and friends. I received him with becoming respect for the honours he had done me; but presently taking him aside, through a pretence of speaking with him apart, and thinking I had conveyed him far enough, I gave him up to my friends to carry him to the next village, and then giving the signal for my men to come forth, marched with them instantly to besiege Tiberias. A sharp encounter followed, and the Tiberians were almost in possession of the victory, till observing my men inclined to retreat, I roused their courage, when they rallied, and, with extreme difficulty and hazard, pursued the enemy to their very gates. Other forces passing the lake at this juncture to my relief, I ordered them to set fire to the first house they could seize upon. The Tiberians seeing this, and imagining their city stormed, threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, cast themselves at my feet, imploring me to spare the place of their nativity. Prevailed upon by their entreaties, I restrained the fury of my soldiers, and, as night was drawing on, returned with my men from the siege, and refreshed myself. I sent for Simon to regale with me, and gave him the comfortable assurance of sending him safe back to Jerusalem, with all necessities and conveniences for his journey.

The next day I marched into Tiberias, with an army of 10,000 men; and summoning the principal citizens into the circus, enjoined them to tell me who were the ringleaders of the revolt. Upon their information, I sent them all prisoners to Jotapata, except Jonathan and his colleagues, whom I set at liberty, with a guard of 500 soldiers to conduct them to Jerusalem, and an allowance for the expence of their journey. The Tiberians came again before me, and entreated pardon for what they had done, promising to make ample amends by their future fidelity, and requesting that the pillage, which the soldiers had taken, might be restored to the right

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owners. Hereupon I ordered the whole booty to be produced before me; but being dilatorily obeyed, and observing one of my men with a garment more splendid than ordinary, I enquired whence he had it, and being told out of the plunder of Tiberias, I commanded him to be severely scourged, with a menace of greater rigour upon any man that should afterwards presume to withhold any part of what he had taken. By this means abundance of things were brought to me, which were restored to the Tiberians according to their respective claims.

I cannot pass over this subject without taking notice of some palpable falsities imposed upon the world, and transmitted to posterity by Justus, and certain other writers, who have treated of this argument, and, through partiality on the one hand, and prejudice on the other, misrepresented facts, and thereby perverted the grand end of history. This class of men may justly be compared to those who produce forged instruments or writings concerning conveyances of property, but, because they are not liable to the same punishment as others, disregard and despise truth. Justus, upon this principle, took upon him to write of these transactions in the war of which I bore a part, and has feigned several stories of me, and introduced many particulars of his own country, which are not founded on the basis of truth. I therefore think I am bound to defend myself against his false assertions, and shall take the freedom to introduce some things which I have not disclosed before; because I hold it as an invariable principle, that whoever undertakes to write history, should not advance any subject without conviction of its authenticity; though, at the same time, he is bound to observe the law of candour and moderation. Thus, then, I expostulate with Justus, as if he were present.

"Say, Justus, thou that art the greatest pretender of all men living to the good faith of a candid author, how was it possible for me and the Galileans to be the cause of the revolt of thy countrymen from their prince, and from the Roman empire, when you yourself, and your Tiberians, had already made war upon the Decapolitans in Syria, and burnt their villages? By the token that one of your servants fell in the action, and all this before ever I received my commission from Jerusalem for the government of Galilee? I do not deliver this barely upon my own credit, but refer the reader, for his better satisfaction, to the memorials and records of the emperor Vespasian; wherein it will appear, that, while he was at Ptolemais, the people of Decapolis were still pressing him with restless importunities to do them justice upon you, as the principal promoter of all their troubles; which he had undoubtedly done, if king Agrippa, to whom the care of the execution was committed, had not given you your life, upon the mediation of his sister Berenice: and this pardon did not yet hinder you from being still kept in prison a long time after. Besides, the whole course of your life was uniform, as may be seen from your following practices; for I shall make it as clear as the sun, that it was upon your tampering and instigation, that your people broke out into a rebellion against the Romans. I must now give the reader to understand, that neither you yourself, nor the rest of the Tiberians, were ever faithful, either to your king, or to the emperor.

"The fairest cities of Galilee are Sepphoris and Tiberias; the latter the place of your birth, Justus; the former seated in the middle of the province, with several villages depending upon it; and the people so true to their masters, that they did not only refuse me entrance into the place, but, by a public edict, prohibited all their citizens from bearing arms for the Jews. And for their better security, they lured me into a promise to wall their town; which I had no sooner done, than they turned me off with contempt; submitting also, at the same time, without any difficulty, to a Roman garrison, under Cestius Gallus, who was then governor of Syria; and this at a

6 R

season

Treats the inhabitants with great humanity.

Restores the pillage to the Tiberians.

Josephus censures unfaithful historians.

Expostulation of Josephus with Justus.

"season, too, when I held the whole neighbourhood
 "in awe. Nay, so tender were they of giving the
 "least colour for a suspicion of their breaking faith
 "with the Romans, that, when the temple of Jeru-
 "salem was besieged, and the common cause and
 "interest of our nation at stake upon that action,
 "they would not so much as contribute in any sort
 "to their relief. But, Justus, considering the situ-
 "ation of your country, as it stands upon the bor-
 "der of the lake of Gennesareth, some thirty fur-
 "longs from Hippos, sixty from Gadara, and an
 "hundred and twenty from Scythopolis, (places
 "under the king's allegiance, and none of the Jews
 "garrisons thereabouts; besides, that they wanted
 "neither men or arms;) what should hinder you
 "now, with all these advantages on your side, from
 "discharging your duty to the Romans, if you had
 "a mind? Or, supposing the matter to be as you
 "say, and that, in truth, I was at that time in some
 "measure the cause of the war, who was to blame
 "afterward? You know very well that the Ro-
 "mans had got me into their power before the siege
 "was laid to Jerusalem, Jotapata and divers other
 "castles taken by assault, and great numbers of the
 "Galileans cut off upon several encounters. Now
 "if it be true, as you suggest, that the war was al-
 "together against your will, and that you were
 "driven upon it by force, how came it to pass that
 "you did not lay down your arms, and cast your-
 "self at the feet of your prince, and of the Romans,
 "when that pretended necessity was over? for you
 "were now out of danger of any hurt that I could
 "do you. But you were still disposed to stand it
 "out, till Vespasian was advanced with his army
 "up to your very walls; and it was then high time
 "for you to call for quarter, when you found your-
 "self certainly ruined without it. That submission
 "would not have served your turn neither, without
 "the intercession of the king to Vespasian in your
 "behalf; for the city had been razed to the very
 "ground, if he had not obtained the emperor's par-
 "don for your madness and folly: so that your
 "enmity to the Romans was purely out of the ma-
 "lice of your own heart, without any fault of mine.
 "How many times have I protected you, and had
 "you at mercy, without spilling so much as one
 "drop of your blood? whereas it is notoriously
 "known, that, in the rage of your intestine broils,
 "not in the king's cause, nor in the Romans, but
 "out of a spirit of animosity and rancour one against
 "another, you put to death no less than an hundred
 "and eighty-five citizens at a time, when I was
 "blocked up in Jotapata. And were there not
 "two thousand Tiberians killed and taken at Je-
 "rusalem? Were you no enemy because you were
 "at that time with the king? not out of love or
 "duty, but because I frightened you thither. If you
 "will have me to be an ill man, what was Justus
 "then? A wretch that Vespasian pronounced sen-
 "tence of death upon, though the execution of it
 "was afterwards remitted by king Agrippa: twice
 "a prisoner, as often an exile: once redeemed from
 "the very gibbet, upon the mediation of Berenice,
 "the emperor's sister; and finally, after all this, so
 "false to the trust of a secretary, which he had the
 "honour to have conferred upon him, that his
 "master banished him his court and his presence
 "for ever. But, Justus, without tracing your mis-
 "demeanours, I cannot sufficiently admire the ar-
 "rogance of your setting up for the most perfect
 "and exact historian of this war, to the disparage-
 "ment of all others, when effectually you are but
 "a mere stranger to the whole matter, even to what
 "has passed in Galilee itself; for in the time of that
 "action you were with the king at Berytus. And
 "as for the siege of Jotapata, how was it possible
 "for you to make any report of my behaviour in
 "that adventure, when there was not one man left
 "alive but myself to tell you the story? You will
 "say, perhaps, that the relation you have given of
 "what passed at Jerusalem may be more correct.
 "But it is a thing hardly to be imagined, that you,
 "who were neither personally in the action, or
 "ever so much as read Vespasian's commentaries
 "upon that part of the war, should be so well in-
 "formed of the story. I take for granted that you

"never read Vespasian, for there are several cases
 "wherein you point blank contradict him: but it
 "you are really so vain as to fancy to yourself that
 "you have, in this relation, out-done all mankind,
 "how came it that we were not blessed with the
 "fight of this admirable piece, while Vespasian or
 "Titus, the generals themselves, were yet living?
 "or in the days of Agrippa and his relations,
 "who were all great masters and critics in the
 "Greek tongue? Why was this history of yours
 "kept so long in the dark, (for it has been now
 "finished a matter of twenty years,) when you
 "might have had so many living eye witnesses of
 "the fact, to vouch for the good faith and credit
 "of the work? Why was it suppressed thus
 "long, and now published at last? but that
 "you durst not stand the test and censure of
 "the world, while so many people were yet alive
 "that were able to disprove you. I went quite
 "another way to work with my writings, and
 "put them into the hands of the emperors them-
 "selves, that had the government of the war, and
 "this while all the particulars of it were still fresh
 "in every one's memory; my conscience, in fine,
 "acquitting me, that I delivered the truth without
 "adding or diminishing; upon which account my
 "writings have received as favourable an acceptance
 "in the world as I could desire. These memorials I
 "communicated to several persons, one after ano-
 "ther, that had borne a part in the war, as king
 "Agrippa, and some certain relations of his. Nay,
 "Titus himself gave such testimony in approba-
 "tion of this history, that he recommended it to
 "the world as an authentic record; and, by an
 "order under his own hand, assigned it a place in
 "his library. King Agrippa was so pleased with
 "the integrity and candour of it, that he wrote me
 "sixty-two letters in confirmation of the credit of
 "it. Two of them I have here subjoined to the end,
 "that the matter may be allowed to speak for it-
 "self."

King Agrippa to his dearest friend, Josephus, greeting:

"I HAVE read your book with great delight, Agrippa
 "and look upon it to be the most pertinent and
 "exact account of any I have yet seen. Send me
 "the remainder; and so I bid you farewell, my
 "dear friend."

King Agrippa to Josephus, his dearest friend, health:

"UPON the perusal of your writings, I per-
 "ceive you have little need of any thing further
 "that I can tell you; only when we meet next, I
 "may, perhaps, suggest some certain passages to your
 "consideration that have escaped your knowledge."

Thus far with regard to Justus, with whom I thought myself indispensably obliged to make this comparison.

When I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and
 assembled a council of my friends, I advised what
 measures were to be put in execution concerning
 John. All the Galileans were of opinion, that I
 should put them in arms, and fall upon John as the
 real author of the late troubles. But I could not
 coincide with them in opinion, as I was desirous to
 terminate the difference without bloodshed, where-
 fore I desired them to be very diligent in procuring
 a list of the whole faction. Having thereby learned
 the names of the most considerable of John's party,
 I published an act of amnesty to all that should
 come in within twenty days, lay down their arms,
 and return to their duty; but setting forth that
 those who should stand out beyond that time might
 expect all the extremities of fire, sword, and pil-
 lage.

This being an invitation as well as a me-
 nace, wrought so effectually on the associates of
 John, that 4000 of them threw down their arms,
 and came over to me. Only his fellow citizens of
 Gischala stayed behind, and 1500 Tyrian mercena-
 ries,

ries. This one effort so effectually defeated the measures of John, that, through fear, he confined himself within the limits of his own country.

About this time the people of Sepphoris, confiding in the strength of the place, and seeing me engaged in other affairs, grew insolent, and took up arms. They sent to Cestius Gallus, who was then governor of Syria, desiring he would come in person, and receive the obedience of their city; or at least send thither a garrison of soldiers. Cestius promised them to come, but gave no intimation of the time. Upon intelligence of what had passed betwixt them, I marched up directly to the place, attacked and carried it by storm. The Galileans, desirous of improving this advantage, as an opportunity for taking their revenge on the Sepphorites, rushed furiously into the town, with a resolution of destroying both inhabitants and city. The people had quitted their habitations, and withdrawn into the castle for protection; while the soldiers set fire to the empty houses, and committed depredations without bounds. I was much concerned at these violences, and ordered the soldiers to desist from such unnatural proceedings against men of their own tribe and profession. When I found that neither entreaties or commands had any effect upon them, I ordered some of my trusty friends to divulge a report, that the Romans, with a great body of forces, had attacked the other part of the city. This I did with no other design than that, the report spreading abroad, the fury of the Galileans might be restrained, and Sepphoris preserved from ruin. At length the stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were apprehensive for themselves, ceased from plunder, and betook themselves to flight, especially when they saw me, their general, do the same; for, in order to gain more credit to the report, I pretended to be terrified in like manner with the danger that threatened. Thus the Sepphorites, by this artifice, preserved their lives and effects.

Tiberias was upon the point of being plundered by the Galileans on the following occasion. The principal men of their senate wrote to the king, desiring he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, which he gave to one of his attendants, named Crispus, by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. Some of the Galileans happening to meet with Crispus as he was bringing the letter, apprehended and brought him to me. When this came to the ears of the people, they were enraged, and immediately betook themselves to arms. Many of them assembling the next day, came to the city of Aschois, where I then resided, and, with loud exclamations, called the Tiberians traitors, and of the king's faction; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy their city; for they were as averse to the Tiberians as the Sepphorites.

When I heard of this procedure, I was doubtful in what manner to preserve the city from the enraged Galileans; for there was no denying or palliating the charge brought against the inhabitants of surrendering up their city; the letter the king had written back being too convincing a proof of it. Weighing the affair, therefore, some time in my mind, I reasoned the case with them in the following manner, by way of answer: "That the Tiberians were highly culpable; nor would I be any obstacle to the sacking of their city; nevertheless nothing of that kind should be put in execution without previous advice, and mature consideration; for that, upon further scrutiny, a faction might be found among the noble Galileans as deep in this plot upon their liberties as the Tiberians themselves. That, therefore, I recommended patience, till better information could be procured of the authors of the defection and treachery, and then that every one should be surrendered up and brought to condign punishment." By these means I pacified the multitude, and they quietly dispersed.

Having ordered the man sent by the king to be

put in chains, I pretended I was obliged to leave the kingdom for a few days to transact an affair of moment, and then sending privately for Crispus, I suggested to him to render the guard intoxicated, and then make his escape to the king. Thus Tiberias, which was again exposed to the last extremity, was delivered by my means from the danger which threatened it.

While affairs were in this situation, Justus, the son of Piltus, without my knowledge, went over to the king; and the reason was briefly this. Upon the breaking out of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians were resolved to persevere in their obedience to the king, and on no pretence whatever abandon the Romans. Justus, notwithstanding this resolution, endeavoured to spirit them up to a revolt, because he earnestly longed for a change, from which he hoped he should obtain the advantage of wresting into his hands the government of Galilee, as well as his own country.

But his scheme proved abortive; for the Galileans, who were avowed enemies to the Tiberians, from the indignation they entertained for the hardships they had suffered from Justus before the commencement of the war, could not endure to think of having him for their general. I myself also, who had received the government of Galilee from the hands of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, was frequently actuated by such a rage against him, that I have been ready to put him to death, as not being able to brook his insupportable malice. He was therefore very apprehensive that my passion would come to extremity, and went over to the king, supposing he should live in more security with him.

The Sepphorites being unexpectedly freed from their first danger, sent to Cestius Gallus, either to come immediately, and take possession of their city, or furnish them with a force sufficient to repel the incursions of an enemy. At length they prevailed with Gallus to transmit them a supply of cavalry and infantry, which they received into the city in the night time. The bordering country lying exposed to the depredations of the Roman soldiers, after I had taken up the forces I had at hand, I went to Garesine, where I encamped about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, and in the night marching with my arms to the city, sat down before the walls, and then ordering a great number of my men to mount the walls with their scaling ladders, I made myself immediately master of the greatest part of the city: but being unacquainted with the place, we were obliged to retire, having slain twelve foot-soldiers and two horsemen belonging to the Romans, with the loss of only one man on our side. Soon after this we had sharp encounter with the Roman horse, in which having defended ourselves a long time with great bravery, we were obliged to yield the victory to the enemy; for as I was surrounded by the enemy, and my men seeing it, they turned their backs upon me, and fled through fear. In this action I lost Justus, one of my guards, formerly in the service of the king.

About this time came a body of horse and foot forces sent by the king, under the command of Sylla, captain of the royal guards, who encamped about five furlongs from Julias, and planted his scouts along the road which led to Cana and the castle of Gamala, to cut off all relief.

As soon as I came to hear of this, I sent two thousand armed men under the command of Jeremias. Both armies encamped about a furlong from Julias; but nothing passed on either side but slight skirmishes, till I had an opportunity to come up with three thousand more of my men. The day following, after planting a strong ambush in a bottom, at a convenient distance from the enemy, I offered the king's troops battle, with orders to my men to turn their backs on the first charge, and so fly before the enemy, till they had drawn them within the reach of the ambuscade.

This stratagem was crowned with the desired success; for Sylla, not supposing it to have been a pretended

Justus goes over to the king.

The people of Sepphoris resolve to give themselves up to Cestius Gallus.

When Josephus had almost taken Sepphoris he is obliged to retire.

Sylla is sent with forces against Josephus.

Josephus
puts to
flight the
king's
troops.

pretended flight, drew out his army, and pursued them. Immediately my men, whom I had secured in the rear, sallied out of their ambuscades, fell upon him, and put the rest of his army into great disorder. When I saw this, I rallied my men immediately, faced the royal army, and put them to flight. Victory had certainly declared itself for me this day, had not an unfortunate accident prevented it: my horse carrying me into a boggy place, the fall put my wrist out of joint, so that I was obliged to be carried off to Cepharnome, a village near at hand, for my relief. Upon this disaster my people, fearing some worse accident had befallen me, gave over the pursuit, and returned in extreme concern for my welfare. I then applied to the physicians, and, through a fever I had upon me, was obliged to stay there that day, but was conveyed to Taricheæ at night.

The army
of Josephus
fall into an
ambush.

Sylla and his army, upon the news of my misfortune, resumed courage, and knowing my camp was not very strictly guarded, he planted a body of horse in ambush, before Jordan, and, as soon as it was day, strove to bring us to an engagement. My forces accepting the challenge, marched into the plain, and fell into an ambush of the enemies horse, by whom they were charged, routed, and put to flight, with the loss of only six men. But the enemy did not maintain the victory; for hearing a fresh supply of forces were arrived by shipping from Taricheæ, they through fear founded a retreat.

Vespasian
and Agrippa
come to
Tyre.

Soon after this Vespasian came to Tyre, and with him king Agrippa, whom the Tyrians reviled as an enemy both to them and the Romans; alledging it was by his command that Philip, his general, delivered up both the royal palace at Jerusalem, and the Roman garrison there. Vespasian severely reprimanded the Tyrians for their dishonouring a crowned head, and a friend to the Romans; and advised the king to send Philip to Rome to clear himself to the emperor. He accordingly went upon that design; but finding Nero greatly embarrassed by his civil wars, went back again to Agrippa without his errand.

Vespasian
persuades
Agrippa to
send Philip
to Rome.

Vespasian, after this, coming to Ptolemais, the principal citizens of Decapolis preferred grievous complaints against Justus for burning their country. Justus was accordingly delivered up to Agrippa to be punished for the injuries done to his subjects. The king only made him a prisoner, without ever consulting the emperor in the matter, as we have observed before.

Appoints
the Seppho-
rites a gar-
rison, and
makes Pla-
cidus their
governor.

The people of Sepphoris went out to meet Vespasian, and received a garrison from him of their own appointment, and Placidus for their governor, who was the man I had to do with till the emperor came into Galilee himself. But as to what concerns the story, and the manner of his coming, my retreat to Jotapata, after the first encounter I had at Taricheæ, what I did in defence of the palace, how I came after a long siege to be taken prisoner, how afterwards to be set at liberty, and, in fine, the manner in which I deported myself throughout the whole course of the Jewish war, these points have been already so amply treated, that there remains but little more to be added upon this subject, than some particular transactions of my own life.

Josephus is
honoured
by Vespasian.

The siege of Jotapata being now drawn to a conclusion, though I was in the hands of the Romans, and strictly guarded, Vespasian treated me with great respect; in consequence of which I took to wife a native of Cesarea, at that time a prisoner. She being divorced, and I having obtained my liberty, proceeded with Vespasian to Alexandria, where I married another wife. From this place I went with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, where my life was frequently exposed to danger; for the Jews were continually using stratagems to get me into their hands; and the Romans, whenever they met with any disadvantage, attributed it to some treachery of mine, brought accusations against me before the emperor, and desired him to give me up to punishment as their betrayer. But Titus Cæsar was well acquainted with the uncertainty of fortune, and returned no answer to the vehement solicitations of the soldiers against me.

After in
danger both
from the
Jews and
Romans.

Kindness of
Titus to
Josephus.

When Jerusalem was on the point of being taken, Titus was so generous as to offer me what I pleased, for my own use, out of the plunder of the city: but as, after the ruin of my country, nothing could more alleviate my miseries than the liberty of my friends, I requested that favour, as also for the sacred books, with which the conqueror immediately complied. I begged the life of my brother, and the liberty of fifty of my best friends, in which I succeeded according to my wishes. I also obtained permission to go into the temple, where a great number of captive women and children were shut up; and as many of my friends and acquaintance as I found there, who amounted to one hundred and ninety persons, I set at liberty; and, without paying any thing for their ransom, dismissed, and restored them to their former state of life.

Josephus
proposes
to Titus
that he
may be
set at
liberty.

I was then sent by Titus, in company with Cerealis, and a thousand horse, to a village called Thecoa, to take a view of the situation and disposition of the place for the forming a camp there. Upon my return, there were many prisoners crucified by the road side, and among others three men with whom I had a friendship of long standing. I was so wounded at this spectacle, that I went to Titus, and falling at his feet, represented the case to him; upon which he gave immediate orders to have them taken down, and all imaginable care taken of them. Two of them died under the hands of the physicians; but the third survived the experiment.

When Titus had put an end to the distractions in Judæa, he assigned me a portion of lands at a distance, in exchange for others I had in the vicinity of Jerusalem. This he did from a motive of kindness and respect; for he knew it would be neither commodious or profitable for me to have my habitation amidst the Roman troops that were, of necessity, to be quartered about the metropolis for the security of the province.

Further
about
the city
of Jerusalem.

The emperor Vespasian also did me the honour, upon my arrival at Rome, of entertaining me in a most splendid manner. He assigned me an apartment in the palace where he resided before he came to the empire. He favoured me with the privilege of a Roman citizen, gave me an annual pension, and retained his respect and kindness to the end of his life, which incurred the mortal envy and hatred of my own nation. One Jonathan, a Jew, having raised a sedition in Cyrene, and persuaded above two thousand of the natives to join in the commotion, became at length the cause of their ruin; for, being defeated by the governor of the province, he was sent to the emperor, before whom he averred that I had supplied him with arms and money; but Vespasian, not crediting the calumny, sentenced him to death for it. There were several other accusations brought against me by those who envied my happiness, but, through Divine Providence, I got clear of them all, and had a fair establishment allotted me in Judæa thro' the bounty of Vespasian.

Josephus
entertained
in a
splendid
manner.

About this time I put away my wife, from a disapprobation of her conduct, having had three children by her, two of whom died, and only Hyrcanus living. After this divorce I took another wife, by birth a Candian, by profession a Jewess, of noble descent, and exemplary virtue. I had by her two sons; Justus, the eldest; Simonides, the younger, who was also surnamed Agrippa. These are the circumstances of my family.

When
divorced
from his
first wife.

I was so happy as to be still in favour with the Cæsars, for, on the demise of Vespasian, Titus treated me with the same honourable respect as his father had done. Domitian also, who succeeded Titus, held me in the highest esteem, put to death several of my Jewish false accusers, and commanded an eunuch, a servant of mine, to be severely punished for an insidious information against me. As a testimony of his singular kindness, he hath been pleased to grant me an exemption from all taxes and duties for the estate I possess in Judæa. Nor have my obligations been less in proportion to the empress Domitia, his consort. This is a brief sketch of my life, from which the world may form a judgment of my principles and manners.

He is
treated
with
honour
by Titus
and
Domitian.

T H E

TESTIMONIES

O F

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

CONCERNING

Our Blessed Saviour JESUS CHRIST, JOHN the BAPTIST, &c.

CLEARLY VINDICATED,

FROM THE

Concurrent Authorities of Ecclesiastical and other Writers of Authenticity, such as
Historians, Biographers, the Ancient Fathers of the Church, &c.

AS we meet with many important testimonies in Josephus, the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the harbinger or forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and also James the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth, and since the principal testimony has been questioned by many, and rejected by some as spurious, I hold it my duty, having ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies are genuine, to produce original evidences, in order to confirm them, and then make proper observations for the more compleat satisfaction of the reader. Before I enter upon my main design, it may not be impertinent, by way of preparatory, to quote the opinion of, perhaps, the most learned person, and competent judge, that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus; I mean Joseph Scaliger, from whose works, in Latin, the following is a translation.

“ Josephus is the most diligent, and the greatest lover of truth, of all writers. We can confidently affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers; and this because his fidelity, and his compass of learning, are every where most conspicuous.”

T A C I T U S.

TACITUS writes, in his annals, that “ Nero, in order to stifle the rumour, (though he himself set Rome on fire,) ascribed it to those people who were hated for their strange practices, and called, by the vulgar, Christians. These he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death by Pontius Pilate, the procurator.”

Since Josephus gives us his testimony, and since almost all the rest that is true of the Jews in Tacitus,

was directly taken by him out of Josephus, there can remain no reason to doubt but this passage was taken from him also. He could not have this account from that other Jewish historian, Justus, of Tiberias; for Photius, who perused his history, assures us, that Justus made no mention at all of Jesus Christ. The true writing of these names, Christ and Christians, as in Josephus, is another argument that Tacitus had this account from him; which names he would otherwise most probably, with Suetonius, and other old Romans, have written Chrest and Chrestians. The words of Tacitus are all so very like those of Josephus, that it is most reasonable to conclude they were taken from him, and no other author.

J U S T I N M A R T Y R.

YOU (Jews) knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretel was to happen.

O R I G E N.

THIS James was so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities, he describes the cause why the people suffered such miseries till the sacred temple was demolished, says, that these things befel them through the Divine anger, for what they had dared to do with James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ. He says farther, that the people thought they suffered these things for the sake of James.

Josephus testifies, in the 18th book of his Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, when enquiring into the cause

cause of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the demolition of the temple, ought to have said, that their inclinations against Jesus were the cause of these miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ who was foretold by the prophets: he, though, as it were, unwillingly, yet, as one not remote from the truth, says "These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called Christ; because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen as the Lord's brother, (Gal. i. 19.) which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or sameness of education, as it does agreement of manners and preaching. If, therefore, he says, the desolation of Jerusalem befel the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said that it happened for the sake of Jesus? To this Origen adds, Titus destroyed Jerusalem, according to Josephus, on account of James the Just, the brother of Jesus, that was called Christ; but, in truth, on account of Jesus, the Christ of God.

EUSEBIUS.

CERTAINLY the attestation of those I have already produced concerning Our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if, over and above, we make use of Josephus, the Jew, as an additional witness. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, where he relates an account of what happened under Pilate, he mentions Our Saviour in these words. "Now there was, about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the Divine prophets had spoken of these and many other wonderful things concerning him. Whence the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." If, therefore, we have the testimony of this historian, that he not only brought over to himself the Twelve Apostles, with the Seventy Disciples, but many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles, he must manifestly have somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind: for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews and Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness that there were many thousands of Jews who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets. Acts xxi. 20.

From Ecclesiastical History, written about the year of our Lord 330.

THE Divine Scripture of the Gospels make mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive. On this account also Aretas made war with him, because his daughter had been used dishonourably. In which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed; and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover this same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the Baptist, concurs in his testimony with what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of this same Herodias; together

with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, he thus writes of John:

"Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that, by this means, the washing with water would appear acceptable to him when they made use of it; not in order to the putting away, or remission of some sins only, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified by righteousness. When many came in crowds about him, for they were greatly delighted with hearing his words, Herod was afraid that his great power of persuading men might tend to sedition, for they seemed disposed to do every thing he advised them to. He therefore thought it better to prevent any attempt at innovation by cutting him off, than, after such innovation should be brought about, to repent of such negligence. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner to the castle of Machærus, and there put to death."

When Josephus has thus written, he makes mention of Our Saviour in the same history, in the manner already quoted: therefore as this writer sprung from the Hebrews themselves, he hath delivered these things in his own work concerning John the Baptist, and Our Saviour. What room then can there be for farther evasion?

Now James was so wonderful a person, and so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of the siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befel them for no other reason than that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus, therefore, did not refuse to attest thereto in writing in the following words: "These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called Christ, on this account, that they had slain him who was a most righteous person."

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in the 20th book of his Antiquities, in these words: "Cæsar sent Albinus into Judæa as procurator, when he heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus the younger, who had been admitted to the high-priesthood, was, in his temper, bold and daring in an extraordinary manner. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more rigid in opinion than others of the Jews. Since therefore this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had a proper opportunity to exercise his authority, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road. He therefore assembles the Sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and some others of his companions, and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them up to be stoned. But those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those who were most uneasy at the breach of the laws, disliked what was done. They also sent to the king (Agrippa) desiring him to send to Ananus, that he should act so no more; for that what he had already done could not be justified."

AMBROSE, OR HEGESIPPUS.

WE have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms, (who is an author not to be rejected when he writes against himself,) that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of punishment for what he did to John the Baptist,

Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife."

The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears from Josephus, the writer of their history, who says, "That there was at that time a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his disciples, after the third day from his death, alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him. From him arose the congregation of Christians, which have penetrated amongst all sorts of men. Nor does there remain a nation in the Roman world that continue strangers to his religion." If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this; he hath spoken truth after such a manner, that is, historical truth, because he held it unlawful to deceive, though he was no believer, which rather confirms than invalidates his testimony.

R U F I N U S.

NOW there was at that time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such things to those who were willing to hear the truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these, and innumerable other, miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who are denominated from him, continue in being to this day.

H I E R O N Y M U S.

JOSEPHUS, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles; and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the Apostle. He wrote concerning our Lord after this manner. At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers, both of the Jews and Gentiles. He was believed to be Christ. And when, through the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, notwithstanding this, those who had loved him at first persevered; for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these and other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

I S I D O R U S P E L U S I O T A,

SCHOLAR OF CHRYSOSTOM.

THERE was one Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, and one that was zealous for the law; one also that paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and hath shewn that their settlement is nobler than can be described by words. Now since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious men, I think it necessary to set down his words. What then does he say? Now there was about that time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned

him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him: for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the Divine prophets had foretold, with many other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. I cannot but admire this man's love of truth in many instances, but chiefly where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who received the truth with pleasure."

S O Z O M E N U S.

NOW Josephus, the son of Matthias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and the Romans, may well be deemed a witness of credit as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the word of truth. He names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that many other wonderful things were foretold of him by the Divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles as well as Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him Christians was not then extinct. He appears likewise to have been so affected by the wonders he performed, as to run in a kind of middle path, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

C A S S I O D O R U S.

NOW Josephus, the son of Matthias, a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of great dignity among the Romans, shall be a witness to the truth of Christ's history; for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines. He names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover, he testifies also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him, and that the sect which was named from him was by means extinct at that time.

E P I P H A N I U S S C H O L A S T I C U S

OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

IT was the opinion of some of the Jews, that Herod's army did therefore perish because the Divine indignation was kindled against him, and that very justly, by way of vengeance for John, who was called the Baptist. For Herod had slain him who was a very good man, and exhorted the Jews to follow virtue, to exercise righteousness, to observe piety towards God, and to unite together by baptism as a thing acceptable, if used, not only for the washing away of sins, but the purification of the soul, and as a kind of seal of all the virtues together. When such precepts were taught by him, and a very great concourse of people flocked to hear him, Herod, fearful lest, by the persuasion of his doctrine, the people should depart from his government, (for he saw that the common people were ready to obey the precepts and admonitions he gave them in all points,) thought it more expedient to prevent any sedition that might arise, by taking him off, than, after disturbances had happened, to repent when it was too late. It was upon this suspicion alone of Herod that John was sent a prisoner to the castle of Machærus, and there beheaded. But, as we before observed, the Jews were of opinion that God had brought destruction upon his army, and thereby inflicted a just punishment on Herod.

Latin version of the Antiquities of Josephus

E P I P H A N I U S

EPIPHANIUS

OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

NOW there was at that time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as willingly heard the truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that loved him from the beginning did not forsake him; for he appeared to them to the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that those and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who were denominated from him, continue in being to this day.

EPIPHANIUS

OF JAMES, THE BROTHER OF OUR LORD.

ANANUS, the high-priest, believing that he had found out a proper time to exercise his authority, Festus, the procurator, being dead, and Albinus only upon the road, appointed a council of judges, and bringing several before him, among whom was the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ, whose name was James, he accused them of acting against the law, and delivered them up to be stoned. But those of the citizens that seemed the most moderate, and were concerned to have the law exactly observed, were greatly offended, and sent to the king (Agrippa,) entreating him that he would write to Ananus, that he would desist from such actions as were not well done, &c.

ANASTASIAS ABBAS.

NOW Josephus, a Jewish author, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, shewn and declared so to be by Divine Grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles,

FRECULPHUS.

JOSEPHUS, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the Pharisees, on account of the greatness of his miracles; that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the Apostle. Nay, he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner: "At that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be reasonable to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers, both of the Jews and Gentiles. He was also believed to be Christ. And when, through the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, those who loved him at first persevered. Now he appeared to them on the third day alive, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these and other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."

JOHANNES MALELA.

FROM that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written; who also said this, "that, from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and righteous man, (that is, if it be fit to call such a one a man, and not a God,) the land of Judæa was never free from trouble." These things the same Josephus, the Jew, hath related in his writings.

PHOTIUS.

I HAVE read the treatise of Josephus about the universe; the title of which I have elsewhere read to be, of the substance of the universe. It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. He speaks, however, of the divinity of Christ in a way much resembling ours, declaring, that the same name of Christ belongs to him; and writes concerning him, in general, in a manner that cannot be justly censured. The phraseology of this treatise does not at all differ from his other works. Besides, others have written on the same subject.

Herod, the Tetrarch of Galilee, and of Peræa, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love, as Josephus says, with the wife of his brother Herod, whose name was Herodias, the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner of Christ, being afraid (as Josephus says) lest he should raise a sedition among his people; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of the excellency of his virtue.

MACARIUS.

JOSEPHUS, a priest of Jerusalem, and one that wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness that Christ was incarnate and crucified, and the third day rose again, whose writings are deposited in the public library. Since, therefore, the writer of the Hebrews hath given this testimony concerning Our Lord and Saviour in his own books, what defence can there remain for unbelievers?

SUIDAS.

WE have found Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem, (of whom Eusebius makes frequent mention in his Ecclesiastical History,) saying openly, in his memoirs of the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. This we have found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

SOPHRONIUS.

JOSEPHUS, the Jew, that lover of truth, speaks of the forerunner of Christ, and of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In the 18th book of his Antiquities, he openly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Jews on account of the greatness of his miracles; and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the apostle.

CEDRENU S.

JOSEPHUS does, indeed, write concerning John the Baptist as follows: "Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished very justly for the punishment he had inflicted on John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him that was a good man, and exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism." But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, "That, about that time, there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles, whom, when Pilate had crucified, those who at first loved him, did not leave off to preach concerning him; for he appeared

appeared to them the third day alive again, as the Divine prophets had testified, and spoken these and other wonderful things concerning him.

We will produce Josephus himself for a witness, who was one of the sect of the Jews. Consider the love of truth that was in this man, who, although he were a Jew, yet he did not permit himself to follow the Jewish evasions and falsehoods.

THEOPHYLACTUS.

THE city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them: as also Josephus witnesses that this came upon them on account of the death of James.

ALEXANDRIAN CHRONICLE.

JOSEPHUS relates, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, that John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded at the instigation of Herodias, the wife of Philip. For Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea. When, therefore, Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive, (on whose account he slew John,) Aretas made war against him because his daughter had been dishonourably treated. In this war, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed; and that he suffered that calamity because of the wickedness he had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished, &c.

Now that Our Saviour taught and preached three years is demonstrated both by other reasonings, as also out of the Holy Gospels, and out of the writings of Josephus, who was a wise man among the Hebrews, &c.

Josephus, in the 18th book of the Jewish Antiquities, writes, that, after Annas, there were three high-priests, Ishmael, the son of Baphi, and Eleazar, the son of Ananus, and Simon, the son of Camathus, &c.

Josephus also relates, in the 7th book of the Jewish War, that Jerusalem was taken in the second year of Vespasian, and many years after they had dared to put Jesus to death: in which time he says, that James, the brother of Our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down from the temple, and slain by stoning.

ZONARAS.

THERE also you have an abridgment of all that Josephus wrote concerning Our Saviour Jesus Christ and John the Baptist.

Josephus wrote thus concerning this John, that Herod slew him who was a good man, and exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for by that means the washing with water would be acceptable to him. Now Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it in his power to raise a rebellion, (for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise,) thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not to bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicion, to Machærus, and there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of the army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him.

About this time also did Our Lord Jesus Christ appear in Judæa, concerning whom Josephus, in No. 45.

the 18th book of his Antiquities, says thus: "Now there was about this time a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the Divine prophets had said these and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." These things Josephus wrote in his Antiquities concerning Christ.

Johannes Sariburienfis, Petrus Comestor, Gorfridus Viterbienfis, and Vincentius Bellowacenfis, all add their testimonies concerning Josephus in words to the same effect.

GLYCAS.

THEN did Philo and Josephus flourish. The last was styled the lover of truth, because he commended John, who baptized our Lord, and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles, and that after he was crucified he appeared the third day.

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS.

NOW this (concerning Herod the Tetrarch) is attested to, not only by the book of the Holy Gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth, who also makes mention of Herodias, his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken from him, while he was alive, and married, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea. On whose account also, when he had slain John the Baptist, Aretas made war upon him, because his daughter had been dishonourably used. In which war he relates, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds, that John was a most righteous man. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating to the gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to Vienna, which was their place of exile, a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west. However, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, he says this farther concerning John. "Some of the Jews thought the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist. For Herod slew him who was a good man, and one that exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, as by that means the washing with water would appear acceptable to him, when they used it not for the putting away of some sins only, but for the purification of the body, supposing still that the soul be thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when many others came in crowds about him, (for they were greatly moved by hearing his words,) Herod was afraid that his great power of persuasion might tend to sedition, for they seemed disposed to do every thing he should advise them to. He supposed it better to prevent any attempt at innovation from him by cutting him off, than that such change should be brought about, and the public suffered to repent of that negligence. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to the castle of Machærus, and there slain." This is also the account of Josephus.

This writer concurs with the foregoing in his testimony of Josephus concerning Our Saviour Jesus Christ.

HARDMANNUS SCHEDELIUS.

JOSEPHUS, the Jew, who was called Flavius, a priest, and the son of Matthias, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things, was certainly a good man, of excellent character, and one who had the highest opinion of Christ.

P L A T I N A.

I SHALL avoid mentioning what Christ did, until the thirtieth year of his age, when he was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias; because not only the Gospels and Epistles are full of those acts which he performed in the most excellent manner, but such books as are quite remote from his way of living and acting. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of Jewish Antiquities in the Greek language, when he had proceeded as far as the Emperor Tiberius, says, "There was, in those days, Jesus, a certain wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of men, especially of such as willingly hear the truth. On this account he drew over to him many, both of the Jews and Gentiles. He was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those that loved him from the beginning forsake him. Besides, he appeared to them, the third day after his death, alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and many other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous name of Christians taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being.

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist was a true prophet, and on that account esteemed

by men in general; that he was slain by Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle of Machærus; and that this cruel order was given by Herod at the instigation of Herodias, the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of his brother Philip, whom he had incestuously married.

TRITHEMIUS, THE ABBOT.

JOSEPHUS, the Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the Christians, and, in the 18th book of his Antiquities, wrote down an eminent testimony concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whether Trithemius found more passages concerning the Christians in his copies of the genuine works of Josephus now or formerly extant, or ascribed the book concerning the universe to him, and therein met with other commendations of the Christians that were in his genuine works, cannot now be determined. So far, however, is plain, that this very learned abbot, who affirms that Josephus frequently commended the Christians, had more testimonies, in the works he believed to be Josephus's, to this purpose, than we are at present acquainted with. Which seems to have been the case of Origen, Eusebius, the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, Suidas, and Theophylactus, as appears in our quotations out of them.

More quotations from the most respectable writers might be adduced, such as the Latin Version from Haimo, Anonymus Bambergensis, Conradus Urspergensis, Albertus Stadenfis, &c. &c. mentioned by Fabricius, all which authors cite the same testimony concerning Christ; but as we presume those already quoted are sufficient to satisfy the candid and impartial reader, we pass them over to obviate a tedious prolixity.



OBSERVATIONS

FROM THE

FOREGOING EVIDENCES

AND

CITATIONS.

I.

THE style of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus is exactly the style of the same Josephus, and especially his style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. His testimonies concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, have been rendered equally undeniable as that concerning Christ.

II.

THE clauses in Josephus concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, especially those in all our present copies, as well as those cited from their copies by the ancients, are plainly and undeniably genuine. One writer seems desirous of setting aside that concerning John the Baptist, though expressly quoted by Origen himself out of Josephus; but since he hardly produces any thing like an argument to support his pretence, I shall take no farther notice of it.

III.

THESE testimonies therefore, being confessedly and undeniably written by Josephus himself, it is next to impossible that he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ. Nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, are so honourable, and give them such respectable characters, his testimony of Christ can be no other than very honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character. Could the very same author, who gave so full and advantageous a character of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, (all whose disciples were by him directed to that Jesus of Nazareth as to the true Messiah, and all whose disciples became afterwards his disciples,) omit to speak honourably of that Jesus of Nazareth himself? and this in the history of those very times in which he was born, lived, and died? This is almost incredible.

Further; could the very same author, who gave so advantageous a character of James the Just, and

this under the very appellation of James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, which James was one of the principal disciples, or apostles, of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judæa and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer; could he, I say, wholly omit, nay, could he withhold, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most undoubtedly was? This is also almost incredible.

IV.

THE famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, "This was Christ, or the Christ," clearly points out that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of Christ; or that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of Jesus Christ, and his followers by the name of Christians.

V.

THOUGH Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly a Christian, yet he could not possibly believe all that he asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes, or Ebionites, then were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing that he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observance of the ceremonial law of Moses, in order to salvation for all mankind; which were the two main points of those Jewish Christians faith, though in opposition to all the apostles of Jesus Christ in the first century, and in opposition to the whole Catholic Church of Christ in the following centuries. It seems then to appear that Josephus was, in his own mind and conscience, only a Nazarene, or Ebionite Jewish Christian; and it is observable, that his entire testimony, and all that he says of John the Baptist and of James, as well as his

his absolute silence about all the rest of the apostles, exactly agrees with him under that character, and no other. We all know that the thousands of Jews who believed in Christ (Acts xxi. 20.) in the first century, were all zealous of the ceremonial law; and by consequence, if there were any reason to think our Josephus to be, in any sense, a believer or a Christian, as from these testimonies there are very great ones, all these, and all other reasons, could not but conspire to assure us he was no other than a Nazarene, or Ebionite Christian.

VI.

SINCE therefore Josephus appears to have been, in his own mind and conscience, no other than a Nazarene, or Ebionite Christian, and by consequence with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes, or Ebionites, we ought also to have that Nazarene or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ, or to Christianity. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist, in which first parts of the gospel history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the emolument or taxation under Augustus Cæsar and Herod, it is no matter of wonder that Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories.

Thus when we find that Josephus calls James, the brother of Christ, by the name of James the Just, and describes him as a most just or righteous man in an especial manner, we are to remember, that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but no where else.

Nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than that righteousness which was by the Jewish law, wherein St. Paul, (Philip. iii. 6.) before he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have been blameless. Thus when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah, as foretelling this very murder, and the consequent miseries: "Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us; therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways."

Thus when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the law, were very uneasy at the condemnation of this James, and some of his friends, or fellow Christians, by the high-priest and sanhedrim, and declares that he himself was one of those Jews who thought the shocking calamities of that nation effects of the Divine vengeance for the murder of this James, we may easily see those opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high-priest and sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Christians, and the body of those unbelieving Jews who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, could not surely be of that opinion. Thus lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas, as affirming that Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple, this account is by no means disagreeable to the pretensions of the Ebionites; Hegesippus, the Ebionite, affirming the very same thing of James the Just.

I have already made some observations on the famous testimony concerning our Saviour in Josephus from Tacitus. The next author I have alledged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly cœval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time when he wrote his Antiquities. Justin elsewhere appeals to the same Antiquities by that very name; and

though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms, in this place, to Trypho, the Jew, that "his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretel was to happen." Nor, indeed, does he seem to me to have any thing else particularly in his view, but those clauses of this very testimony, where Josephus says, that "Jesus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his crucifixion, as the Divine prophets had foretold these and other wonderful things concerning him." I must leave this application to the impartial reader's own consideration.

The next author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is, indeed, allowed, on all hands, to have quoted him for his excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; but whose supposed silence about this testimony concerning Christ, is usually alledged as the principal argument against its being genuine; and particularly as to the clause "This was the Christ;" and that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us that, in his opinion, Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for Christ. As to this latter clause I have to observe, that Josephus did not here, in writing to Greeks and Romans, mean any such thing by these words as Jews and Christians naturally understand by them. I have also to observe, that all the ancients allow still, with Origen, that Josephus did not, in the Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God, notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine. So that unless we suppose Origen to have had a different notion of these words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude from this assertion, that he had not those words in his copy. However, it seems to me, that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts, at least, of this testimony itself were in his copy.

1st. When Origen introduces the testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the Jews were an instance of the Divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus there; I mean that they had slain "That Christ which was foretold in the prophecies." Whence could that expression come into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony from Josephus concerning the brother of Christ, from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ himself, that "the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and many other wonderful things concerning him?"

2dly. Why was Origen so surprized at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews murdering of James the Just, and not to their murdering of Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before; and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn in no way so authentic as from this testimony? Nor do the words he uses, that Josephus was "remote from the truth," perhaps allude to any thing else but this very testimony before us.

3dly. How came Origen, upon a slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, to say, that "It may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?" This appears so very like those clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that "Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man," that it is highly probable Origen thereby alluded to them. And this is the more to be depended on, because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus, with

with one consent, as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think, possible to produce any one Jew, but Josephus, who says any thing like his being more than human, or, according to the import of his words, a "Divine person." I take this argument to be a very forcible one, but submit it to the consideration of the judicious.

4. Why does Origen affirm twice so expressly, that "Josephus did not himself own, in the Jewish and Christian sense, that Jesus was Christ," notwithstanding his quotations out of him are eminent testimonies for John the Baptist, his forerunner, and for James the Just, his brother, and one of his principal disciples? There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origen of this, as in the famous testimony before us; wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was called Christ, the common name whence the sect of Christians was derived; and where he all along speaks of those Christians, as a sect then in being, whose author was a wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of truth, yet as such a sect as he had not joined himself to. Nor can I devise any other reason but this, and parallel language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of James, or the brother, not of Jesus who *was* Christ, but of Jesus who was *called* Christ, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.

IX.

AS to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had this testimony in his copy of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because in his extracts from the Antiquities of Josephus it is not expressly mentioned, I cannot withhold surprize that a section, which had been cited out of the copies of Josephus all along, before the days of Photius, as well as it has been all along cited out of them since his days, should be supposed not to be in his copy, because he does not directly mention it in certain short and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to such matters. Those who lay a stress on this silence of Photius, seem to have attended little to the nature and brevity of those extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the Great, his brethren and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa the younger, and Cumanus, governor of Judæa, fifteen years after the death of Our Saviour; without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this testimony could come to be mentioned. However, since Photius seems therefore, as we have seen, to suspect the treatise of the universe ascribed by some to Josephus, because it speaks highly of the divinity of Christ, this bears a great resemblance of his knowledge and belief of somewhat real in the same Josephus, that spoke of him in an inferior manner, which could hardly be any other passage than this testimony before us. And since, as we have also seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Justus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no manner of notice of the advent, the acts and the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never once speaks thus of Josephus himself, this most naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there; but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts or miracles, which yet he has done every where else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us. So that it is most probable, Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but also believed it to be genuine.

X.

AS to the silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it cannot be deemed a matter of wonder, since he never cites Josephus

but once, and that for a point of chronology only; to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus; so that his silence may almost as well be alledged against an hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus as against these before us.

XI.

NOR does the like silence of Tertullian imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatises of Josephus, but those against Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology. Nor does it any where appear that Tertullian ever saw any of the writings of Josephus besides; and it is far from certain that he ever saw these. He had particular occasion, in his dispute with the Jews, to quote Josephus above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses; yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion. So that it rather seems that Tertullian never read the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, nor his Greek books of the Jewish Wars. Nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer, that lived in Africa; by none of which African writers is there any one clause that I know of cited out of any of the writings of Josephus. Nor is it worth while, in such numbers of positive citations, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence.

To conclude, the most doubtful of all these testimonies, as has been of late supposed, I mean that concerning Our Saviour Christ, is attested to for genuine, as we have seen by the plain reference of Tacitus, by the probable reference of Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century; by the more probable reference of Origen, about the middle of the third; by a double express citation of it by Eusebius, in the former part of the fourth; by a loose version of it out of Josephus, by Ambrose, or Hegesippus, soon after it in the same century; by the express Latin transcript made by Rufinus, in his version of the Ecclesiastical History; by another express Latin version of it out of Josephus, by Hieronymus, or Jerome; and a Greek version of that Latin version; and by his learned friend Sophronius; all three about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth, century.

We have it also set down by Isidorus of Pelusium, the scholar of Chrysostom, and Sogemenus, the ecclesiastical historian, both early in the fifth century. Cassiodorus also, and his friend, supposed to be Epiphanius Scholasticus, gives us two Latin versions of it early in the sixth century. We have the same testimony plainly, though briefly, cited by Anastasius, the abbot, in the eighth century. We have Jerome's version of it repeated by Freculphus Lexeviensis; the whole set down in Greek by Hamartolus, and by one Macarius, both in or about the ninth century; besides the imperfect copy of part of it, by Malcla, the chronologer, and the probable allusion to it by Photius, both in the same ninth century. We have Sophronius's Greek version of Jerome's Latin version repeated by Suidas, about the tenth century. We have an almost compleat copy of it given us by Cedrenus, in the eleventh century. We have a still more compleat copy of it given us by Zonaras, the substance of it, three copies of Rufinus's Latin version out of the Greek of Eusebius, by Joannes Sariberriensis, Gotfridy Viterbiensis, and Petrus Comestor, all in the twelfth century. We have another copy of Rufinus's Latin version, by Vicentius Bellovacensis, in the thirteenth century. We have a compleat copy of it in Nicophorus Callistus, in the fourteenth century. We have also a clear reference to it in Hardmanorus Schedelius, and a new Latin version of it in Platina, and a full reference to it in Trithemius, the learned abbot, in the fifteenth century; all which evidence has been produced at large. To say nothing of the old Latin version, as repeated by Haimo in the ninth, and Cenradus Urspergensis, and Albertus

Albertus Stadenfis, in the thirteenth century, which, though not transcribed, are to be esteemed real confirmations of all the former allegations. This, as we have abundantly proved, has been the case of this testimony, in all the past ages of Christianity, and in all the several countries of Europe, during the first fifteen centuries of the church.

There is also another argument in favour of the authenticity of this testimony, belonging to all the past ages, which is usually overlooked by learned Christians, though I think it no inconsiderable one, and that is the contempt all the unbelieving Jews have ever shewn for Josephus, the best historian, beyond dispute, which their nation ever produced after the sacred ones. What can be the reason of this contempt of the genuine Greek Josephus? What the foundation of the fallacious pretence that the Hebrew Josephus was not the genuine Josephus, unless it were the testimonies now under consideration, and especially that concerning Jesus Christ, which bears so hard upon the unbelieving Jewish nation, as could not be endured by them? This must appear to the impartial world the principal cause of their rejecting this excellent author; nor can I devise any other probable cause for this rejection; which, if admitted as the true reason, the authenticity of these testimonies, and especially of that concerning Jesus Christ, will of course also be admitted to be wholly undeniable.

Nor are we entirely destitute of evidence, that, when this testimony had been inserted in a manuscript of Josephus in Hebrew, whether it were in an Hebrew version of his Antiquities, or in a later Hebrew epitome, some Jews caused it to be erased out of it. For see Itigius's Prolegomena, and Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, Vol. II. under the particular of Josephus. Thus far concerning the first fifteen centuries before printing began.

Since printing began, we find this testimony, I think, in every edition, and in every version of Josephus, in all languages. Nay, since Gifanius and Osiander started that question in the 16th century, and Tanquil Faber first wrote against it in the 17th century, all the remaining manuscripts of Josephus, Eusebius, &c. &c. have been carefully looked into and examined, and every one of them have been found to contain this testimony, and almost every one to contain it in its proper place, under the government of Pilate, and that without any considerable variations. Nor do we discover that any ancient author, from the days of Josephus to those of Gifanius, pretended that he knew of any copies in any language without it, nor give us the least reason to suppose they suspected it, or esteemed it as any otherwise than an authority truly certain and undeniable. To this must be added the high probability there is, from the undisputed testimonies about John the Baptist and James the Just, that Josephus must have given us some such testimony concerning Christ, and the very great probability there is that Josephus's own private opinion was that of the Nazarene, or Ebionite Jewish Christian, with which character it very well agrees in every circumstance. Since, therefore, this is no other than the true state of the case, I think every upright judge, that considers it, must declare, that this testimony is not only evidently and undeniably genuine, but, upon the whole, as fully so as any other clauses or sections in the works of Josephus now extant.

It will also here be but reasonable to vindicate Josephus in a point wherein some late writers have dealt very hardly with him, I mean when they accuse him as flattering Vespasian with being the true Messiah of the Jews. We shall take the two passages upon which the accusation is built in Josephus's own words. The former is in the 6th book of his *History of the Jewish Wars*, and runs thus: "If these things are duly considered, it will be found that God exercises a providence over mankind, and by many means discovers to them beforehand what is for their preservation, but that they perish by their own folly, and their misfortunes are voluntary. For the Jews made the temple four square, by the demolition of the Tower of

"Antonia, while they had it written in their own oracles, that their city, and the sacred house, should be taken, when the temple should become four square. But what chiefly excited them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, that a certain person would arise about that time out of their country, who should have dominion over the world. This they took to refer to themselves, and many of their wise men were deceived by that determination; while the oracle designed the dominion of Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa."

The other passage is in Josephus's own speech to Vespasian, in the third book of the same history. "You have now in hand Josephus a prisoner, and your present view perhaps extends no farther; but I come to you as a messenger of greater things. Had it not been for this commission, I could not have been here at present, contrary to the duty of a Jewish general, alive in the hands of an enemy. Wherefore am I to be sent to Nero, when Vespasian himself is so near the empire, that I can hardly distinguish betwixt Vespasian and the emperor, or Cæsar? Besides, his son Titus is to come after him. Keep me close as you please, provided I may be Vespasian's prisoner, who is not only my master, but in effect Lord of the Universe. This is what I have in charge to deliver; and whenever I shall be found to use the Divine authority to countenance a fraud, make an example of me."

Now in all this we have not one word of those predictions relating to the Messiah, which Josephus, in his famous testimony concerning Christ, declares to be very numerous; but of one only concerning the taking of Jerusalem, and the holy house, when the temple should become four square; and one only which foretold, that about that time a very great potentate should arise out of Judæa. This last prediction the other wise men then interpreted as one of Jewish extraction; but Josephus of Vespasian, who was first proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa, without the least intimation that he thought him to be the Messiah of the Jews. All the Jews, with one consent, ever expected that their Messiah was not only to arise in Judæa, and that of Jewish parents in general, but to be of the seed of David, and of the town of Bethlehem, where David was to be a great prophet like Moses, and to come peculiarly for the salvation, and not the destruction of Israel, with many other characters entirely inconsistent with Vespasian. To what particular oracles or predictions Josephus referred is hard to determine, since he does not name them. I suppose, with Reland, that the first of them might be Dan. ix. 26, 27, as then read and interpreted by the Jews; as also that the second was no other than the famous prophecy of Balaam, that "a star should arise out of Jacob, and a sceptre out of Israel, &c. Num. xxiv. 17, 18, 19; Josephus ever looking on Balaam as a true prophet.

It will also be necessary here to vindicate the same Josephus from another imputation, which hath been laid upon him, viz. that when, in his second book against Apion, he makes a comparison between Moses, the Jewish legislator, and Minos, with other old heathen legislators, he insinuates, "that though Moses artfully pretended to a Divine revelation for the laws he gave the Israelites, as did the others as to their own laws, yet that this was only in the way of a pious fraud, and that he did not himself believe that any such Divine revelation was made to him."

This is I suppose a new hypothesis, that our Josephus, after all his zeal for Moses, and for the Mosaic laws, should still believe him to be no better than a direct cheat and impostor. And as I suppose this hypothesis to be entirely new, so do I venture to affirm, and that upon no small acquaintance with the writings of Josephus, that the hypothesis is entirely false, and entirely contrary to the whole drift and tenor of Josephus in all his works.

Josephus begins his *Antiquities* with this most true

true and useful observation, that Moses did not act as did the heathen sages; he did not found a government on human contrivance, to be guided by political maxims, but laid his foundation on the belief of the being, attributes, and providence of the one true God, the Creator and governor of the whole world, and in the fear of that God being deeply impressed on the minds of the Israelites, through a persuasion that he gave them the laws by which they were to be governed, and that in consequence, those, and only those would be miserable who broke them, and were under his displeasure.

Our historian always appears to give firm credit to the most difficult parts of the sacred books, and assures you every Jew was brought up in that profound veneration for them, and that they were always ready to yield up their lives rather than contradict them. He still gives his assent to the fall of Adam, to the translations of Enoch and Elijah, to the deluge of Noah, to the long lives of the patriarchs, to the burning of Sodom, &c. as those accounts stand in the sacred writings; as also to the scripture prophecies, when they frequently occur, with the observation of their constant competitions all along afterwards, even down to his own time. He pleads the accuracy of the prophet Daniel's predictions, as compared with their completions, and wonders how the Epicureans can bear up against such evidence for a Divine Providence. He thinks Moses so fully inspired, that he takes the account in Deuteronomy of his death, and unknown place of his burial, not to have been added by others afterwards, as expositors since have done, but written by himself prophetically before-hand. He frequently declares his belief in good and bad angels, or demons, and their concern with mankind; as also in divine and prophetic dreams, sometimes afforded eminent persons; and professes to have had such dreams or divine communications himself; of which we have produced a remarkable example about Vespasian's succession to the Roman empire, before any in Judæa knew the death of Nero himself, much less of the successions and deaths of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who came between them; the truth of which is also fully attested by Suetonius and Dio, the heathen historians. He has given us a large and valuable collection of the most ancient and authentic heathen testimonies, strongly confirming the truth and divinity of the sacred books of the Old Testament, which he was enabled to do by the vast number of ancient Pagan writers which he perused and quoted. He had, indeed, contrary to the body of his own nation, most liberal notions as to freedom of enquiry among all sects whatsoever; was utterly averse to all tyranny, persecution, and oppression of mankind; and was for giving all sober men of every party liberty to think freely, and speak freely, for themselves, as they thought proper, without taking offence at one another. Yet do his sentiments always go along with the sacred books and the sacred history. Nay, what is most of all remarkable, this was all said and done by Josephus under the most unpromising circumstances of himself and his nation possible; or, when Jerusalem, with its temple, and temple worship, were utterly destroyed, and when he himself was become a captive at Rome, under idolaters. At this very time he firmly retained his faith in God, in Moses, and in the prophets; and even then said plainly, that Daniel, the Jewish prophet, had long ago foretold that destruction of Jerusalem, by the Romans, which he saw; as did Jesus of Nazareth interpret that prophet also; Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Nay, he farther intimated to observing readers, that the Messiah of the Jews, (or Jesus of Nazareth,) the stone cut out of the mountain in the same prophet, would, in time, break that Roman monarchy in pieces, and set up a better kingdom, which should endure for ever.

If any are still offended with Josephus's frequent permission of his heathen readers to determine as they should think proper concerning many of those miracles which he relates from the Jewish Scriptures; as if he himself therefore doubted of their truth and reality, which has been, and may be, a common objection against him, I must beg liberty to adduce, in his vindication, the very opposite words of the faithful, accurate, and judicious Reland, who has the following note upon one of Josephus's remarkable expressions of this nature, I mean that concerning the miraculous passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. The expression is, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleases;" and this is the note:

"Josephus (says Reland) does not, by this way of speaking, signify that he doubted whether what was said of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea were true or not, but he only uses these words in writing to Gentiles, that if this appeared incredible to them, they might enjoy their own liberty of belief, and not be thereby deterred from reading farther what he was to deliver; for that he himself did not doubt of this is sufficiently apparent from the manner of his narration, and from his own testimony, that he took it out of the sacred volumes. He uses the same expression after he had said, that it was falsely believed that Moses and the Israelites were expelled Egypt for leprosy. It is therefore to be inferred, that he intended to suggest this also was uncertain? This is no other than the very calumny which Josephus himself confutes and exposes in his first book against Apion. He thus speaks, when he relates the ascent of Moses to Mount Sinai; and with the same conclusion ends his third book of Antiquities, where he treats of the divinity of the laws of Moses. He also uses the same words where he relates the age of Noah which he did in the first book, and produces examples from prophane history, that the thing may appear more probable to the Gentiles. In fine, he uses this expression on divers other occasions.

"But while he is so frequently wont to introduce this phrase, or mode of speaking, in his books of Antiquities, I do not remember that I have once met with them in his books of the Jewish Wars. I apprehend the cause of his so frequently introducing the expressions alluded to in the books of Antiquities, to be, that he wrote those books for the use of the Gentiles; while the others were for certain written for the use of those of his own nation that dwelt beyond Euphrates. I might confirm this interpretation from other writers, but I think I have already rendered the matter plain beyond a doubt." Thus far the learned and candid Reland.

The observations of this professor, where he intimates that Josephus never used the expression, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleases," concerning the miracles of the Old Testament, in his seven books of the Wars of the Jews, is certainly true; for having read those books over several times with care and attention, the same observation has occurred to me.

As to any pretence of forgery, which it has been supposed some Catholic Christian might here have been guilty of with regard to the testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, and that as early as the days of Eusebius, if not of Eusebius himself, I must aver it is the effect of the grossest ignorance and partiality.

Albertus Stadenfis, in the thirteenth century, which, though not transcribed, are to be esteemed real confirmations of all the former allegations. This, as we have abundantly proved, has been the case of this testimony, in all the past ages of Christianity, and in all the several countries of Europe, during the first fifteen centuries of the church.

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"Antonia, while they had it written in their own oracles, that their city, and the sacred house, should be taken, when the temple should become four square. But what chiefly excited them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, that a certain person would arise about that time out of their country, who should have dominion over the world. This they took to refer to themselves, and many of their wise men were deceived by that determination; while the oracle designed the dominion of Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa."

The other passage is in Josephus's own speech to Vespasian, in the third book of the same history. "You have now in hand Josephus a prisoner, and your present view perhaps extends no farther; but I come to you as a messenger of greater things. Had it not been for this commission, I could not have been here at present, contrary to the duty of a Jewish general, alive in the hands of an enemy. Wherefore am I to be sent to Nero, when Vespasian himself is so near the empire, that I can hardly distinguish betwixt Vespasian and the emperor, or Cæsar? Besides, his son Titus is to come after him. Keep me close as you please, provided I may be Vespasian's prisoner, who is not only my master, but in effect Lord of the Universe. This is what I have in charge to deliver; and whenever I shall be found to use the Divine authority to countenance a fraud, make an example of me."

Now in all this we have not one word of those predictions relating to the Messiah, which Josephus, in his famous testimony concerning Christ, declares to be very numerous; but of one only concerning the taking of Jerusalem, and the holy house, when the temple should become four square; and one only which foretold, that about that time a very great potentate should arise out of Judæa. This last prediction the other wise men then interpreted as one of Jewish extraction; but Josephus of Vespasian, who was first proclaimed emperor when he was in Judæa, without the least intimation that he thought him to be the Messiah of the Jews. All the Jews, with one consent, ever expected that their Messiah was not only to arise in Judæa, and that of Jewish parents in general, but to be of the seed of David, and of the town of Bethlehem, where David was to be a great prophet like Moses, and to come peculiarly for the salvation, and not the destruction of Israel, with many other characters entirely inconsistent with Vespasian. To what particular oracles or predictions Josephus referred is hard to determine, since he does not name them. I suppose, with Reland, that the first of them might be Dan. ix. 26, 27, as then read and interpreted by the Jews; as also that the second was no other than the famous prophecy of Balaam, that "a star should arise out of Jacob, and a sceptre out of Israel, &c. Num. xxiv. 17, 18, 19; Josephus ever looking on Balaam as a true prophet.

It will also be necessary here to vindicate the same Josephus from another imputation, which hath been laid upon him, viz. that when, in his second book against Apion, he makes a comparison between Moses, the Jewish legislator, and Minos, with other old heathen legislators, he insinuates, "that though Moses artfully pretended to a Divine revelation for the laws he gave the Israelites, as did the others as to their own laws, yet that this was only in the way of a pious fraud, and that he did not himself believe that any such Divine revelation was made to him."

This is I suppose a new hypothesis, that our Josephus, after all his zeal for Moses, and for the Mosaic laws, should still believe him to be no better than a direct cheat and impostor. And as I suppose this hypothesis to be entirely new, so do I venture to affirm, and that upon no small acquaintance with the writings of Josephus, that the hypothesis is entirely false, and entirely contrary to the whole drift and tenor of Josephus in all his works.

Josephus begins his *Antiquities* with this most true

true and useful observation, that Moses did not act as did the heathen sages; he did not found a government on human contrivance, to be guided by political maxims, but laid his foundation on the belief of the being, attributes, and providence of the one true God, the Creator and governor of the whole world, and in the fear of that God being deeply impressed on the minds of the Israelites, through a persuasion that he gave them the laws by which they were to be governed, and that in consequence, those, and only those would be miserable who broke them, and were under his displeasure.

Our historian always appears to give firm credit to the most difficult parts of the sacred books, and assures you every Jew was brought up in that profound veneration for them, and that they were always ready to yield up their lives rather than contradict them. He still gives his assent to the fall of Adam, to the translations of Enoch and Elijah, to the deluge of Noah, to the long lives of the patriarchs, to the burning of Sodom, &c. as those accounts stand in the sacred writings; as also to the scripture prophecies, when they frequently occur, with the observation of their constant competitions all along afterwards, even down to his own time. He pleads the accuracy of the prophet Daniel's predictions, as compared with their completions, and wonders how the Epicureans can bear up against such evidence for a Divine Providence. He thinks Moses so fully inspired, that he takes the account in Deuteronomy of his death, and unknown place of his burial, not to have been added by others afterwards, as expositors since have done, but written by himself prophetically before-hand. He frequently declares his belief in good and bad angels, or demons, and their concern with mankind; as also in divine and prophetic dreams, sometimes afforded eminent persons; and professes to have had such dreams or divine communications himself; of which we have produced a remarkable example about Vespasian's succession to the Roman empire, before any in Judæa knew the death of Nero himself, much less of the successions and deaths of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who came between them; the truth of which is also fully attested by Suetonius and Dio, the heathen historians. He has given us a large and valuable collection of the most ancient and authentic heathen testimonies, strongly confirming the truth and divinity of the sacred books of the Old Testament, which he was enabled to do by the vast number of ancient Pagan writers which he perused and quoted. He had, indeed, contrary to the body of his own nation, most liberal notions as to freedom of enquiry among all sects whatsoever; was utterly averse to all tyranny, persecution, and oppression of mankind; and was for giving all sober men of every party liberty to think freely, and speak freely, for themselves, as they thought proper, without taking offence at one another. Yet do his sentiments always go along with the sacred books and the sacred history. Nay, what is most of all remarkable, this was all said and done by Josephus under the most unpromising circumstances of himself and his nation possible; or, when Jerusalem, with its temple, and temple worship, were utterly destroyed, and when he himself was become a captive at Rome, under idolaters. At this very time he firmly retained his faith in God, in Moses, and in the prophets; and even then said plainly, that Daniel, the Jewish prophet, had long ago foretold that destruction of Jerusalem, by the Romans, which he saw; as did Jesus of Nazareth interpret that prophet also; Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Nay, he farther intimated to observing readers, that the Messiah of the Jews, (or Jesus of Nazareth,) the stone cut out of the mountain in the same prophet, would, in time, break that Roman monarchy in pieces, and set up a better kingdom, which should endure for ever.

If any are still offended with Josephus's frequent permission of his heathen readers to determine as they should think proper concerning many of those miracles which he relates from the Jewish Scriptures; as if he himself therefore doubted of their truth and reality, which has been, and may be, a common objection against him, I must beg liberty to adduce, in his vindication, the very opposite words of the faithful, accurate, and judicious Reland, who has the following note upon one of Josephus's remarkable expressions of this nature, I mean that concerning the miraculous passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. The expression is, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleases;" and this is the note:

"Josephus (says Reland) does not, by this way of speaking, signify that he doubted whether what was said of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea were true or not, but he only uses these words in writing to Gentiles, that if this appeared incredible to them, they might enjoy their own liberty of belief, and not be thereby deterred from reading farther what he was to deliver; for that he himself did not doubt of this is sufficiently apparent from the manner of his narration, and from his own testimony, that he took it out of the sacred volumes. He uses the same expression after he had said, that it was falsely believed that Moses and the Israelites were expelled Egypt for leprosy. It is therefore to be inferred, that he intended to suggest this also was uncertain? This is no other than the very calumny which Josephus himself confutes and exposes in his first book against Apion. He thus speaks, when he relates the ascent of Moses to Mount Sinai; and with the same conclusion ends his third book of Antiquities, where he treats of the divinity of the laws of Moses. He also uses the same words where he relates the age of Noah which he did in the first book, and produces examples from prophane history, that the thing may appear more probable to the Gentiles. In fine, he uses this expression on divers other occasions.

"But while he is so frequently wont to introduce this phrase, or mode of speaking, in his books of Antiquities, I do not remember that I have once met with them in his books of the Jewish Wars. I apprehend the cause of his so frequently introducing the expressions alluded to in the books of Antiquities, to be, that he wrote those books for the use of the Gentiles; while the others were for certain written for the use of those of his own nation that dwelt beyond Euphrates. I might confirm this interpretation from other writers, but I think I have already rendered the matter plain beyond a doubt." Thus far the learned and candid Reland.

The observations of this professor, where he intimates that Josephus never used the expression, "Let every one judge and determine as he pleases," concerning the miracles of the Old Testament, in his seven books of the Wars of the Jews, is certainly true; for having read those books over several times with care and attention, the same observation has occurred to me.

As to any pretence of forgery, which it has been supposed some Catholic Christian might here have been guilty of with regard to the testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, and that as early as the days of Eusebius, if not of Eusebius himself, I must aver it is the effect of the grossest ignorance and partiality.

R E M A R K S
ON THE
ACCOUNTS
OF
TACITUS and SUETONIUS,
CONCERNING
Divers Particulars relative to the JEWISH NATION.

WHOEVER has read, or may be disposed to read, the annals of Tacitus, the best writer of his age, must observe the great regard he had to the history of Josephus, while, though he never names him, as he very rarely does any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, it yet does appear that he refers to the different books of the Jewish Wars, very frequently in the course of a few pages, and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during the space of upwards of 200 years, to which those books extend.

Speaking of the origin of the Jews, (liber 5. cap. 2.) he writes, "There are those who report that they were Assyrians, who, wanting land, got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon after settled themselves in cities of their own in the lands of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearer to them." This account comes nearest the truth of all his others, and is most probably derived from Josephus, though disguised by himself.

Again, (Cap. 3.)

"Many authors agree, that, when once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made mens bodies impure, Bacchoris, their king, went to the oracle of Jupiter, (Ammon,) and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries, as hateful to the gods."

This story also Tacitus might have got of Josephus, who at large confutes the like story, as published by Lyfimachus and Manethon, in his 1st book against Apion, very particularly observing, that the gods are not angry at bodily imperfections, but at wicked practices.

Again, (Cap. 5.)

"Accordingly they have no images in their cities, much less in their temples: they never

"grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors." These concessions were to be learned from Josephus, and almost only from him. Out of whom, therefore, I conclude, Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews.

Again, (Cap. 6.)

"The limits of Judæa easterly are bounded by Arabia. Egypt lies on the south. On the west are Phœnicia and the great sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, or at some distance from them." See the chronography of Josephus, in the 3d book of the Wars, whence most probably Tacitus framed this abridgment. It comes in both authors naturally before Vespasian's first campaign.

Again, (Cap. 7.)

"Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been, of old, fertile, and to have had many cities full of people." This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place forecited, and that particularly because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in all antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the very same place where now the lake is, but Josephus and Tacitus say they were in its neighbourhood only.

(Cap. 8.)

"In that city (Jerusalem) there was a temple of immense wealth: in the first parts that were fortified is the city itself, next it the royal palace. The temple is enclosed in its most inward access. A Jew can come no farther than the gates; all but the priesthood are excluded from the threshold." All this is in Josephus. See his three descriptions of the temple of Jerusalem, Antiqu. books 8th and 15th.

(Cap. 10.)

Upon his death, (Cestius Gallus,) whether it came by fate, or that he was weary of life, is uncertain.

tain, &c. Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestius: so Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about it.

“ When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame. But what first of all seemed to confirm the omen, was his triumphs and consulships, and the glory of his victory over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire.” Josephus takes notice, in general, of these omens of Vespasian’s advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. Book of the Wars, 3d and 4th.

(Book 5. Chap. 1.)

“ At the beginning of the same year Titus Cæsar was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judæa; and while he and his father were private persons, Titus was celebrated for his martial conduct, and acted now with greater vigour and hopes of reputation; the kind inclinations both of the provinces and the armies striving one with another who should most encourage him.” The character of Titus, in this section, agrees exactly with the history of Josephus upon all occasions; as do a variety of passages in the Roman with the Jewish historian.

Since Suetonius has several passages in common with Josephus and Tacitus, lived at the city of Rome with them, was about twelve or thirteen years younger than Tacitus, and, by consequence, little more than thirty years younger than Josephus, it may be worth our while to examine whether he gives us any indications that he had read the works of Josephus or Tacitus. Now we may take notice that Suetonius never names Tacitus at all; but that he names Josephus once, as having foretold Vespasian’s coming to the empire, and touches both upon the Jews and Christians. He informs us that “ The Jews raised a tumult at Rome, under Chrestus, in the days of Claudius, and were thence banished by him.” He says farther, that “ Nero inflicted punishments on the Christians, as a superstitious and pernicious sect of men then lately arisen.” He says moreover, that “ Josephus, one of the captive nobility amongst the Jews, did affirm most constantly, when he was put into bonds, that he should be loosed by Vespasian, but not till he was emperor.” He also fully attests to the antiquity and uninterrupted duration of that opinion, that “ some one who should arise out of Judæa at this time should obtain the empire over the world;” and supposes, with both Josephus and Tacitus, that “ such prediction was fulfilled in a Roman emperor,” (Vespasian.) From all these passages it is natural to suppose that Suetonius had seen Tacitus at least, if not Josephus himself, when he wrote his twelve Cæsars. Yet, because he supposes Chrestus to be alive, and at the head of a Jewish tumult at Rome in the days of Claudius, which, one would think, was impossible in any one that had read either Josephus or Tacitus, who both attest that he was put to death in Judæa under Tiberias, and because he says not one word of that remarkable history concerning the statue of Caius,

which Petronius was commanded to set up in the temple at Jerusalem, which is so express in Tacitus, and so largely set forth in Josephus, and of which we have another account in the treatise called Philo’s Legation to Caius, I rather think he never read, or, at least, did not think fit to follow, either of these authors.

Nor does the reason appear to me why Suetonius should, in one place, write the name of our Saviour *Chrest*, with the other ancients in the west, and yet write the name of his followers, with Josephus and Tacitus, with the other Jews, and the heathens in the east, Christians.

As for that judicious historian Dio Cassius, tho’ he lived at Rome, and had many testimonies of Josephus, yet did he not write till the reign of Alexander Severus, and gives so few indications that he had ever read Josephus, that I have no occasion to treat here particularly about him.

With respect to Strabo, that excellent geographer and historian, he lived about half a century earlier than Josephus, and is several times cited by him, and therefore could not himself see the writings of Josephus. It may be worth our notice here, that Strabo’s geography, which has errors concerning Judea, and is still extant, is but once cited by Josephus; but that his histories, which are ten times cited, are lost, and so cannot be compared with the quotations. When Trogus Pompeius, who was epitomized by Justin, lived is not exactly known, but, most probably, a considerable time before Josephus; so that he could not cite him either. However, it appears manifestly, that when Josephus wrote his Antiquities, his own life, and his books against Apion, he understood the geography and history of his own country much better than either Strabo, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio Cassius, or any other foreign writers whatever.

Some of our later and lesser critics, who have preferred the Greek and Roman prophane historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus, should have learned more candour and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when, after all his enquiries, he solemnly pronounced that “ Josephus was the most diligent and greatest lover of truth of all writers;” and is not afraid to affirm, that “ it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and that because his fidelity and compass of learning are every where conspicuous.” To this assertion of Scaliger we are obliged to assent, as the proper result of our observations.

To conclude, let the guilty Jews, since the days of Josephus, and the guilty heretics that followed Simon Magus, bear their own burthen of forgery, corruption, and interpolation, of antient histories and antient records; for they too plainly and undeniably deserve it. But let not Josephus, or the innocent Christians, before antichristianism and popery, bear any such burthen; for so far as we can judge, and we speak it upon full examination, they have the least reason to bear it of any part of mankind whatever, from the beginning of the world to this day.

TABLES

OF

JEWISH MEASURES, &c.

Measure of Length.

	Cub.	Feet.	Inches	d.	pts.
A Cubit	—	—	1	9	888
A Span — a $\frac{1}{2}$ Cubit	—	—	0	10	944
A Hand's-breadth a 6th	—	—	0	3	648
A Finger's-breadth a 24th	—	—	0	0	912
A Fathom	—	4	7	3	552
Ezekiel's Reed	—	6	10	11	328
The Measuring Line	—	80	145	11	040

	Cub.	Miles.	Paces.	Feet.	d.	pts.
A Sabbath-day's Journey	2000	0	729	3		
The Eastern Mile	4000	1	403	1		
A Furlong, or Stadium	400	0	145	4	6	
A Day's Journey	96000	33	172	4		

Note, 5 Feet make 1 Pace, and 1056 Paces make 1 Mile.

II. Measures of Capacity.

Liquid Measure.	Parts of an Homer.	Gall.	Pints.	Sol. In.	d.	pts.
The Homer, or Cor	—	75	5	7	6	
The Bath	— 10th	7	4	15	2	
The Hin	— 60th	1	2	2	5	
The Log	— 720th	0	0	24	3	
The Firkin, or Metretres	—	0	7	4	9	

Note, 29 Solid Inches are equal to a Pint nearly.

Dry Measure.	Parts of an Homer.	Bush.	Pecks.	Pints.	d.	pts.
The Homer	—	8	0	1	6	
The Lethech	— half	4	0	0	8	
The Ephah	— 10th	0	3	3	4	
The Seah	— 30th	0	1	1	1	
The Omer	— 100th	0	0	5	1	
The Cab	— 180th	0	0	2	9	

III. Jewish Money.

	Shekels.	l.	s.	d.	d.	pts.
A Shekel, Silver	—	0	2	3	3	
The Bekah	— half	0	1	1	7	
The Zuzah	— 4th	0	0	6	8	
The Gerah	— 20th	0	0	1	4	
The Manch, or Mina	— 50	5	13	10		
A Talent	3000	341	10	4	3	
A Shekel of Gold	—	1	16	5	1	
A Talent of Gold	—	5464	5	8	6	
A Golden Daric, or Drachm	—	1	1	10	3	

		s.	d.	f.	d.	pts.
A Piece of Silver (or the Drachm)	—	0	7	3		
Tribute Money (or Drachm)	2 Drac.	1	3	2		
A Piece of Silver (or the Stater)	4	2	7	0		
A Pound (or the Mina)	100	64	7	0		
A Penny (or the Denarius)	—	0	7	3		
A Farthing (or the Assarium)	20th Den.	0	0	1	.5	
A Farthing (or the Quadrans)	40th	0	0	0	.8	
A Mite	80th	0	0	0	.4	

Note, The Silver is here valued at 5s. per Ounce, and the Gold at 4l. per Ounce.

IV. Jewish Weights.

	Shekels.	Lib.	Oz.	Dwts.	Gra.	d.	pts.
A Shekel	—	0	0	9	2	6	
The Manch	60	2	3	9	10	3	
A Talent	3000	113	10	1	10	3	

V. The Jewish Months compared with ours.

1 Nisan, or Abib	{ March April	7 Tifri, or Ethanim	{ September October
2 Ijar, or Zif	{ April May	8 Marcheivan or Bul	{ October November
3 Sivan	{ May June	9 Chisleu	{ November December
4 Thamuz	{ June July	10 Thebet	{ December January
5 Ab	{ July August	11 Sebath	{ January February
6 Elul	{ August September	12 Adar	{ February March

The Jews had Two Sorts of Years; the Civil, which began in September, and the Sacred, or Ecclesiastic, which began in March.

Before the Captivity of Babylon they accounted the Months successively by 1, 2, 3, &c. but on their return they named them rather after the manner of the Chaldees than Hebrews.

VI. The Days of the Week, Hours of the Day, and the Watches.

1st Day of the Week	Sunday
2d Day	Monday
3d Day	Tuesday
4th Day	Wednesday
5th Day	Thursday
6th Day	Friday
7th Day, or Sabbath	Saturday

The Hours of the Day.

The Day, reckoning from Sun-rise, and the Night, reckoning from Sun-set, were each divided into 12 equal Parts, called the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, &c. Hours.

The Morning.

From 6 to 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The Afternoon.

From 12 to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

The Watches.

The 1st Watch was from Sun-set to the 3d Hour of the Night.

The 2d, or Middle Watch, was from the 3d Hour to the 6th.

The 3d Watch, or Cock-crowing, was from the 6th Hour to the 9th.

The 4th, or Morning Watch, was from the 9th Hour to Sun-rise.

A N

A C C O U N T

O F T H E

J U D G E S , K I N G S , G O V E R N O R S , & c .

O F T H E

J E W I S H N A T I O N .

This Nation in their beginning was governed by the following Judges.

Moses	Jair
Joshua	Jephtha
Othniel	Abian
Adel	Abdon
Baruch and Debora	Elon
Gideon	Samson
Achimelech	Eli
Thola	Samuel.

After them they had these Kings.

Saul	Amasai
David	Ozias
Solomon	Jonathan
Rehoboam	Ahaz
Abijam	Hezekiah
Afa	Eliakim
Jehoshaphat	Amon
Jehoram	Josias
Manasses	Joahaz
Ochozias	Joachim
Athalia	Zedechias.
Joas	

The Captivity of Babylon continued 70 years. The Governors after the Captivity were

Zorobabel	Nagge
Rhesa	Hagaieli
John Ben Refa	Nahum
Judas Hircanus	Amos
Joseph	Mattathias
Abner	Joseph Arses
Heli	Jannes Hircanus
Mahath	Mattathias.

The Maccabees who were both Princes and Priests.

Judas	Simon
Jonathan	John Hircanus.

The following were both Kings and Princes.

Aristobulus 1.	Hircanus
John Alexander.	Aristob. son of Aristob.
Alexander	Aristobulus 3.
Aristobulus 2.	Hircanus

The Race of Herod.

Antipater	Archelaus the Great
Herod the Great	Agrippa, son of Agrippa.

The names of the High Priests, from the departure out of Egypt till the building of the Temple by Solomon.

Aaron	Achitob
Elazar	Achimelech
Phineas	Abiathar
Joshua	Sadoc
Butqui	Achimaas
Otes	Azarias.
Heli	

From the building of the Temple till the Captivity of Babylon.

Joram	Urijah
Joses	Neria
Axioram	Odeas
Sudeas	Sellum
Joathan	Helcias.

From the return out of Babylon till the Maccabees' time.

Saraiah	Joiada
Josedech	Jonathan
Joshua	Jadus
Joachim	Onias
Eliafib	Simon
Eleazar	Jafon
Manasses	Onias
Onias	Lyfimachus
Simon	Alcimus.
Onias	

High

NAMES OF AUTHORS, &c.

High Priests from the Maccabees time till the final destruction of Jerusalem.

Simon Boethus	Joseph 3.
Joseph 1.	Ananias
Joseph 2.	Ismael
Joazar	Joseph
Eleazar	Annas
Joshua the son of Sias	Eleazar
Joazar	Simon
Ananus	Joseph Caiaphas
Ismael	Jonathan
Theophilus	Joshua son of Danneus
Simon	Joshua son of Gamaliel
Mattathias	Mattathias
Elion	Phineas or Panaas.

Kings of Israel, otherwise called Kings of the ten Tribes, or of Samaria.

Jeroboam 1.	Jehoahaz
Nadab	Joash
Baasha	Jeroboam 2.
Elah	Zachariah
Zimri	Menahem
Omri	Pekahiah son of Menahem
Ahab	Pekah son of Rameliah
Jehoram	Hoshea
Jehu	

Kings of Assyria and Babylon.

Phulbelocus	Nabuchodonosor 1.
Phulasser	Nabuchodonosor the Great
Salmanafer	Evilmerodach
Sennacherib	Neriglossor
Eferhaddon	Labofardach
Berodach Benmerodach	Baltassar.

Kings of Persia.

Cyrus	Xerxes
Cambyfes	Sogdianus
Smerdus Magus	Darius the Bastard
Darius son of Histaspis	Artaxerxes Mnemon
Xerxes son of Darius	Artaxerxes Ochus
Artabanus the Tyrant	Arfames
Artaxerxes with a long hand	Darius son of Arfames.

Kings of Syria after the death of Alexander the Great.

Seleucus Nicanor	Alexander Epiphanes
Antiochus Soter	Demetrius Nicanor
Antiochus	Antiochus Sedetes
Seleucus Callinicus	Demetrius Nicaner
Seleucus Ceraunus	Alexander Zebina
Antiochus the Great	Antiochus Gryphus
Seleucus Philopater	Antiochus Cyzicenus
Antiochus Epiphanes	Seleucus Gryphus
Antiochus Eupater	Antiochus Pius.
Demetrius Soter	

Sovereigns of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy Soter	Euergetes Phiscon
Philadelphus	Lathyrus
Euergetes	Alexander
Philopater	Auletes
Epiphanes	Cleopatra.
Philometor	

Kings of the Tyrians.

Abibalus	Phelletes
Hiram	Ithoballus
Bellastartus	Badezor
Abdastartus	Merimus
Astartus	Pigmalion.
Astarimus	

NAMES OF AUTHORS MENTIONED BY JOSEPHUS.

A	D.	I.	Plato
Acufilaus Argivus	Diagoras Melius	Iustus	Polybius
Agatharchides	Diocles	Isidorus	Polycrates
Alexander Polyhist.	Diodotus, or Tryphon.		Posidonius
Anaxagoras Glazom.	Dius	Lysimachus	Protagoras
Antiochus	Demetrius	Livius	Pythagoras
Apion Grammat.			S.
Apollodorus	E.	Malchus	Sibylla
Apollonius Molonis F.	Ephorus	Manethon Ægyptius	Strabo
Ariphanes	Euemerus	Megasthenes	T.
Aristoteles	Eupolemus	Menander Ephesius	Thales
		Menedemus	Theodectes
B.	H.	Messala	Theodotus
Berosus Chaldæus	Hecataeus	Mnaseas	Theophilus
	Hellanicus	Mochus	Theophrastus
C.	Hermippus		Theopompus
Cadmus Milesius	Hermogenes	N.	Thucydides
Callias	Herodotus	Nicholaus of Damascus	Timæus
Castor Chronologus	Hesiodus	P.	Timagenes
Chæremon	Hestæus	Pherecydes Syrius	Tryphon
Chærilus	Hieronymus Ægyptius	Philistus	Z.
Clearchus	Homer.	Philo Histor.	Zopyrion.
Cleodemus, or Malchus		Philostratus Histor.	
Conon			



CONTINUATION

CONTINUATION
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE JEWS,
FROM THE TIME OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

INCLUDING A

PERIOD OF UPWARDS OF ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS.

CONTAINING AN

Account of their DISPERSION into the various Parts of EUROPE, ASIA,
AFRICA, and AMERICA.

WITH

Their different PERSECUTIONS, TRANSACTIONS, and PRESENT STATE throughout the
KNOWN WORLD.

B O O K I.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is not a circumstance, amongst the various events of revolving time, more worthy of admiration than the preservation of the people of the Jews, in the midst of all the calamities they have undergone for the space of upwards of 1700 years. It has been remarked with propriety, that religions of every kind depend upon temporal prosperity; that they triumph under the protection of a conquering prince, and languish with decaying monarchies. The Christian church itself, so renowned for its martyrs, has yet been considerably injured by persecutions; and the breaches that have been made by violence could not easily be repaired. However, we have now before us a people, and a religion, which, though persecuted for 1700 years, still subsist, and are very numerous. Kings have frequently applied the severity of edicts and corporal punishments to destroy them. Seditious multitudes have exceeded the rigour and cruelties of princes. Both princes and people, however divided in opinions, either political or religious, have concurred in the design of extirpating this people, but have not been able to effect it.

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The Jews have been driven from most parts of the world, which has only served to produce a general dispersion. They have, from age to age, undergone misery and persecution; but still live, notwithstanding the disgrace and hatred that attend them in all places, whilst nothing remains of many of the greatest monarchies but the name.

Their distresses are peculiarly aggravated, from this circumstance, that, though, in former captivities, the Almighty was pleased to point out a time in which he would be reconciled, break the yoke imposed by tyrants, and restore his people to their liberty, no term is now fixed to the duration of their miseries; and we have more certain assurance from the New Testament of their being recalled, than they have in the writings of the prophets, whose race is extinct: nor is one of them to be seen who promises the end of a calamity which has already continued such a number of ages.

The Romans, when they made themselves masters of Judæa, left the inhabitants a public worship, and the exercise of their laws. The synagogues, as those of Damascus, without appeal, determined the affairs of religion even where the Christians were concerned. The high-priest had an eminent power. They had their judges even in Chaldea; but at present they have no shadow of supreme authority remaining;

remaining; nevertheless they still subsist as a people, and are numbered by millions.

The chastisements the Almighty has inflicted upon them are most terrible, having involved the people, their religion, and land, in one common destruction. Their religious ceremonies cannot be duly observed. All that pompous train of rites which raised the renown of the Jewish worship, and struck the heathen world with that veneration as to cause them to send presents and victims to Jerusalem, is absolutely lost; for they have neither temples, altars, or sacrifices.

Nor has their religion only suffered, but the professors were massacred; and such as escaped the rage of war, were sold for slaves in the public markets. It seems, indeed, that the land itself was consigned to perdition, as many nations have made themselves masters of Jerusalem one after another. How many revolutions have happened to states in so long a succession of ages? And yet the Jews are the peculiar people to whom God has denied the possession of this little spot of ground, which is infinitely necessary to them, since they should worship upon this mountain, and they never have since met with so favourable a conjunction as could give them the full enjoyment of it. It is alledged that no professor of Judaism can at this day purchase a piece of ground for a grave near Jerusalem.

The modern Jews are dispersed throughout every part of the known world. They abound in the east, and particularly in the great empire of China; and are thought to be the descendants of the ten tribes which were carried away captive. They are spread through most nations of the east, and of Europe and Africa, and many families of them are established in the West-Indies. Their occupation is trade. They are so disseminated, indeed, through all the trading parts of the world, that they are become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. The Jews are looked upon to be as numerous at present as they were formerly in the land of Canaan. This is wonderful, considering the dreadful slaughter made of them under some of the Roman emperors, which historians describe by the deaths of many hundred thousands in war; and the innumerable massacres and persecutions they have undergone in Turkey, as well as in all Christian nations of the world.

The rabbins, in giving a description of the great havock which has been sometimes made of them, tell us, that there were such torrents of holy blood shed, as to tinge the water in the sea for a considerable distance.

Nor is their firm adherence to their religion less remarkable than their numbers and dispersion. These particulars may be accounted for, from nature and providential reasons. Their numbers may be attributed to their constant employment, their exemption from wars, and, above all, their frequent marriages; for they look upon celibacy as an accursed state, and are generally married before twenty, as hoping the Messiah may descend from them. Their dispersion is naturally accounted for from their having been often driven out of their old habitations in the land of promise, and out of most other places where they have been settled.

Besides, the whole people is now a race of such merchants as are wanderers by profession; and, at the same time, are in most, if not all, places, incapable of enjoying either lands or offices that might engage them to make any part of the world their home.

Their firm adherence to their religion is no less naturally accounted for from its genius and constitution. They are to live all in a body, and generally within the same enclosure; to marry among themselves; and to eat no meats that are not killed and prepared their own way. This excludes them from all table conversation, and the most agreeable intercourses of life, and, of consequence, from the most probable means of their conversion.

If we consider what providential reasons may be assigned for these three particulars, we shall find that their numbers, dispersion, and adherence to their religion, have furnished every age, and every nation of the world, with the strongest arguments for the Christian faith; not only as these very particulars are foretold of them, but as they themselves are the depositories of these and all the other prophecies which tend to their own confusion. Their number furnishes a sufficient cloud of witnesses that attest the truths of the Old Testament. Their dispersion spreads these witnesses through all parts of the world. Their adherence to their religion makes their testimony unquestionable. Had the whole body of the Jews been converted to Christianity, we should certainly have thought all the prophecies of the Old Testament, that relate to the coming and history of Our Blessed Saviour, forged, and have looked upon them no less fallacious than the prophecies of the sibyls.

As to the religion of the modern Jews, it is observable, that all their customs are not of equal authority, nor observed by all after the same manner. The first comprehends the written law, that is, those precepts which are contained in the five books of Moses. The second order relates to the oral law, or that delivered by word of mouth. This contains the comments and expositions of the Rabbins on the Pentateuch, that is, commandments of the doctors: they are collected into a large volume, called the Talmud. The third order comprehends the minhagin, or customs, which use has authorized in different times and places. Of these three orders of precepts the two first only are generally received by all the Jews: the third kind of precepts differs in different countries, according as the Jews have fallen into the manners and customs of the places where they reside.

It is an observation of a French author, that the religion of the Jews, since the preaching of Christianity, is, properly speaking, neither a true or a false religion. It cannot be a false religion, because it has God for its author; neither is it now a true religion, because God himself abolished it by the bringing in of the gospel. Besides, they being without a temple, sacrifices, and other circumstances of religious worship, which they enjoyed in the Holy Land, the religion of the Jews cannot be considered as subsisting any longer.

The Jews came into England in the reign of William the Conqueror, and settled in divers parts; but their principal residence was in London, where they had their grand synagogue. To secure them in their interests and property, the king gave them a civil superintendant, called, at that time, "the Justice of the Jews." His business was to protect them against oppression, to decide all controversies between them and the Christians, to keep the seal of their corporation, and the keys of their public treasury. As to their spiritual government, they were all under one high-priest, who had his patent from the crown. It has been the opinion of some, that the Jews were not then permitted to purchase lands in England; but this is a mistake. However, being generally hated, and not upon an equal foot of privilege with the English, they commonly put out their money to interest, by which means their estates were less subject to discovery, and more at command, in case they should be obliged to quit the country.

During their stay in England, they frequently met with rough usage, with great severity. Sometimes they laboured under the extortion of government, and sometimes the people took their revenge upon them at discretion. However, they had encouragement to turn Christians; for baptism was, as it were, a pardon for all former crimes: and Henry III. built a house for convert Jews, and allowed them a pension for their maintenance. In 1290 the Jews, by proclamation of King Edward I. were banished the kingdom, on pretence that they impoverished the Christians by excessive usury. They departed to the number of 15,000; and it was commonly

commonly reported, that, in their passage over the sea, the seamen plundered them, cut the throats of many, and threw them overboard. This banishment was perpetual. However, in process of time, they returned to England, and are tolerated in the exercise of their religion. But we now proceed to our main design.

CHAP. II.

The history of the Jews from the taking of Jerusalem till the rebellion under Adrian.

IT is needless to repeat what has been heretofore related by Josephus concerning the desolate condition to which both the kingdom and metropolis of Judæa were reduced, or the dreadful slavery to which the greatest part of the surviving Jews were condemned by the conqueror. Those that survived this sad catastrophe, and escaped the fury of the Romans, retired some into Galilee, and a much greater number into Egypt and Cyrene, where we shall find them raising new rebellions, committing horrid massacres, and bringing again the victorious Romans against them.

To pretend that the Sanhedrim was removed to Jamnia, and from thence to Tiberias, where it subsisted till after the death of Judas the Saint, that academies were established in many cities, and that the nation continued to be governed by a patriarch, is to run into an allusion founded merely on tradition.

There remained no shadow of power and authority to this wretched people in the country that God had given them. Domitian, covetous even to excess, helped to sink it by his taxes. It has been thought that this oppression respected only the Jews of Rome, who having been expelled out of the imperial city, could not return again without paying a certain tax; but it is a mistake. The tribute demanded by Domitian related to all the Jews, and was not a new one.

Pompey having subjected Judæa to the Romans, made it tributary according to custom. Julius Cæsar granted Hyrcanus, and even the Jewish people, some exemptions. Nevertheless, Josephus adds, that they were obliged to carry their tribute every two years to Sidon. The privilege then consisted in having no intendant or collectors, who, in those times, ruined nations. They were also exempted from winter quarters, and the entertainment of soldiers. They paid nothing in the sabbatic year, because the lands lay fallow. Alexander the Great had granted the same privilege before. Herod being made king, and a friend of the Roman people, it is imagined that he was discharged from tribute; but the Romans (says Tacitus) continued to the princes the title of kings, and at the same time made them sensible of their slavery by forcing them to pay taxes. Cicero would have Jerusalem return thanks to the immortal gods that it had not been razed as Carthage. Apion, speaking of the kings that Mark Anthony had made tributary, names Herod, with those of Pontus and Pisidia; and excepts only from this general law the princes of the Upper Armenia. That which might have misguided the learned is their not seeing any intendants, or receivers, in this province, till after Herod's and Archelaus's deaths. It was, indeed, a shadow of liberty left to this people, to suffer them to collect their taxes by their own receivers, as Josephus has observed; but it cannot be hence concluded that they were not tributary, and that this kingdom was the only exception to the general law. It cannot be doubted but this tribute was regularly paid during our Saviour's life-time, since the Pharisees tempted him by it; and Jesus Christ, discovering Cæsar's image upon the denarion, that was paid for the poll, answered, They should render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's.

The truth is, they paid two sorts of taxes: one

was a subsidy laid upon the lands, of which they paid the hundredth penny. But, besides this, Apion observes, that there was a capitation, more intolerable to the Jews than all the other tributes; and therefore Judæa petitioned Tiberius to be exempted from the imposts with which it was overlaid, as well as Syria.

This capitation did not seem to be great, since they only paid one denarion; that is, about seven pence halfpenny per head. But it was equal for the poor as well as the rich. As the didrachm was paid equally to God, so the tribute which Cæsar exacted was one and the same to all the inhabitants without any distinction. There were two reasons that aggravated this yoke in Judæa; one, that this people, priding themselves in their alliance with God, and thinking themselves perfectly free, could not brook the empire of the infidels, especially since the Maccabees had shook it off, and the capitation made them feel their slavery. Therefore Judas of Galilee rebelled, when Augustus sent to have Judæa enrolled. There was another reason that rendered this yoke insupportable; for the money that was to be brought to the Roman treasure was stamped with the prince's image; and the Jews, over scrupulously addicted to the law, which only condemns the worship of images, could not see the emperor's figure upon the money, and be obliged to pay, without a mortification.

Hitherto Judæa paid but one tax upon lands, and the capitation, which brought three hundred and seventy thousand eight hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence, into the emperor's exchequer. But after the taking of Jerusalem, Titus ordered the didrachm, which was paid annually to the temple, to be confiscated: and Cicero observes, that they sent it from Rome, and the other cities of Italy, to Jerusalem, because they looked upon it as a tribute which they paid to God as his subjects. But the emperor usurped the place of God, whom they had forsaken, and appropriated this tribute to himself. Each didrachm was worth sixteen pence; and so the sum demanded of them was very considerable. But this third tax was the more disgraceful because they were obliged to purchase the liberty of their religion by it, and Domitian exacted it with the utmost severity.

The sum paid in Judæa.

Xiphilin relates that Titus, after the conquest of Judæa, ordered all the Jews, that would preserve their religion, to pay the didrachm annually to Jupiter Capitolinus. The Romans made them purchase liberty of conscience by it. Tertullian complains bitterly that they had ranked the Christians among prostitutes and vagrants who paid a tribute to be suffered at Rome. The Jewish religion therefore being grown infinitely odious after the rebellion, its professors were obliged to pay an annual sum for their toleration. Suetonius speaks of Domitian's injurious treatment in demanding the payment. They stripped a man to inform themselves of his extract and religion by circumcision. Neither the quality of persons, nor the age, nor the oaths of such as chose rather to pretend to be heathens than to furnish the sums demanded, were respected. A man of ninety years of age was forced to this scandalous inquest, under pretence of which were committed a thousand impieties.

An aggravation under Titus and Domitian.

Domitian's hatred stopped not here; for the Jews were comprized in the same persecution with the Christians. We cannot doubt of it, as both of them were, in the opinion of the Romans, equally guilty of impiety, since they worshipped only one God, and rejected idols, which was reckoned an atheism, and adduced as a pretence to persecution. Dion affirms, that many persons, who had embraced the Jewish religion, were condemned for the crime of impiety, and that some were punished with death, and others only with sequestration.

Nerva, Domitian's successor, did three things to the advantage of this nation: he absolved those who were accused of impiety, and recalled the exiles; which shews that if Domitian had that design, he was not able to execute it, being prevented by his assassins.

Lenity of the emperor Nerva.

assassins. He forbade, for the future, the subjects of the empire to be tormented for the sake of religion, impiety, or Judaism. And he discharged the Jews of the imposts wherewith Domitian had oppressed them.

Rise of the
patriarchs
of Judaea.

We have placed the first of all the patriarchs of Judaea in this prince's reign, because he was more favourable to the Jews, and because there is no probability that they could so suddenly have re-settled themselves after an almost general dispersion. According to this account, Gamaliel II. was then the head of the fathers, which the Greeks call patriarch. Joshua was elected father of the senate; Eleazar was reconciled with Gamaliel, and they enjoyed their dignity together. Historians say, that Eleazar presided two sabbaths, and Gamaliel one, which shews that this office especially related to religion, and the Divine service.

The Jews endeavour to raise the glory of their desolate nation, by making many learned men survive the ruin of the temple, and live in the beginning of the second century.

Eleazar
eminent
amongst the
surviving
Jews.

Eleazar the Great lived at that time. They make him the son of a person of quality, called Hyrcanus, who had so neglected his education, that at twenty-eight years of age he was ignorant of the law. He bewailed his ignorance for many days; but at last a certain person told him of a master. He made a journey to John, the son of Zechai, who taught at Jerusalem, by whom he was instructed in his prayers, and some points of the law. Eleazar wept and fasted till he had learnt them, and eight days passed over before he eat. His father came to Jerusalem to disinherit him; but was so struck with the learning and modesty he found in him, that he would not sit down before him; and, instead of disinheriting him, he gave him his brothers portions, who had put him upon this design. The Jewish rabbies enumerate these patriarchs, and ascribe to them properties almost divine; but they are too big with absurdity, and it may be added prophanation, to gain credit with a rational or religious reader.

The poet
Ezekiel, a
Jew.

At that time lived the poet Ezekiel, who composed the departure from Egypt in Greek verse. He was a Jew, and probably meant to sing a miraculous deliverance to comfort his nation, dejected by the Romans, in giving it an idea of a redeemer like Moses. He lived after Josephus, who did not know him; and before Clemens Alexandrinus, who had quoted him. We must therefore place him at the end of the first, or rather at the beginning of the second, century.

The will of
the 12 pa-
triarchs
composed at
that time.

We must also place at the same time the author of the will of the twelve patriarchs. This man has disguised his religion, and speaks so often like a Jew, that a learned man, who was the first publisher of this work in Greek, maintains that the original was in Hebrew, composed by a doctor of that nation some time before the manifestation of our Lord, since the author has followed the common prejudices of the doctors of that time, who expected a general of an army, famous for his battles, rather than a spiritual teacher.

The will of the twelve patriarchs was, however, composed at this time; for the author speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem, and several actions of the Messiah, and even of the writings of the evangelists, like a prophet who had seen these things.

Source of
sedition.

The miserable are more mutinous and restless than other people. There is a spirit of sedition imputed to some religions, and to the tempers and inclinations of certain nations. But this is imaginary; for all men naturally love peace and quiet; leave them liberty of conscience, and the free enjoyment, or increase of, their estates, and few rebellions will arise in nations. The hatred of parties, persecution, and the harshness of government, are the common springs of tumults and seditions: men do not swerve from their natural state, except when they are forced by despair or violence. We must not wonder then if

the Jews, notwithstanding their miseries, have so frequently an inclination to rebel. Misery puts men into agitation, and makes them turn on all sides to be easy, and commonly, instead of compassing their desires, they add fresh weight to their burthen. The Jews mis-timed their attempts in Trajan's reign. What could make them so venturous as to brave the power of so great a prince? Being provoked by their preceding misfortunes, they carried, in their turn, cruelty and barbarity to a detestable excess; beginning at Cyrene, a city of Lybia, where they had been settled, and potent, for many ages. They had at first some advantages over the Greeks; for so they called the Egyptians; but the fugitives escaping to Alexandria, and carrying consternation, and a thirst of revenge, into this great city, they murdered all the Jews that were there. Those of Cyrene, enraged with a reprisal they had justly deserved, fell into the greatest fury; and being headed by one Andrea, ravaged the plain country under his conduct, and massacred two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants in Lybia. The Romans returned into the field, under Martius Turbo, their general, whom Trajan had commissioned to quell these disorders. He effected it; but could not defeat the rebels, without long and violent battles, and the loss of many men. Lybia remained so depopulated by the massacre the Jews made in the beginning of the war, that the emperor Adrian was obliged to send a colony to inhabit it.

Eusebius has run into a manifest contradiction as to this rebellion of the Jews; for he affirms, in his history, that it happened in the beginning of the eighteenth year of Trajan's reign; and he places it a year sooner in his chronicle. The history being exacter than the chronicle, we ought to give it the preference, and place this event in the beginning of the second century, and in the hundred and fifteenth year of Jesus Christ. The Jewish historians say, that the war was caused by the ambition of the refugees who had retired to Alexandria after the destruction of Jerusalem, and had built a temple there. Some would fain lord it over the rest, and the weaker party called in Trajan to their assistance, who killed five hundred thousand of them. But their temple at Alexandria was imaginary, that of Onias being the only one they built.

The Thalmudists vary more grossly. Some say it was Adrian that killed twice as many Jews in Egypt as Moses had conducted out of it. Others place this event in Trajan's reign, and others affirm matters with as little foundation.

Nor did the disorder stop there, for news came of new insurrections in Mesopotamia. The fate of Egypt threw the inhabitants of this government into a consternation, who saw themselves menaced with the same misfortune: but Trajan sent a Moor thither, called Lucius Quietus, the greatest general the empire then had, or has had ever since; who, in execution of his commission, withstood the seditions, and, by killing a vast number of Jews, intimidated the rest. Nevertheless, as his presence was thought necessary to retain them in their duty, and there was reason to fear they would take up arms again the very moment the conqueror withdrew, the emperor made him governor of Palestine, to keep a strict eye upon their motions.

A new storm arose in the island of Cyprus. The Jews in this island began with the massacre of two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants. Their own historians do not dissemble this action, but swell the number of the dead instead of abating it; for they tell you, that the noise of the insurrections elsewhere arriving at Gophri, that is to say Cyprus, the Jews, who were very numerous in this country, fell upon all the heathens, and made such a general massacre, that not one of them remained; "Which obliged Trajan to send Adrian, the general of his forces, against them, who subdued them; and afterwards the Romans published an edict, absolutely prohibiting the Jews access to this island."

C H A P. III.

Rebellion of the Jews under Adrian, of Barchochebas and Akiba, till the hundred and thirty-eighth year of the Christian Era.

THESE might be said to be only the beginning of the sorrows of the Jews, which were at length completed by Adrian, who reduced them to such an abject state of wretchedness, that, to obtain the ordinary means of subsistence, they were under a necessity of having recourse to the fraud of magic and interpretation of dreams.

We need no other evidence than that of the emperor Adrian himself, who says, he saw not one Jew in Egypt but what was a mathematician; which name, though, at present, so honourable for useful discoveries by those who apply to this study, was at that time odious, because the mathematicians were generally deemed wizzards.

The cause of this rebellion is differently related. They say that it was the custom, in their country, to plant a cedar at the door of the houses where a son was born, and to set a pine-tree upon the birth of a daughter. These trees grew till the time of marriage, and then they cut them down to make a bed for the married couple. The princess, Adrian's daughter, travelling in Judæa, her chariot broke; and her officers had the insolence to cut down one of these trees planted before a house, wherewith they mended the chariot. But the relations and neighbours, provoked by this action, mutinied, and massacred the princess's retinue, who, being enraged, obliged the emperor to take arms, and subdue so fierce a nation.

Chrysostom asserts, that the Jews, who always, from their prejudices, preserved their own maxims, have three times attempted to rebuild the temple, and that their first effort to restore their republic was under Adrian; that they rebelled against him, without reflecting on the consequences, whom, with all their efforts, it was impossible to conquer: that this prince, having subdued them, placed his statue where Jerusalem was; and knowing that this monument of victory would not last for ever, ordered that the city should bear his name, which was still observed, since, in his time, it was called *Ælia*. Chrysostom has treated this event with no great degree of precision; for if he believed that the Jews designed to restore their temple under Adrian, he is deceived, since they made no motion towards it; and the first of the attempts ascribed to them is evidently false. The same must be said of the second, if he thought the Jews went to re-establish their republic. It is not even true that they attempted to rebuild Jerusalem. Moreover, *Ælia* had been built before the rebellion. Nor did Jerusalem still go by the name of Adrian; for it was so called at the council at Nice; but Constantine having built temples in this city, and Christianity being grown triumphant there, it resumed its ancient name of Jerusalem. Eusebius, who had called it *Ælia* in his history, always styles it Jerusalem in the life of Constantine, when he speaks of the edifices that this prince had raised there.

There were two causes of the great rebellion under Adrian. First, This prince had forbidden them, like Domitian and Nerva, to be circumcised. Spartan says so; and I know not how the express testimony of an author can be contested who lived under Dioclesian. Modestinus observes also, that the Jews, addressing themselves to Antoninus, he permitted them to circumcise only their own children, and forbade doing it to any person of another religion under heavy penalties. Secondly, There is a law forbidding all the Roman citizens to be circumcised like the Jews, or to cause their slaves to be circumcised, upon pain of banishment, and awarding death to the physicians that should do it. It also banishes and condemns, sometimes to death, the Jews that cut the children of another religion. Did the Jews at-

No. 45.

tempt to circumcise strangers, in order to increase their numbers, whereby to go on afterwards more effectually in the restoration of their commonwealth, as St. Chrysostom has said? Some great men have said it after him. But it is not probable they believed that the converted Roman citizens, or their slaves, could make up a considerable army to restore their state. The Roman proselytes were never so numerous to possess them with this conceit. These edicts were given only to prevent any changes of religion, which now and then happened at Rome, and scandalized the heathens. Besides, Antoninus licensed them to circumcise themselves after his war with them. This prince, being weary of their rebellion, and seeing that denying them this custom exasperated them, yielded something to pacify them: but they were not then in a condition to proselyte sufficient numbers to form armies, and restore their commonwealth. Adrian, who had forbidden them circumcision, offended the Jews in one of the principal acts of their religion: it was robbing them of the seal of the covenant, the mark that distinguished them from heathens, and the grace of God, which they thought annexed to this custom: and therefore it is no surprising thing that they should mutiny, when they found themselves deprived of this ceremony.

This prince also had sent a colony to Jerusalem, and built a city upon its ruins, to which he gave his own name, and consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. The second cause of the war is as much disputed as the first, since Eusebius says, that the colony was not sent to Jerusalem till after the taking of Bithur. But Dion says, this colony was the cause of their rebellion, because they could not bear to have strangers come and live in their city, and worship strange gods there; so that we cannot doubt of the truth of the fact. To reconcile Eusebius and Dion, it appears that the emperor's first design was crossed by the Jews rebelling before it was fully executed, because the Jews had expelled the new inhabitants; though the emperor accomplished it when he had subdued them. So that he had sent the colony before the war, as Dion affirms; and he completed his project, when the rebellion was quelled, as Eusebius relates.

A colony sent to Jerusalem before the war

Barchochebas's ambition, who knew how to make his advantage of the disturbance which these two circumstances created in the minds of the people, fully determined the nation to prosecute the war. But to speak of the false Messiahs that have deceived their nation.

The time was come in which impostors appeared with full assurance. Gamaliel had seen two of them perish, and was so moved with the ill success of their enterprize, that he would not have the progress of Christianity opposed, being persuaded that Providence would bring the design to nought if it was not from heaven: "Theudas (said he) before these days rose up, who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and he also perished: and now I say unto you, if this counsel be of men it will come to nought." The Christians, from an high sense of his great moderation and piety, afterwards canonized him.

Impostors that preceded Barchochebas.

St. Luke, in the 5th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, particularly speaks of the impostors, Theudas and Judas of Galilee, whom Gamaliel mentions to the people, as having practised their arts heretofore to deceive; from which (though his design was to invalidate the apostle's doctrine) it is evident such delusions had been practised.

Some mentioned by St. Luke, Acts 5th.

The Romans sent some forces against Judas, and he miserably perished, Alexander, Fadus's successor, persecuted his children, and caused them to be murdered. His followers maintained their master's doctrine, with an unshaken confidence, in the midst of the most cruel tortures. They subsisted, notwithstanding the violence that was offered them after the taking of Jerusalem, in a very ancient castle, where they were shut up; and the fugitives carried this

Defeat of Judas.

this doctrine into Egypt, where it occasioned new massacres.

Barchochebas the arch impostor.

Other impostors started up, and, with the same fallacious pretensions, endeavoured to delude the credulous multitude; but the most impious, daring, and injurious, was Coziba, or Barchochebas. He was a robber, like the rest, who hoped to enrich himself with plunder, and acquire some authority in his nation by his outrages against the Romans. It is pretended that there were two impostors of this name, the grandfather and grandson; and their history is thus related by the Jews. Coziba I. was elected king by the Jews two years after the ruin of the first temple, and died at Bither, a city in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which was the capital of his empire. His son the Red succeeded him; and afterwards reigned his grandson Romulus, who was called Coziba. The Jews assembled about him, and acknowledged him for the Messiah. The emperor Adrian, having notice of it, came with a numerous army, took Bither, and destroyed a multitude of Jews, in the seventy third year after the ruin of the temple. Hence it is concluded, that the reign of the three Cozibas lasted one and twenty years. Some extend it much farther, and make the first Coziba's reign under Domitian. The antient chronicle of the Jews, on the contrary, assigns but two years and a half to Coziba's reign.

It is absurdly supposed there have been two Cozibas, or Barchochebases. Most of the Jews acknowledge but one, and they are right. For he that induced the Jews to a rebellion, towards the end of Trajan's reign, was not called Barchochebas, but Andrea. Neither did he call himself the Messiah; and this rebellion was in Egypt, whereas that of Barchochebas happened in Judæa. They were unacquainted with Trajan's genealogy, since they say, that he sent Adrian, his sister's son, against the Jews in Egypt; for Ulpia, Adrian's grandmother, was Trajan's aunt, and these two princes were only cousins. They err in making the war with Coziba last so long, and give him, and his heirs and successors, a reign of one and twenty years; for his race ended with him; and the war terminated in a little time, as we shall see in the sequel. They make him perish in the seventy third year of the ruin of the temple. Adrian was already dead, in the year 141; and the city of Bither, by which the war was concluded, had been taken in the eighteenth of Adrian. This chronological error suffices to shew the misrepresentations of the rest. The author of the chronicle of the Jews is more exact than his commentators, for he makes Coziba to reign but two years and a half, and speaks but of one impostor. We must therefore acknowledge but one Coziba, who took the title of Barchochebas, lived in Adrian's reign, and was the source of infinite mischiefs to this nation.

This impostor, to facilitate the success of his enterprise, changed his name, and took that of the Son of the Star, or Barchochebas, in order to have it believed that he was the Star that "Balaam had seen afar off." He maintained that he was one of the stars of heaven sent to succour the people, and retrieve them from the oppression under which they groaned. He also made choice of a forerunner, of the same character with himself, who was very assistant to him in these designs.

This was Akiba, whom, they say, descended from Sisera, general of the army of Jabin, king of Tyre, and from a Jewish mother. He had spent forty years upon the plains, in looking to the flocks of a rich citizen at Jerusalem, called Calba Chuva. His master's daughter being in love with him, and unwilling to marry a shepherd, advised him to apply himself to study. They made a clandestine marriage; after which Akiba went and spent twelve years in the academy, and brought back with him twelve thousand scholars. His wife advised him to return again. He continued still twelve years more, and brought with him twenty thousand disciples. His wife came to meet him with her clothes rent, because her father, provoked with her marriage, had

disinherited her; but no sooner had he seen Akiba than he fell at his feet, revoked his oath, and gave him a great part of his estate. He continued teaching and writing books, one whereof is cabalistical, and is called Jetzirah; but it must be distinguished from that which is ascribed to the Patriarch Abraham, and bears the same name. He was so learned as to give an account of the least letter of the law. We find in the Misnah and Talmud a thousand sentences ascribed to him, and which are looked upon as so many judicious decisions. These are the commendations they give this doctor, who caused the desolation of his country, and supported the fraud of an impostor. No great weight therefore can be laid upon what the Jews relate concerning the birth and death of Akiba, since they are so perfectly ignorant of the time.

Barchochebas appearing at the time that Akiba's fame was at the height, when he was head of the Sanhedrim, he exclaimed, "Behold the Star that was to come out of Jacob," and made himself his forerunner. These two impostors availed themselves of the prejudice of the people, who were for a conquering Messiah, that should deliver them from the Roman yoke, which the last war, and Adrian's persecution, daily made more insupportable. Barchochebas, who found people disposed to follow him, mustered up an army of 200,000 men; and Bither was chosen for his residence, and the capital of his kingdom. The Jews called it Bethtar, or the *House of Spies*, because, after the ruin of Jerusalem, centinels were placed there to spy those that went to Jerusalem, who were accused of courting the Roman favour, and desiring offices, or of selling their estates, of which they stripped them by virtue of these calumnies. They even sometimes impeached them to the Romans under other pretences. Eusebius places this city in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; but there were two cities of this name, one twelve, and the other fifty-two, miles distant from the holy city.

Jerome called these two cities Bethoron, and maintains they were built by Solomon, and ruined by the war. Bethoron was given by Pharaoh for a portion to his daughter, when she married Solomon, who restored it to the Levites, in whose partition it lay. But if we believe the Jews, this is not the true Bither, since one signifies a *House of Spies*, and the other a *House of Liberty*. Barchochebas chose this place to receive the royal unction, and afterwards caused money to be coined, declaring himself at the same time the Messiah, and Jewish prince of the nation. He waited to declare war when the emperor Adrian had left Egypt; but it burst out in the year 134, in the seventeenth of Adrian's reign.

Dion asserts, that Adrian, having sent a colony to Jerusalem, and placed a statue of Jupiter where the temple of God stood, this foreign worship violently affected the Jews. "However, Adrian's presence, who was then in Egypt, and who went from thence to Syria, stopped them for some time. They contented themselves, during his time, with making imperfect arms, and selling them to the Romans, that they might not employ them against themselves; but they revolted when the emperor was gone."

Phlegon, Adrian's secretary, has preserved a letter of his master, addressed to Servian, the consul. He gives him an account of what he had seen in Egypt, and of the turbulent inclination of its inhabitants; and makes him a present of some vessels, which he had designed for him and his sister. It is easier to know the time of the Jewish war from this letter, than from the medals of the cities of Syria; for it must have been written when the emperor left Egypt or Syria. Servian, to whom this letter was written, was his brother-in-law, since he made him a present in common with his sister and himself. This Servian is called consul, which dignity he had not under Adrian till 134. We must conclude then that the emperor left not Egypt and Syria till the beginning of that year, and that his absence the same year instigated the Jews to rebellion. Another heathen historian

historian, quoted by Eusebius, asserts, that the war was in its whole vigour; and that Bither, which the rebels had fortified, was taken the tenth of August, in the eighteenth year of Adrian. The war therefore began the preceding year, since it was in its vigour, and near its conclusion. The emperor gave his name to the city he had built about the ruins of Jerusalem in the year 136, in which he celebrated his Vicennialia. So that the war began in the year 134, and ended two years after. Buonarroti produces a medal struck by this prince in the eighteenth year of his reign, for having obtained a great victory over the rebels, and driven the Jews from Jerusalem. To this nothing can be objected, but the authority of the Jews quoted by Jerome, who say the war lasted three years and an half.

The Romans at first seem to have neglected this revolt: as the Jews had been so effectually humbled by Trajan's wars, they could hardly imagine they would so soon be in a condition to oppose them. But when they saw the numbers of the seditious increase, and that they fought with a valour that seemed raised upon despair, that all the robbers of the neighbouring provinces joined them in hopes of plunder, and that not only Judæa, but all the world was in motion, they were obliged to change their measures. Some think that the emperor marched in person against the rebels; because they observe, that this prince, writing to the senate, had not ventured to preface his letters with the ordinary form, because of the great losses he had sustained in this war; but, on due enquiry, it appears that he carried it on by his generals.

Barchochebas, who was superior in troops, at first committed great ravages. Justin Martyr complained that he openly attacked and massacred the Christians, because they would not abjure their religion. His hatred against these professors of religion, and despair of making the Christians embark in his violent measures, who had the same interest as himself to declare against the Romans, might redouble his cruelty. But can it be imagined that the heathens, against whom he declared war, and the colony which Adrian had begun to send to Jerusalem, were more humanely treated by this usurper than the Christians? This impostor only favoured his own nation, and treated with the utmost barbarity all others that fell into his hands.

We find, by Eusebius and Syncellus, that the general, who commanded the army in Judæa against Barchochebas, was called Tinnius Rufus. Adrian, who was not acquainted with the importance of the war, sent him at first a great reinforcement; but this commander being often defeated, he sent for Julius Severus, one of the greatest generals of his age, from Britain. This able commander deeming it imprudent to engage to powerful an army, attacked them in parties, straitened them in their camp, cut off their provisions, and by that means growing superior, laid siege to Bither, which they made their retreat.

The rabbins say, that there were in that city four hundred colleges, in each college four hundred professors, and that each professor of these colleges had four hundred scholars, who being mustered up made a great army. They sustained the first efforts of the siege, though they were very badly armed, and unacquainted with discipline. Barchochebas encouraged all his subjects, and executed Tryphon, a famous rabbin, who talked of surrendering. Nevertheless the city was taken, and Barchochebas was killed. Adrian, to whom they brought his head, was desirous to see his body; but when they attempted to carry it, they found a serpent about his neck, which frightened the bearers; and the prince acknowledged that God alone could kill that man. However, they have since owned the imposture of this man, whom they afterwards called Barchozab, or, *The Son of a Lie*. The scholars, who had so well defended the place, were bound with their books, and thrown into the fire. They add, that the slaughter was so great, that more people died in this war than came out of Egypt. Upon one

single stone were found the skulls of 300 children. The inhabitants of these places did not dung their ground for seven years together, being sufficiently fattened by the carcasses: therefore they have inserted in their liturgy a hymn appointed for the fast celebrated the eighteenth of the month of Ab, which answers to the months of July and August, in which they call Adrian a second Nebuchadnezzar, and pray God to remember this cruel prince, who destroyed 480 synagogues. As for Akiba, after a very severe imprisonment, he was condemned to a cruel death; and with him, the Jews tell us, died the glory of the Jewish laws.

Indeed, Dion represents this war as one of the cruellest that ever was. The Romans were frequently beaten, and lost abundance of good troops. The Jews, who had, at that time, a profound veneration for Solomon's tomb, saw it fall; and at once the wild beasts entered Jerusalem, which was an omen of the following slaughter. The presage was not insignificant, for five hundred and eighty thousand persons were killed in the battles; and the numbers that perished by famine, misery, or fire, cannot be reckoned. After the taking of Bither, the Jews had still fifty fortified castles, and troops to defend them. It seems also, from a medal that the emperor struck the year following, that he had obtained a victory over them that year; but, in reality, the resistance was not long; and the leaders being taken off, the rest more easily submitted.

Adrian finished the building of Ælia, (Jerusalem;) but the Jews of St. Jerome's time ridiculously ascribe this work to Ælius Titus, their destroyer. Epiphanius says, that he gave Aquila, his brother-in-law, the care of these buildings. But this proselyte, who turned Jew after he had embraced Christianity, had no consanguinity with this prince; nor do we find that he was entrusted with the inspection of these buildings. The circumference of the new city was somewhat different from the old, several places being included in it that were formerly without the gates; but, in the main, they made use of the foundations of the first city. Valesius denies it, and, for a reason, alledges, that Adrian would be far from re-building a city implacable to the Romans, and favouring the Jews, who had brought upon him such a wretched war. But this prince did not do it in favour to the Jews, for he gave it to other inhabitants. And therefore historians observe, that they began to settle a bishop there, who came of heathen race. The design was to mortify the old inhabitants, by excluding them for ever from their primitive habitation.

The truth is, Adrian prohibited their return for ever: and to make the city odious, if it were possible, he changed the use of the remaining monuments of old Jerusalem; for he employed the stones that had been used in the building of the temple to make a theatre; and he erected statues of false gods in the places where the temple formerly stood. And, lastly, St. Jerome says, that he caused the image of a hog to be placed over the gate that led to Bethlehem, to shew that the Jews were subject to the power of the Romans: but he is mistaken; the swine was not placed there to indicate the Jews' slavery, but to make them abhor entering into Jerusalem, because they hated this animal, the use of which was forbidden by the law, and they thought the gate was defiled and profaned by this figure.

Adrian, the more effectually to evacuate the city of its old inhabitants, caused a great part of them to be sold at the fair of Terebinth. Hegecippus says, that the Terebinth was a tree that had continued from the creation of the world, under which they met to traffick: but it was the place where Abraham had pitched his tent, and received the angels, which made it venerable. The Jews were exposed to sale there at the price of horses; and those that could not be sold, were carried to another fair, which was kept at Gaza. In Jerome's time they applied to this misery these words; "A cry was heard in

This war is attended with horrid massacres.

Jerusalem rendered odious to the Jews.

Number of Jews sold at the public market.

in Ramah, Rachael weeping for her children ;” because their misery and affliction were excessive. This Father also applied to the miseries that happened under Adrian this prophecy of Zachariah, “I will feed the flock of slaughter ;” because that he had learnt, from the tradition and ancient history of the Jews, that this prince had put a great number to death, punished others with the most rigorous severity, and sold them at Terebinth, or carried them into Egypt. This Father acquaints us with three things. 1. That he had read the traditions and history of the Jews concerning their calamities, and therefore there must have been such at that time. 2. That Terebinth fair still continued ; but that the Jews were ashamed to be present at it, because they remembered the usage of their fathers. 3. That the Jews assembled, and came, in his time, to buy, of the soldiers, the liberty of seeing Jerusalem. They could not weep without paying for it. The old men and women were seen, with tears in their eyes, to repair to the mount of Olives, and bewail the destruction of the temple. The soldiers made great advantage of the Jews’ veneration for the remains of the holy city, and of Adrian’s severity of forbidding their entrance for ever ; for they sold them, at a dear rate, the sight of this place, and the liberty of throwing perfumes upon a stone there. Jerome assures us, that Adrian conveyed part of these prisoners to Egypt, where their number was considerably augmented.

Adrian, having successfully concluded the war in Judæa, stamped medals, on which was seen a woman holding two naked children, and sacrificing upon an altar, with these words :

ADVENTUS AUG. JUDÆÆ.

The arrival of the Emperor in Judæa.

Tristan thought that the woman, who sacrifices, represents this subdued province, which consents to become heathen, and to sacrifice to the false gods ; and that she brings to the altar two naked children, to shew that she renounced circumcision. The emperor meant rather to signify, by the altar and sacrifice, that the old religion was abolished in this province, which he had colonised with new inhabitants. We see another medal of this same prince, where JUDÆA is represented as a woman on her knees, giving her hand to the emperor, and three children imploring mercy. One of these children is naked. Will it be said that the design of it was to shew his not being circumcised ? The medalist’s intention was to impress a monument, representing the submission and desperate misery of Judæa, after Barchochebas’s defeat.

Those that dwelt in the east were much more fortunate. Trajan had carried the war against them as far as Mesopotamia. But Adrian, upon his accession to the throne, having preferred an inglorious peace to a doubtful war, consented that the Euphrates should be made the boundary of the Roman empire. So that the Jews of this country had no share in this prince’s war against their nation.

It is true a confederacy had been formed of three sorts of Jews. Some inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, animated with the hopes of plunder, and the first advantageous successes, joined their ancient enemies to fight the Romans. Many Jews of other provinces of the empire, who still breathed after their liberty, and sought an opportunity of recovering it, laid hold on this. Perhaps too some came from the remotest parts, and from beyond Euphrates, to the succour of their brethren ; and therefore the number of the dead amounted to above six hundred thousand ; which number could not have been found in Judæa alone, after what it had suffered under Trajan. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Adrian himself carried the war into the east, and passed the Euphrates ; for he went into his retreat of Tivoli, where he rendered himself completely odious by the exercise of his various cruelties.

We find that this prince added a new degree of misery to the Jews, by imposing on them a tribute for the liberty of reading the Bible in Hebrew, and that this tribute was still paid in Tertullian’s time ; for he says, in his apology, that the Jews, every sabbath, purchased the liberty of reading publicly by a tax they paid. They say that the Jews that had highly esteemed the Septuagint version, began to abhor it, when they perceived it was more favourable to the Christians than the Hebrews. But Adrian commanded them only to use this version ; so that they were forced to pay money to read the Hebrew in the synagogues on the sabbath.

CHAP IV.

Of the disciples of Akiba, and of the other learned men who lived at that time.

WE are told that Akiba left many disciples, who all distinguished themselves by their learning. But the most celebrated amongst them was Judah Hakkadash, who compiled the Mishnah, or Commentary on Leviticus. He was the son of Simeon the Just, born at Sepphoris, and flourished during the reigns of three emperors, who were great enemies to the Christians, but very favourable to the Jews, viz. Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Commodus. He became very considerable on account of his sanctity, and much more for his great learning, and presided over the grand academy of Tiberias with uncontrouled authority. But he was esteemed above all for his famous book called the Mishnah, or repetition of the law, of which the following is an abstract.

The Mishnah is divided into six parts. The first is intitled “Seder Zerahim,” and treats on seeds in the fields, trees, fruits, plants, &c.

The second, “Seder Mohadim,” treats of the Jewish feasts.

The third, “Seder Nashim,” treats of women, and all matrimonial causes.

The fourth, “Seder Nezikim,” treats of losses, damages, trade, the law-suits arising from them, and the manner of proceeding in them.

The fifth, “Seder Kodoshim,” treats of sacrifices, oblations, and all other holy or sacrificed things.

The sixth treats of all kinds of expiations, and all things relating to purification. Each of these books contained several tracts, amounting in the whole to sixty-three.

This code, or body, of oral traditions, is founded upon a five-fold authority.

1st. Upon the writings of Moses, whose explications are contained in the Pentateuch, and are either decisive of themselves, or by consequences fairly drawn from them.

2d. Upon the ordinances of that legislator delivered to him on the mount, or, as they are commonly stiled, the oral law, which are looked upon to be of the same authority with the written.

3d. Upon the different decisions of the ancient doctors, concerning which a man is at liberty to take which side he pleases, whether, for instance, those of Hillel or Shammai.

4th. On the maxims and sayings of the prophets and wise men, which are on that account stiled the hedges or fences of the law ; but from which the rabbins do often swerve ; though, in the main, they hold them in great esteem.

5th. On the ancient rites and customs, which have since

Their humbled state and condition.

More lenity shewn to the Jews of the east.

since gained the sanction of a law, and are made by it equally obligatory.

This is the sum of that so much boasted treatise, which is therefore stiled a body of civil and ecclesiastical rights of the Jews, and is a collection of their oral laws, rules, &c. However, it is probable this book was not published, or, at least, received, immediately, since we find mention made, in Hege-sippus, of such oral traditions being still appealed to, and canvassed, towards the latter end of the second century. Those who want a fuller account of it, may consult the Latin version of Surenhusius, with the notes of several learned commentators.

Jochanan Hassandalar, who lived also in Adrian's reign, said, "that every assembly that was made in the name of God remained, and that others were dispersed;" because virtue is the soul of societies, and the knot that ties them close, but vice ruins and destroys them. We should not speak of Eleazar, the son of Simeon Jochaides, who was pursued by the Romans, and concealed a long time, with his father, were not some prayers ascribed to him, which the Italian and German Jews make use of.

One of the most famous of all Akiba's pupils was the illustrious Meir. They gave him this name because he was the light of the learned, and opened the eyes of his disciples. He married a learned woman, whose decisions the Thalmudists receive with greater reverence than those of her husband, notwithstanding all their veneration for him.

Dositheus was one of Meir's disciples; but we must not confound him with one Dositheus a priest, sent by Esarhaddon to the Cuthæans, to teach them the law, that they might not be devoured by lions. There was also another Dositheus, who was the son of Janni, who could not have studied under Meir, since his father lived not till the end of the second century. This man determined that it was no crime to forget some portion of the law, except when it was done voluntarily; and this forgetfulness became innocent, when application to study was the cause of it. The decision is not very curious; but yet it has admitted Dositheus into the rank of Tanaïtes and Fathers, whose sentences are religiously preserved.

Somechus, the son of Joses, was another of Meir's scholars, and a most excellent casuist.

Chelpeta, a citizen of Tispori, had two sons that studied under Meir. Joses grew the most famous. The emperor Adrian banished him from Tiberias, and sent him to live in his native country, where the learned were not honoured as in an academy. Here he took to the trade of a currier. The Jews, who find most part of the doctors to be only mechanics, have turned their reproach into glory, by making a law, commanding all Rabbins to learn a trade. Some Christians imagine this was done in emulation of the apostles and disciples, who laboured with their own hands; but this reasoning is unjust; for if the handicraft of the apostles was a subject of jealousy, the Council of Trent ought not to have destroyed this glory, and changed it into a reproach, by forbidding the conferring of orders on a man that had not a benefice or a patrimony sufficient to maintain him. Besides, it was better to get a livelihood by honest labour, like St. Paul, than to authorize such a mendicant indolence as that of the Monks.

His younger brother, Scimon, who lived under Antoninus, and the following emperors, with Judah the Saint, was a man eminent for his skill in the learned and more abstruse sciences.

The same age produced another Scimon, the son of Eleazar, a man of learning, but of excessive pride, which, however, according to the account of a Latin writer, was humbled by an extraordinary incident, so that afterwards he acquired the graces of modesty and candour.

Meir had also the honour of instructing Judah, the author of the Misnah, of whom we have spoken more at large; and presume these sketches will

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suffice to shew the genius of the doctors of that age.

CHAP. V.

Antoninus Pius becomes a proselyte to the Jewish religion. Is offended with the Jews, and makes war against them. Defeats them, and grants them privileges under certain restrictions. Justin Martyr has a conference with Tryphon. Principles of the latter. Marcus Aurelius makes war against the Jews, and punishes them for entering into a confederacy with Cassius. Conversion of Hegesippus. His account of the different sects of Jews. Other sects mentioned by Justin Martyr. Various translations of the Scriptures.

ANTONINUS Pius, who was adopted by Adrian, and raised to the highest dignities, is represented as a great friend and patron of the Jewish nation, having been a disciple of Judah, and submitted to the rite of circumcision. He always, however, dissembled his religion; and though he professed Judaism, which he was perfectly acquainted with, yet he appeared devoted to the service of idols. He constantly favoured the Jews; and so strenuously applied himself to the study of the law and tradition, that he joined with his master Judah in the composition of the Misnah.

Antoninus, however, instead of countenancing the Jews, was soon under a necessity of making war against them, because they had rebelled. Adrian's prohibition of circumcision was still in force. They had obeyed an emperor who forced them to it by the torrent of his conquests, and power of his arms. But they could not long brook their being deprived of this accustomed sign of their religion. They rose the first opportunity, and were resolved, sword in hand, to oblige Antoninus to give them this liberty. Capitolinus, in his narrative of this war, has comprized Antoninus's victories in the compass of five or six lines, and by his brevity occasioned Baronius to believe that the insurrection of the Jews happened in the first year of his reign. But the Jews, who were dispersed, and extremely debilitated by Adrian, required some years to collect a body, and capacitate themselves to make head against a potent prince. Besides, Capitolinus's account is a compendium of this prince's noble actions, which ought to be distinguished, as having been achieved at different times. The Jews were unsuccessful, and defeated by Antoninus; but when he had conquered them, he restored them the privilege of circumcision under these restrictions.

1. It only related to the Jews: but the Samaritans, who professed the same religion, had not the benefit of it. 2. Proselytes were also excluded, and none of them were suffered to be made Jews by this rite.

Justin Martyr had at that time a conference with Tryphon. The Jews speak of a famous Rabbin, who was preceptor or colleague with Akiba, called Tryphon; and Dr. Lightfoot thinks it was he that Justin Martyr disputed with. He was not only rich but charitable; for we are told that Akiba, being employed to take care of the poor, he gave him 4000 gold crowns, which he distributed in one day. Though he was a disciple of Schammy's school, yet he has been esteemed; and many sentences of his are preserved and inserted in the maxims of the Fathers. He solicits men to hasten their sanctification, because of the brevity of human life. God demands it, and the recompence will be considerable. Nevertheless, he teaches, "That man is not obliged to the performance of the whole law; and provided he does his endeavour to know but one part of it, yet he shall receive a great reward."

We are taught also from him, that the name of twelve letters ceased to be pronounced at that time. The name of Jehovah is ineffable, because it expresses the essence of God without ambiguity; whereas

Antoninus Pius a proselyte to the Jewish religion.

Antoninus makes war with the Jews.

Antoninus grants the Jews privileges under certain restrictions.

Conference of Justin with the Rabbin Tryphon.

Hamme-phorash.

whereas the others only make him known by his attributes. There was moreover a dispute among the doctors about the manner of pronouncing it. The prophane, who increased their numbers after the death of Simeon the Just, abused it; and therefore they left off pronouncing it. Instead of this ineffable name was substituted one of twelve letters, which the priest uttered in giving the blessing to the people. But Tarphon affirms, that one day coming near the priest to hear him pronounce his benediction, he perceived that he did not articulate the twelve letters; but that he only muttered whilst the brethren sang; and the reason of this change proceeded from the number of the prophane, which was increased. They highly commend the wisdom of this Tarphon, and his knowledge in the law.

Marcus Aurelius's war with the Jews.

Though Marcus Aurelius was naturally of a mild temper, yet this exempted not the Jews from great miseries during his reign. This prince had such an opinion of them, that, as he once passed through Judæa in his way to Egypt, he cried out, that he had found people as wicked as the Marcians and Sarmatians; those barbarous nations that made continual war, and ravaged a great part of his empire in his reign.

Besides, there were two circumstances very prejudicial to them. Vologesus, king of Parthia, was making warlike preparations at the time that Antonius died; and he commenced the war a little after his death by violent incursions. Severian, the governor of Cappadocia, attempting to oppose him, perished with his whole army. Marching afterwards into Syria, the Parthians made terrible destruction. The eastern Jews, who were subject to the Parthians, and enemies to the Romans, joined them, and increased the number of their troops. Marcus Aurelius sent Lucius Verus, his colleague, with the best officers of the empire; but he stopped at Antioch to relax, and left the war to the management of his generals. Cassius, who commanded, beat Vologesus, and pursued him to his capital Ctesiphon, which he took, and demolished the palace of the kings. Babylon, which still made some figure, Mesopotamia, and the lands of the Medes, where there were a great number of Jews, were laid waste. Seleucia, upon the banks of the Tigris, voluntarily surrendered: but the Romans violating the capitulation, killed four or five hundred thousand persons. By a treaty of peace concluded four years after the beginning of the war, Mesopotamia and Osrene, however, remained subject to the Romans. Thus the Jews of this country were reduced once more under their obedience.

Their confederacy with Cassius punished.

Cassius, who left the east to vanquish the Sarmatians, flushed with so many exploits and victories, which raised him to the rank of heroes, encouraged, as is said, by Faustina, Marcus Aurelius's wife, who was for making him an emperor, that he might marry her after her husband's death, assumed the title of emperor in Syria, where he was governor, having first spread a report that the throne was vacant by Marcus Aurelius's death. His reign was but a dream, for it lasted but three months and six days. However, the Jews, who only waited for an opportunity to rise, seeing the fire kindled in the neighbourhood, added fuel to the flames, by joining with the rebels. Marcus Aurelius pardoned the children of Cassius, whose head had been brought to him, and spared the blood of the senators who had engaged in the conspiracy. He even caused his letters to be burnt, that they might not be known. But he could not bear the insult which the Jews had offered him, and to punish them he renewed Adrian's laws against them. Whether these laws were ill executed, particularly in Asia, where the Jews were numerous, and very remote from the capital, or that they purchased the liberty of annoying the Christians, they signalized themselves in this country by their hatred. Justin Martyr had before charged them with the consequences of this passion, which frequently broke out. But they manifested it at Smyrna, in Polycarp's martyrdom; for they not only joined their voices with the heathens, in crying in the theatre, "He is an Atheist," but were also the

most vehement round his pile. They persecuted this great man after his death, by soliciting the judge to deny his body to the Christians; but, at last, the captain of the guards, seeing the bitter rage of the Jews against the dead body, caused it to be reduced to ashes.

These commotions might be made by a mutinous rabble, and tolerated by reason of the hatred to the Christians; yet it is certain that the Jews enjoyed great liberty of conscience at Smyrna, since they were present at the theatre, and distinguished themselves from the heathens. Moreover we find some footsteps of their authority in Phrygia, by the answers that an orthodox person made to the Montanists, who accused them of being murderers of the prophets. "Is there one of them that, from the origin of their sect, has been persecuted by the Jews, or killed by the impious? Is there any woman who has been whipped in the synagogues or stoned?" This author attributes to the Jews the persecution of the Christians, and the branches that divided Christianity. He adds the power of scourging. The uncontroled and numerous rabble in Asia, in Marcus Aurelius's time, pursued the Christians in the streets with stones, and sometimes crucified them. It is even very probable that Thraseas, bishop of Eumenia, or of Emalhifar, in Phrygia Pectiana, was martyred in this manner. The circumcised must have been numerous in this part of the world, since Montanus endeavoured to allure them, by giving the name of Jerusalem to two little cities of Phrygia, which he looked upon as the principal seats of his sect.

This time produced the conversion and unusual baptism of a Jew. A man of this nation travelling, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, with Christians in a desert, was taken with such a violent thirst, that it was thought he was going to expire. He demanded baptism with an impatience, which made the Christians uneasy, as being utterly destitute of water. One of them supplied the defect, by taking sand, which he threw upon the catechumen's body, pronouncing the baptism form. The Jew recovered by this new baptism, and marched on to the city of Alexandria. Dionysius, who was then bishop there, being informed of the fact, ordered the Jew to be re-baptized with water. Nicephorus adds, that such another instance happened under Athanasius; and he has annexed a third example, that fell out in his time at Constantinople.

The conversion of Hegesippus, who lived at that time, seems also dubious to many. It is agreed that he was a Jew, and that he embraced Christianity; but some sectarists represent him as a kind of half Christian, in not being brought to give up certain tenets he had imbibed from his infancy.

Though the truth would not be weakened by the loss of its defenders, and by the judgment we form at this day of his doctrine, yet we cannot forbear saying, that the arguments produced against him are very weak. For Eusebius only says, that he had published several things drawn from the Hebrew and Syriac gospel, and the unwritten traditions of the Jews. It should therefore be concluded, that he continued a Jew, because he used the unwritten traditions of the synagogue; as it is concluded he was an Ebionite, because he has sometimes quoted the Hebrew gospel. Nevertheless, nobody denies that he embraced Christianity. Hegesippus says, that he went to Corinth, where the church continued constant in the purity of the faith; and that Primus, who was then bishop of it, gave him great comfort by the discourses they had concerning the truth. From thence he went to Rome, and maintained constant communion with the bishop who held the see. The church of Corinth was neither Arian nor Ebionite. Hegesippus attributes to it the profession of a true faith. He united with this bishop, and conversed with him about this pure faith: it is therefore indisputable that Hegesippus was of the same religion with the bishop and

and the church, whose purity of faith he commends, and that he held the doctrine received at Corinth and Rome.

Hegefippus informs us, that there were traditions among the Jews, and that they were not written in his time. We have reason therefore to think, that Judah the Saint, did not compose the Mishnah till Commodus's reign, towards the end of the second century, since they were not yet published in Hegefippus's time, who lived under Marcus Antoninus. Eusebius had first placed him under Adrian; but it seems that he discovered his error, and corrected it.

Hegefippus speaks of four famous sects among the Jews; the Samaritans, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes; to which he adds the Galileans. These were the followers of that famous Judas, who rose in the days of the taxing made by Augustus, and who would not have the emperors acknowledged for their lords, nor tribute paid to them. This spirit of sedition was still in being; and these sectaries were those who had caused the terrible rebellions which completed the ruin of the nation. The Hemero-baptists are charged by Epiphanius with having incorporated all the errors of the Pharisees and Sadducees; but I do not see what reason there is for this accusation; for their name only denotes their care to wash themselves every day, or many times in a day. It was a branch of the Pharisees that Christ taxed with fondness for washings, and who afterwards separated from the body of the sect to make a particular one, and perhaps a more rigid one in point of washings.

Hegefippus reckons the Masbothæans amongst the Jewish sects. This sect arose after our Saviour; for they are not known from the gospel, nor by any more ancient author. We discover their true opinion in the apostolical constitutions: they denied a Providence, and believed that every thing happened by chance: they also rejected the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. So that the Masbothæans were a branch of the Sadducees; as the Hemero-baptists proceeded from the Pharisees. I know not wherefore it has been thought that their name was borrowed from the sabbath, which they observed more religiously than others; for there is no analogy betwixt the terms Masbothæans and Sabbatarians. It was the character of the heretics of that time to confound languages, and to coin unknown words from them. There were other Masbothæans, disciples to Simon Magus, which Theodorot has distinguished from the Jewish sectaries, and with reason, for they derived that pedigree from one Masbothæus, their founder, and may be ranked among Christian heretics.

Justin Martyr gave Tryphon a very different account of the sects that divided the Jews of his age, though he was cotemporary with Hegefippus. He passes over the Essenes in silence, as if they were vanished; and I could easily believe that Hegefippus only mentioned them because they had formerly made a considerable schism in the nation. Justin Martyr maintains three sects, the Genists, the Merists, and the Hellenists. It is said the Genists derived their glory from being the descendants of Abraham, the Father of the faithful. The Merists divided the Scripture, and did not receive all the prophets, because they were animated by different spirits. These Merists might be those mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela. He found a schism at Cairo, because the Jews of Babylon, and of the Irack, divided the Scripture differently from those of Syria. The former so partitioned it, as to read it all in one year; the others multiplying the sections, read it but in three years. Scaliger imagined that the schism was between the Greeks and Babylonians, because he had read in Benjamin the word Igrikim, which he translated the Greeks. But Constantine the emperor, who published and translated his travels, read it *iræakin*. The Jews of the Irack were perhaps Hegefippus's Merists; who began to

separate about the manner of reading and dividing the Scripture.

The Hellenists began also to set up a new sect, of which it will not be amiss to trace the original. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, a distinction was made of the Hellenist Jews, which is expressed in great characters in the gospel. This name was given them because they were mingled with the Greeks, spoke their language, and read the Holy Scriptures in it after they were translated. We observe this only difference between them and the other Jews, with whom otherwise they partook in the same religion, sacrifices, and ceremonies.

Scaliger imagined that the jealousy and hatred were of very long standing betwixt these two parts of the nation, and that they had always made a kind of schism. They reproached the Hellenists with reading the Scripture in the Egyptian way, from the left to the right, and this was a kind of an affront. From reproaches they came to blows; and whilst the second temple stood, Eleazar, the son of Tisadoc, entering the synagogue of the Alexandrians at Jerusalem, laid the most provoking things his rage could suggest. Scaliger found traces of this schism as low as the twelfth century.

If Scaliger was right, the sect of the Hellenists would be much more ancient than we make it. But though there was some jealousy betwixt the Hellenists and the Jews of Palestine, yet it proceeded not to separation or schism. The Hellenists were even permitted to build many synagogues at Jerusalem for their use, where they performed their devotions; whilst Josephus has related no dispute upon this matter, nor Philo complained that his countrymen were ill used.

The learned are divided, and run into extremes, as to the rise, cause, and time of the division. Some, as Salmasius, think they have proved, that the Bible was never read in Greek, because it was not read in Arabic, which was more common, and better known by the Jews than the Greek could be. Another joins together both Hellenists and Jews into one synagogue at Jerusalem; and fancies that he finds a proof of it in the history of the Acts, where the Jews and Greeks were divided about the creation of the deaconesses; which could not have happened had they not been both in the same synagogue, as if the question there was not about the converted Greeks and Jews, who made but one body in the church, where they could not continue long without dividing.

Others, prepossessed in favour of the Septuagint version, find it every where, and exalt it far above the original. The safest way is to embrace a due medium. Necessity required that the Hellenists, who understood not Hebrew, should read the law in Greek in their synagogues. Though it were true that Philo, and some other of the learned, understood the Syriac, there would be still the same necessity of the Greek version for that great number of Hellenists that were in Egypt, and in all the great cities of Asia under the Roman jurisdiction. The Jews of Jerusalem could not condemn this practice, since they had such another in using the Chaldee paraphrases; and when there were no written paraphrases, they filled up this defect by an explication of each verse, which custom being as ancient as Ezra, authorized that of the Greek versions in all the places where the Chaldee was not the language of the country. Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, who lived at the time of Titus's war, determined that the law might be read and written in Greek. We shall see hereafter why the Gemara has limited this decision to the five books of Moses. We may add that R. Levi, coming to Cefarea, where there were many Greeks, was surprized to hear the Hebrew words "*Hear O Israel*" pronounced in Greek. But R. Josès asked him whether those that understood not Hebrew never read the law; and added, without waiting for an answer,

answer, "That whoever reads in a language he knows or understands, does his duty."

Lightfoot, who could not deny but that there were Greek copies in the synagogues, imagined that they were placed there by way of precaution, that when the heathens came in to explode their religion, they might be convinced by their own eyes that it was not bad.

To own that there were Greek copies in the synagogues, is to confess that the law was read in this language; and the Hebrews hindered not a custom that was universally received in the regions of the Roman empire. Nevertheless, they both of them considered the original as sacred, and preferable, as well to the versions as to Chaldee paraphrases, because it was God that had made choice of this tongue.

Septuagint,
why cried
down.

Christianity disturbed this harmony of the Jews. The Christians disputing with them, always used the version of the LXX. which not only was better known, but more advantageous to them. Justin Martyr produces proofs out of it; for he taxes the Hebrews with having lately struck out these words of Jeremy, "I am like a lamb that is led to the slaughter," which were found in the seventieth version. He carried his proofs farther, in quoting a passage of Esdras, which is no where to be found, and which he is accused of having put into Greek; though it is more than probable that this fraud was more ancient than he that made use of it. These reproaches, well or illgrounded, began to disgust the Jews with the Greek version, and to give them less esteem for those who were obliged to use it. The originals were cried up above the version, which was rejected, and found pernicious: they flew into an extreme, and this dispute produced four effects. 1. The name of Hellenists became odious; and those that bore it, finding themselves abused with bitter reproaches, set up the sect mentioned by Justin Martyr. Here then you have the origin of the sect. 2. They attempted new versions, of which we shall give an account. 3. The Gemarists, not being able to prohibit the reading of the Greek books, confined it to the Pentateuch; because these five books contained less disputed prophecies than those of the other prophets. 4. As the hatred to the Hellenists continually increased, those fabulous prodigies were invented, said to be wrought at the time that the Septuagint version was composed, and they talked of a fast that was celebrated on the account of this version, of which no mention is made in the Talmud. Thus it is we disentangle the history of the Hellenists, and not only extricate it with probability, but our opinions are founded upon many irrefragable testimonies. These new sectaries appeared therefore a little before Justin Martyr; or rather the name of Hellenists, which was hardly odious before, grew so then, and became the title of a sect.

Various
transactions

The different parties fell to work upon several translations of the Scripture, and this sort of business became much in fashion among the Jews; which the Hellenists we have been speaking of desired; or else they became more necessary to dispute against the Christians dispersed over all the Roman empire. Aquila was the first that engaged in it; whose version was received with a general applause of the Hellenists. Origen affirms, That all the Jews, who did not understand the Hebrew, were accustomed to this version, which they looked upon to be the best of all. Philestrus not only says the same thing, but adds, that some heretics followed it. In the mean time the Talmudists, full of that jealousy that had for some time prevailed against the Hellenists, made their efforts to disgust the people with it, and reduce them to the Hebrew Bible. We find, in their writings, several strokes of censure against the Greek one. The Christians complained of it, because it came from a suspected hand, and which had robbed them of many passages of Scripture; but, however, they sometimes made use of it: and St. Jerome, who had condemned it, praised afterwards the exactness of the author.

Theodotion made another of them. The Jews carried off this conquest from the church; for Theodotion, who was born an heathen, had embraced Christianity; but being brought over to Judaism, was circumcised. He was a native of Pontus, where he had known Marcion, his countryman, and had entered into his sect. From thence he went to Ephesus, where the Jews were numerous and considerable, and he lifted into the synagogue. It seems that this was an invasion upon Antoninus's law, who forbade the Jews the making of proselytes, and circumcising them. But we have already observed, that these laws were ill executed in Asia; and perhaps Marcus Aurelius had revoked them; for Theodotion made no mystery of his circumcision, and the Christians knew it well enough. He learnt of his new masters Hebrew enough to translate the Scripture, or rather to copy the Septuagint; for he followed them so close, that Origen made use of his version to fill up the chasms and vacuities that were found in the Septuagint. It is said that he published it in the first year of Commodus's reign, according to the custom of that time; for the learned took a pride to publish their works in the Decennalia or Vicennalia, and at the birth of princes, or when they came to the throne. Not to dispute about this custom, did a Jew make a sufficient figure in the empire to honour Commodus's coronation by a version of the Holy Scriptures? As odious as his person must have been, the Christians reaped some advantage by his work; and read publicly his translation of the prophet Daniel, because that of the Septuagint was full of faults; or rather because this version was by an hand that was much inferior to those that had worked upon the Pentateuch. Also the Ebionites and Nazarenes preferred it before all others. Symmachus composed a third translation in Severus's reign. It appeared much clearer, and more useful than the preceding ones; because this author had more respect to the sense than to the signification of words. The Christians made use of all these translations; though they were only made to their prejudice, and by doctors that infinitely hated them. However, the version of the Septuagint still raised its head above all these new fangled pieces. In the mean time it must be owned that they were only undertaken to weaken its authority, to hinder its being used in the synagogues, as it hitherto had been, and to prevent the Christians, who disputed with the Jews, from drawing objections out of it. For, indeed, these last interpreters had robbed us of Isaiah's oracle, "A virgin shall bring forth."

CHAP. VI.

The Jews firmly attached to Severus, who makes war against the Parthians. Severus extends the war into Judea, but is very favourable to the Jews. Explanation of a law admitting Jews into offices. Inferences drawn therefrom. The Jews are favoured under Caracalla. Traditions peculiar to the Hellenists, and others to the Jews. Fachanan compiles the Talmud. Account of it. Clemency of Alexander Severus to the Jews.

PESCENNIUS Niger being proclaimed emperor in Syria, endeavoured to make Judæa, which was adjacent, declare for him; and finding this people of an unshaken fidelity for Severus, he did them all the mischief that the shortness of his reign could permit him. Severus was not so sensible at first as he ought to have been of their firm attachment to him. Besides, he was taken up with more important affairs; being obliged to carry the war into the east against Vologesus, king of Parthia. The Jews, who were numerous betwixt the Tigris and the Euphrates, suffered much from this war. Adiabena, whose kings had professed Judaism at the end of the last century, and the beginning of this, was ravaged. Babylon and Seleucia were taken. The siege of Ctesiphon lasted long, because the Romans were reduced to the feeding on herbs and roots: but this city

city being carried by storm, part of its inhabitants were put to the sword, and 100,000 persons carried prisoners out of it.

We are told that Severus, being apprehensive that the Jews, dispersed in the east, would declare for Vologesus, softened them by many edicts. But it does not appear that they were distinguished from the rest of the subjects of the Parthian empire, and the favourable edicts were not promulgated till after the war.

On the contrary, Severus, at his return, marched into Judæa; and Eusebius says positively, that he made war with the Samaritans and Jews. Besides, the senate, confounding what the father had done in Syria, and the son in Judæa, decreed a Jewish triumph. The emperor, in the same journey, made several laws relating to Palestine, one of which prohibited the turning Jew. He left this nation liberty to circumcise their children; but hindered the receiving proselytes, and initiating strangers by this custom. They had an abode, and some settlements, in Galilee; but the inhibition of living at Jerusalem was still in force in Severus's reign. It cannot then be doubted but Severus declared against this nation in the first year of his reign.

But at length he grew more favourable to them, when he was apprized of their fidelity; or, which was; perhaps, a more prevailing motive, as he was beyond measure covetous, when he came to know that they had many rich and considerable persons, who would be glad to purchase his protection on any terms. Accordingly we find several of them raised to high posts, and preferred to the Christians, who were persecuted with grievous imposts.

There was another law made in the same prince's reign, importing, that "the privileges of the Jews extending only to things that might prejudice their religion, they should be called to the Tutelage of the heathens like the rest." Guardianship was burthensome in all ages. Nevertheless, strangers were excluded from it at Rome; and a man could not exercise it without being a denizen of this great city. Nevertheless, this prince persecuted the Christians, instead of promoting them to dignities.

These laws therefore shew that the Jews were looked upon as Roman citizens, since they were charged with the guardianship not only of children of their own nation, but with that of idolatrous strangers, and that they were capable of offices; and divers employments; and this irrevocable edict was observed for a great many years; but at last Leo abolished it. There was a clause in the law of Severus which rendered it doubly advantageous; for, by giving the Jews the enjoyment of all the privileges of Roman citizens, they were left the liberty of refusing offices of court, and being made decurions; because if there was any degree of honour in these posts, yet they were too burthensome. They were thunned instead of being canvassed for; and those that were called to them were forced to an acceptance. The emperors shewed favour to such as they exempted from them; and the eunuchs of Constantius made a trade of these immunities, which they sold. His successor Julian has been highly commended for cancelling all these exemptions, and for being so rigorous in that respect, that he scarcely granted it to those who endeavoured to discharge themselves on the most plausible pretences. Severus therefore shewed great favour to the Jews in allowing them these exemptions, and this puffed them up with pride and insolence, especially against the persecuted Christians.

St. Jerome says, that, in the twelfth year of Severus, a jubilee was celebrated. This term is peculiar to the Jews; but Scaliger has remarked, that whatsoever way we reckon the years, the Jewish jubilee could not happen in this. The Christians had borrowed this word from the synagogue. But yet it was not a jubilee of the church; and those that should refer the origin of that celebrated at Rome to this, would be grossly mistaken; but Severus

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causing the secular games to be celebrated in the empire, the Christians, who partook in the feast, called it a jubilee.

Caracalla followed his father's steps; nor can it be doubted but that he loved the Jews from his childhood, since one of them at court, who was his play-fellow, being whipped by the emperor's order, he was so afflicted, that he would not see his father for several days. So that, as we do not find he acted against the Jews, we have reason to believe that they took the advantage of a quiet interval to make their collection of traditions.

There were two sorts of traditions; some that were peculiar to the Hellenists, and others received by the Hebrews of the Holy Land, descended from the Pharisees. The former traditions, vented by the fore-cited authors, were actually unknown, and rejected by the Tiberian doctors, whose contempt and hatred of the Greeks increased daily.

Traditions, both Jewish and Hellenist, were by this time grown very numerous, and the teachers and writers of both not a few. In this century flourished the famed Jochanan, chief of the Amaraïen, or commentators on the Mishnah, and compiler of the Jerusalem Talmud. The most probable supposition is, that he was born about the latter end of the second century, or Anno Dom. 184 or 185. Some writers pretend that he was chosen chief of the academy of Tiberias in the fifteenth year of his age, which is improbable, and contrary to the practice of the Jews, because his master was still alive; and Caniner, whom he appointed his successor, is affirmed, by the Jewish chronologists, to have enjoyed the dignity about ten years more; so that the soonest he can be supposed to have ascended the chair is about anno 225, and about the fortieth year of his age, by which time he had an opportunity sufficient to finish his studies under those two masters, in order to qualify himself for his great work, in which he was assisted by two other learned rabbies, R. Samuel, and Rab, or Rau, who had likewise been disciples of his two masters; Judah the Saint, and R. Chanina.

The following is a brief account of this famous production, commonly known by the name of the Hierosolymitan Talmud.

The word Talmud signifies "Doctrine," and is emphatically given to this work as being a compleat system or body of it, or of the religion and morals of the Jews. They have two of that name and import, viz. this of Jerusalem, which is the shorter, and more obscure, of the two; as likewise the more ancient by near one century; and that of Babylon, of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the Mishnah of Judah Hakkadash.

Judah had scarcely finished his own work, before he had the mortification to see a collection of different traditions published, and afterwards inserted in the Mishnah. To remedy, therefore, this evil, these three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being compleated in Judæa, and in the Hebrew then in use, was stiled the Gemarrah, or *Perfection*; and this and the Mishnah together made that which is called the Talmud of Jerusalem.

This Talmud, distinguished by the title of "Hierosolymitan," being still found not only too succinct, as well as too obscure, by reason of the barbarous terms it had borrowed from other nations, gave birth to the Babylonian Talmud, compiled by Rabbi Ase, a learned disciple of the great Jochanan, who left the academy of Tiberias, and went to preside at that of Sara, near Babylon, where he continued in that dignity about forty years, during which he compiled his Gemarrah, or comment upon the Mishnah of Judah the Saint; and from the place where he wrote it, it came to be stiled the Babylonian Talmud. Ase did not live to finish it; but this was effected by his sons, and some of his disciples; so that it became a vast body or collection of traditions concerning the canon laws of the Jews, and of all

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The Jews are favoured under Caracalla.

Traditions peculiar to the Hellenists, and others to the Jews.

Many apocryphal books written at this time.

Jochanan compiles the Talmud

Account of the Talmud

the questions relating to the Jewish law, wherein the Mishnah is the text, and the Gemarrah the comment upon it.

The Jews in general prefer this Babylonian Talmud, on account of its clearness and fullness, above that of Jerusalem; and though it abounds with ridiculous fables and stories, they will not suffer any one to call it in question without the censure of heresy. We shall dispense with giving a farther account of that voluminous work, and only observe, that the learned Maimonides hath given us an excellent abridgement of it, in which he has thrown out all that was puerile and ridiculous, and confined himself to a collection of the most material cases and decisions that are contained in it. This epitome, which he styles "Yad Khazchah," or, "*Strong Hand*," is therefore much preferable to the Talmud itself, as being one of the most complete bodies of the Jewish laws that ever was written.

The Jews are in danger under Heliogabalus.

Hitherto the Jews had lived in peace and happiness, but had nearly suffered a most dreadful persecution in the reign of Heliogabalus. That whimsical prince caused himself to be circumcised, and abstained from swine's flesh out of devotion to his gods. He might have borrowed this from the Jews, in whose neighbourhood he had been brought up, and with whom his family had intimate correspondence. But all this predilection would not have secured them from his violence, had not death prevented it.

Lampridius relates, that this prince, having built a fine temple to the honour of Heliogabalus, ordered the Palladium, the vestal fire, the mother of the gods, and whatsoever was held most sacred by the Romans, to be conveyed thither, being resolved that Heliogabalus should be the only person to be worshipped. To render this union of worship more compleat, he formed the design of introducing the Samaritans and Jews religion, who were well known to him. The lives and fortunes of the Jews depended upon the execution of this design; for they would never have consented to have worshipped the sun in the emperor's temple, with that heap of ceremonies his religion consisted of; and they could expect nothing but death, and the most cruel tortures, from a prince whom the historians compare to the Neros, and other monsters that have governed the empire. The unexpected death of this prince, who was assassinated by his soldiers, secured them from this impending danger. Indeed, he only says, it was a design of the emperor's, and that he talked of doing it. Beside, though Heliogabalus had sent the image of his god, and had ordered it to be placed in the senate above victory, even before his entrance into Rome, and though the historians relate the extravagancies he committed to honour this deity, yet it required time to build the temple in which all religions were to be combined. Eusebius says, it was not raised till the year of his death; and so God thereby preserved them, as well as the Christians, from a scourge that was likely to destroy them.

Clemency of Alexander Severus.

The clemency of Alexander Severus contributed doubtless to the flourishing state of the Jews; for, indeed, this prince openly favoured that nation. The wits of that time called him an Archi-synagogue of Syria; because he favoured the Jews, corresponded with them, and was instructed in their religion, of which he had received some tincture from his mother Mammæa. Indeed, this prince had a variety of religions in his head. He never abandoned the gods of his fathers, nor the heathen idolatry, which still prevailed. But he lifted among these gods Abraham, the Father of the faithful, and the great patriarch of the Jews. It seems as if he only did it to rectify the design Heliogabalus had formed of ranking the Samaritan, Jew, and Christian, with the heathens in the same temple; but he did it with candour and charity.

Alexander Severus was for having the names of the officers he sent into the provinces proclaimed, and the people licensed to accuse them; because, as the Jews and Christians proclaimed their priests, that

they might be known, it was fit the same thing should be done in point of governors, who were entrusted with the lives and fortunes of the people. In fine, he often repeated this maxim, which he had learnt from the Jew and Christian, "Do not to others what ye would not have them do unto you."

The following emperors continued the tranquillity which this nation enjoyed. Philip, who was born in Arabia, where the Jews had so great a commerce, gave them countenance. Decius, who persecuted the Christian church in hatred to the protection Philip had granted it, might have confounded them with it. But, besides that the difference of these two religions was well known, it does not appear that they had any share in the short and violent persecutions this prince brought upon the church. Nor must they be admitted into Valerian's persecution, nor considered as the authors of it: though Dionysius of Alexandria says, this prince was compelled to it by an Archi-synagogue of Egypt.

We may observe, that they place the doctor Scesiath at the end of the third century. He was blind, but nevertheless became very learned. He had also a dispute with the Christians. Two works are ascribed to him; one upon the Cabala, which was an explication of the Splendors, the manuscript of which was in the Heidelberg library: the other was a Targum, or a Chaldee paraphrase upon the Scripture.

CHAP. VII.

State of the Jews in the east. They are greatly favoured by the Romans. Learned men among them in that part of the world. The Jews persecuted by Sapor. The Persians make war against the Romans. The Jews are greatly favoured by Zenobia. Sapor is vanquished by Odenatus. Zenobia is defeated by Aurelius, and afterwards lives in retirement.

IT is now time to pass over the Euphrates, and give some account of the eastern Jews, of their princes and chiefs, of their captivity, their academies, and most celebrated doctors, and such other transactions as may be deemed worthy of notice. These chiefs and doctors did not begin before the third century to make a figure, and to found their most celebrated academies. We therefore think that this new dignity was not introduced into Babylon till the time of Huna, the son of Nathan, who was contemporary with Judah the Saint, and flourished about the year 220, or, at the earliest, under his father, about the beginning of the third century. Even then their authority could be but small, considering the slavery under which the Jews groaned from the Parthians, Romans, and other tyrants, whatever titles they might bestow on them to raise the credit of their nation.

Artaxerxes, the famed restorer of the Persian monarchy, died about anno 244, and was succeeded by his son Sapor, from whom the princes of that new succession took their name. Both of them became great favourers of the Jews, and shewed an extraordinary esteem for the rabbies. They had been hitherto much despised, but under his and the following reigns, they had so great an authority, that the state was governed by their advice. Indeed, this was the time that their academies at Babylon were erected and grew famous, of which, and the doctors that then flourished, the following is an account.

Samuel, the astronomer, had left Judæa to go into the east. He settled at Nahardea, which he rendered very famous by his astronomical lectures. He found out the method of fixing the four revolutions of the year, or the solstices. He was counsellor to Huna, prince of the captivity. He is said to die in the year 250 of the Christian æra. His glory was eclipsed by that of Ada, who was born at Babylon, and had a more exact knowledge of the courts

course of the sun than his predecessor. There were, indeed, at that time very considerable men of their nation at Babylon, as well as learned men in their academies.

The honour of this academy was supported by two great men, who lived in the same century; one of whom was Jehudah, the son of Eliezar. He raised himself by his learning much above the professor of Sora, who could not stand against him, but by his alliance with the princes of the captivity. We find in the Babylonian Talmud abundance of his decisions. His hatred of the heathens, whom he compares to asses, manifestly appears there. But this aversion to strangers has generally raised the glory of doctors instead of depressing it. Nachman also possessed this chair, and kept up the succession of eminent doctors. This was the state of one of their eastern academies in the third century. Let us pass to that of Sora, which is no less noted.

Abba Aricha, who is entitled Rau, by way of excellence, and known only by that name, had gone into Judæa, to study under Judah the Saint, with Samuel, the astronomer. But, after his master's death, he returned to Babylon to teach there. He refused to settle at Nahardea, to avoid competition; but erected his academy at Sora, where he remained till his death. One of the princes of Babylon, called Adarchan, was so fond of him, that he went to hear his lectures, and was circumcised. They make him the author of a commentary upon Ruth, and some other books. But as the number of authors was very great at that time, their works are hard to be distinguished. Rau determined that the synagogues ought to be raised above all the houses of a city. The city where it is not so shall perish, said he; for God hath extended mercy unto us to let up his house. He never went to sea with an infidel, lest God should exercise his judgment at that time. He imagined the Romans were to become masters of all the world.

Huna, a relation to the prince of the captivity, and of the same name, succeeded him in this academy, and pluming himself upon this alliance, or being full of vanity, was the first that took the title of prince of the academy. He had an hundred and sixty volumes of the law; but one was found illegitimate, because it was as long as broad. This may suffice to give us an idea of the character of these princes of the academy, and what taste they had for learning.

Let us add another learned man, called Cohana. He had left his country, like the rest, to go and study in Judæa, which was the route then in fashion. A man was not thought to be learned unless he had seen the academy of Tiberias. Having heard Jochanan, and seen the patriarch Samuel, he returned to Babylon, where he officiated as a priest.

All the learned, that sought a retreat in the Persian empire, and erected academies there, demonstrate that Artaxerxes treated them with great clemency.

But these Magi did not enjoy that uninterrupted felicity under the reign of Sapor, as they had done under his father and predecessor. It appears that he corresponded with the rabbins, and disputed with them. As it was not the custom of the Persians to bury their dead, he wondered that the Jews should do it. He sent for Chasda, one of the learned of that time, who was afterwards president of the academy of Sora, and had under him twelve thousand scholars. He asked the reason of this custom, and required him to prove it by an express passage of the law. The doctor was reduced to silence: but another, that was more subtle, evaded the objection; and, instead of a precept, produced examples. Sapor likewise quoted the example of Moses, who was not buried. The doctors still evaded the difficulty, by saying, that the people wept for him.

This prince from controversy came to persecution; as appears from a Jewish historian, who had read, in the annals of Persia, which had been sent to the king of Spain, that the people of his nation

had till then been very happy under the dominion of the Persians, because their rabbins had learning and integrity equal to that of the doctors who lived before the fall of the temple. But the people, elated by the esteem they were held in, obliged the king to persecute them. He resisted their importunity some time; but fearing the people would mutiny, and the rather because the Arabians threatened him with a war, he imprisoned, against his will, three of the principal Jews of his dominions, and endeavoured to force them, by scourging, to renounce their religion; but they bore it with constancy. Being mortified with this unsuccessful attempt, he made all the princes of the Jews prisoners, and tortured them to the utmost extreme. But God avenged their cause; for the Persians were no longer so happy as they were before. The Arabians made war against them, and bound all the Persian kings with fetters. The king of the Arabians sent officers, with promises to the Jews, that, if they would retire to his territories, they should enjoy full liberty of conscience, because a religion embraced by constraint becomes useless. The Persians perceiving that the violence they had exercised drew these chastisements upon them, permitted the Jews the profession of their religion.

The Persians had again taken up arms against the Romans, and besieged Antioch, which was forced to surrender. Capitolinus, who is quoted as an evidence, says, that the Persians held it, when Gordian came to the assistance of the subjects of the empire. This prince obtained many advantages by means of Mithreus, his father-in-law, and prefect of the Prætorium, who took Corra Nisibis, and drove Sapor to his capital. Gordian marched to the extremities of Persia, where he was killed by Philip. The soldiers, in honour to their commander's memory, set up a tomb with this inscription: "To Gordian, conqueror of the Persians, of the Goths, and Sarmatians; to him that appeased the seditions of the Romans, who conquered the Germans, and could not conquer the Philippi." The Latin word is equivocal, and may signify that he could not conquer, or keep the field of battle at Philippi, because he had been beaten there by the Alanes, or else he had been conquered by the Philips, who had caused him to be killed. This inscription was engraven in Persian and Jewish characters, that every one might read it; and is a farther confirmation that there were, at that time, abundance of Jews in the Persian dominions, and that they spoke Hebrew, because these characters were used to communicate to them the encomiums bestowed on Gordian.

The splendor of the Jews revived through the means of Zenobia, who might be stiled the queen of the east. This princess, who became so famous, had married Odenatus, king of Palmyra, and commander of the Saracens of that country, which was but a day's march from the Euphrates. Odenatus, seeing every thing stoop before Sapor, sent him presents, and wrote to him in testimony of his submission. The conqueror, who had penetrated already into Cappadocia, and taken Cæsarea, tore Odenatus's letter, and ordered his presents to be thrown into the river. Being exasperated of himself, and by Zenobia, a most haughty princess, he made an alliance with the Romans, declared war with Sapor, gave him many battles, which he always won, and obliged this victor of so many provinces to give up all the treasures he had amassed in Syria, in the garrison of Edeffa, to purchase his retreat. Odenatus pursued him, ravaged Mesopotamia, routed the nobility of the kingdom several times, who were assembled upon business of state, and twice besieged his enemy in Ctesiphon. But, after divers conquests, and being declared Augustus, Zenobia, his wife, who would reign alone, caused him to be slain, with a son he had by a former wife.

Zenobia had been brought up in the Jewish religion, and was a zealous professor of it. She is recorded to have built a great number of stately synagogues, and to have raised the Jews to the highest dignities. It cannot be doubted but the Jews

The Persians make war against the Romans.

Zenobia is favourable to the Jews.

Sapor is vanquished by Odenatus.

Zenobia a Jewess.

Jews made great use of her protection, and became very potent in the east under Odenatus, her husband, who carried every thing before him. When she came to the throne, she added Egypt to her conquests; extended her arms into Asia Minor, as far as Tyana and Ancyra; and passed into Bithynia, where she took Chalcedon.

Zenobia is
vanquished
by Aure-
lian.

At this juncture, however, Aurelian began to restore the affairs of the empire, which Zenobia had ruined. He entered into Bithynia, which acknowledged its former master without resistance. From thence he went on to Cappadocia, and the gates of Tyana being shut against him, he vowed vengeance on all the inhabitants. Zenobia was at Antioch, from whence she advanced with her troops as far as Immes, which was not far from it. The battle was fought near the river Orontes. Aurelian's troops retreated, that they might put the queen's horsemen, who were heavily armed, out of breath; and falling afterwards upon them, they put them to flight. Zabdas, who commanded for the princess, foreseeing that Antioch would shut her gates against him, if they had notice there of his defeat, dressed up a man, and calling him Aurelian, gave out that he carried the emperor prisoner. The stratagem was quickly discovered. He staid no longer at Antioch than to take Zenobia along with him, and make a precipitate retreat.

A second battle was fought, in which Aurelian's cavalry was broken; but whilst the Palmyrenians pursued it, they fell upon the infantry, which was cut in pieces. Zenobia had no other resource than to shut herself up in Palmyra, whose situation was advantageous. The Persians, Saracens, and eastern nations, still devoted to this princess, notwithstanding her misfortunes, in vain attempted to succour her. The Persians were beaten, and the Saracens obliged to lift in Aurelian's army. Zenobia secretly departed out of the city to seek for succour among the Persians. But, as she was going to pass the Euphrates, Aurelian's couriers, who pursued her, took her prisoner. Palmyra surrendered. Zenobia was led in triumph with her son. She was adorned with jewels, and mounted upon a stately chariot, on which she had hoped to make a triumphant entry into Rome, whereas she entered like a slave. The chariot of her husband Odenatus was also one of the ornaments of Aurelian's triumph, who exposed to view whatever was most rich and precious in the east, which, by his present victories, he had re-united to the empire. Zenobia went to Rome, or rather to Tivoli, where she had a small villa, and lived in retirement.

Her reverse
of fortune.

Thus vanished this glimpse of prosperity and authority of the Jewish nation, unless it may be said that Vaballat, her son, to whom Aurelian gave some sovereignty in Armenia, had embraced his mother's religion, and favoured the Jews as she had done, which is very uncertain.

Doctors
that flour-
ished in the
east.

Most of the Jews retired into the cities of Persia, where their doctors continued in some repute. They boasted highly at that time of one Chiia, the son of Ase, who not being able to conquer the force of concupiscence, threw himself into a smoking bake-house.

There was at that time a famous disputant, who not only puzzled the Babylonian doctors, but, to shame them the more, made his wife dispute with them. He was called Jeremy, and was master of casuistry. Other doctors had flocked to Sora, because the academy of Nahardea was fallen with the city, which was taken and plundered. Zira, surnamed Kattina, was still there. He at first left his country to go and study at Tiberias, where he had also received the imposition of hands; but the authority and friendship of Huna had recalled him to his academy, where he lived till the year 300, when desiring to lay his bones in Judæa, he chose rather to carry his living body thither himself, than have it conveyed after his death. So that though the Jews of Babylon had a great esteem for their own country, yet that hindered not their going to study in Ju-

dæa, whence they commonly returned before they died.

But the most famed among them was Manes. He could by no means be reconciled to the religion of the Jews, nor to what was recorded of their nation destroying and exterminating such numbers of people and kingdoms. He preferred the doctrine of the Christians, which recommended nothing so much as love and benignity. Nevertheless, he held great conference with the Jews of Persia, where he had much correspondence, whether he designed to be fully instructed in the law, or rather desired to recover them from what he called their infatuation. The modern Jews are not agreed about their ancestors conference with Manes, and in their kalendar they fix the origin of his sect towards the end of Constantine's reign.

The persecution which was raised against the Christians under Dioclesian did not much effect the Jewish nation, either in the east or west; though those of the former pretend that he designed to have made them feel the severest marks of his resentment, for some scandalous reflections which the disciples of Judah the Saint had cast upon him; but that they found means to appease his wrath.

C H A P. VIII.

State of the Jews under the Christian emperors during the fourth century. Prevalence of the human passions. The Jews said to be severely persecuted by Constantine, who is vindicated from such aspersions. Conversion of Joseph. The emperor Constantine issues an edict for suppressing the outrages of the Jews. Enacts several laws relative to the Jews. Decrees of the council of Elvira. Account of Ravenna, or famous rabbi of the east. Also of Joseph the Blind. The Jews raise a persecution against the Christians in Persia. Commit great outrages at Alexandria. A rebellion against Constans. Edicts of Constans against the Jews. Conversion of Epiphanius. The emperor Julian grants protection to the Jews. A city in the East inhabited by the ten tribes. Conduct of Jovia, the successor of Julian. The Jews greatly favoured by Maximus. Vindication of St. Ambrose. St. Jerome esteems the Jews. Takes great pains to learn Hebrew. His different masters. Eulogium bestowed on him for his learning.

THE Jews were not much happier under the Christian emperors than they had been under the reign of idolators. Their fate varied according to the genius of princes. The Christians were so galled by the persecutions they had suffered, that they could not so suddenly resolve upon a change of maxims. Constantine contented himself with making some laws that confined the Jews' liberty to narrower bounds, though they were the objects of his hatred; but, by degrees, way was given to the bent of nature, which tends to the punishing and persecuting those that contradict us in point of religion. The councils themselves, that ought to have been more equitable, were of this temper, and became incendiaries, that inflamed princes against the remains of a miserable nation. We often boast of humanity, and fancy the instincts of nature sufficient to make us compassionate to other men; but we do not well consider this matter. Pride is another principle in man, who has far the ascendant over humanity, and rises upon seeing those considerable parts of mankind, who think differently from us, and assume the privilege of contesting the truths we believe ourselves possessed of. Humanity suggests notions of lenity; but pride quickly imposes its silence, inflames the heart, and deafens the mind to the dictates of justice and equity. And as all men are obnoxious to this passion, it is no wonder to find persecutions in all religions. Those that more immediately appertain to sacred offices, are more cruel than

State of
Jews
the
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man

than the rest, because they not only are puffed up by opinion, which raises them above the level of men of equal birth, but fancy the opposition made against the mysteries of which they are the defenders and ministers, to be a personal affront upon themselves: so that councils commonly authorize and begin persecutions, which kings afterwards carry to the utmost excess.

The first event we find in the life of Constantine concerning the Jews is related by Zonaras. This historian says, they had a conference at Rome with Helena, this emperor's mother, who was yet unconverted. They represented to this prince, that, though her son had reason to abolish heathenism and its idols, yet he had made no great progress towards his own salvation, since, instead of the heroes of ancient heathenism, he worshipped a man who had been crucified but a few ages before. Helena, who was devout, and anxious for her son's salvation, called the doctors to a conference with pope Sylvester, who quickly triumphed over the enemies of the Christian religion.

It is said, likewise, that Constantine persecuted the circumcised; for St. Chrysostom affirms, that, upon their assembling once to re-build Jerusalem, this prince, disgusted with the rash attempt, surprizing them, caused their ears to be cut off, and afterwards dispersed them into all the territories of his empire, as so many fugitive slaves. Eutychius adds, that Constantine obliged them all to be baptized, and to eat swine's flesh on a passover day. Persecution cannot be carried farther: but I question the truth of these particulars. Though Chrysostom has great authority in the church, he is liable to error: for the Jews say themselves, that it was the emperor Adrian who caused their ears to be cut off, like the slaves which he sold at the fairs of the emperor. Besides, Jerusalem had been re-built under Constantine's empire; its bishop had assisted at the council of Nice; and the emperor had raised such stately edifices in it, that Eusebius told him it was the New Jerusalem. We may add, that though the Theodosian code contains many laws against the Jews, under Constantine's name, yet there is not one condemning them "to the loss of their ears, to be baptized, or to eat swine's flesh."

But this prince published several edicts, which acquaint us with the condition and restless humour of the Jews under his reign. The first is one of the most important: it was issued upon occasion of Joseph, who had abandoned the synagogue to embrace Christianity. The Jews, incensed by his conversion, went to insult him in his house; and finding that he read the gospel, forced his book from him, loaded him with abuses and blows, and dragged him to the synagogue, where they unmercifully scourged him. But not content with this first outrage, they pushed him into the river Cydnus, whose current carried him far enough to give them the joyful hopes that he was drowned. But God preserved him. He received baptism, made himself known at court, and obtained the emperor's leave to build temples in several places where none had been erected before. The Jews were settled at Diocæsarea, Tiberias, Nazareth, and Capernaum, and had so appropriated these cities to themselves, as not to admit any strangers, not excepting the Samaritans, who professed the same religion. Joseph undertook to introduce the Christian religion into all these cities, and to that effect built churches in them.

The Jews, however, were still powerful in Judæa, under Constantine's empire, since they alone possessed four cities, one of which was Nazareth. Their numbers rendered them insolent; and they abused those that had turned Christians, and publicly opposed the execution of the prince's orders for the building of temples.

This doubtless obliged Constantine to publish the edict before-mentioned. "He taxed them with stoning or burning whoever had a mind to renounce their religion;" and he condemned them to

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the same punishment, with all their accomplices. Herein we still see the footsteps of that furious zeal which they thought authorized them to kill those who were taken in a notorious crime. They imagined these were the precepts of the oral law, and said, that Phineas had executed the verbal order of Moses. They produced another example under the Maccabees, when Matthias killed a Jew, who was practising heathen ceremonies. The doctors authorized this practice; for Philo doubted not but God had established it. The Essenes, those austere votaries, ordered, that if any man had blasphemed against Moses, he should be killed. Josephus says, that they "punished him with death." The interpreter has improperly translated it, they "condemned him to death." For as this sect had no power of life and death, it punished blasphemers by a motion of zeal. Notwithstanding the terrible disorders, and the torrents of blood that the zealots had caused to flow at Jerusalem, yet this dangerous maxim was still preserved: and the Misnah teaches, that if any one "renounces the foundation," (that is, the articles of faith,) he ought to be killed; and, pursuant to this principle, they stoned, burnt, and drowned those that deserted them in Constantine's reign. This obliged him to repress that violence; and as they did not obey the first law, he was forced to make a second.

He also forbade the Christians to turn Jews, upon pain of an arbitrary punishment. There was more danger in point of slaves, who might be brought over by their masters; and therefore this prince published a law, six months before his death, prohibiting the Jews to circumcise those in their service; and giving liberty to all who accused their master of having circumcised them, or that embraced Christianity.

Several laws are enacted by the same emperor.

Constantine farther ordered, that the Jews might be made decurions, because it was fit that they should have their share in the public burthens: but he exempted the patriarchs and priests, and those that had considerable employments in the synagogues, because, being taken up by their functions, they could not attend to the duties of those offices. For, indeed, the post of decurion was not an honour, but a servitude. Every one endeavoured to be discharged from it, by taking other employments in the army and government. They endeavoured to exempt themselves by some privilege which they begged of the emperor. Constantine granted so many of them, that there was nobody left to fill these posts in Julian's time, which obliged him to revoke them all without exception; and this raised murmurs against him, even after his death, whilst others commended him for it. No wonder, then, that Constantine, who did not love the Jews, made decurions of them. Such was the condition of the Jews under the first Christian prince.

Under his reign is placed the council of Elvira, which made two decrees against the Jews of Spain, in which country they had great correspondence with the Christians. They eat and lived sociably together; but the council forbade this table society, upon pain of excommunication to those that eat with a Jew. The punishment was grievous, and absurdly inflicted, since eating together is an action purely civil; and excommunication ought not to be issued, except for ecclesiastical crimes. The learned commentator of the council of Elvira pretends, that the council of Nice ordered the same thing in one of its decrees, which had been dictated by Osius, who was president of it, and who was for having the discipline received in the Spanish churches, and admitted into all others. Mendoza is mistaken; for the canon he quotes was never made by the council of Nice. He took it from the Arabians, who have falsely imputed to this council many canons it never made. Nor do we know what the Arabians mean by quoting the apostles in their decree; for St. Paul was so far from condemning the commerce of civil society, that he made himself "all things to all men; a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks." If we have recourse to the

Decrees of the council of Elvira.

canons that bear the names of these holy men, we shall only find, that they condemned usury, without forbidding eating and society with the Jews. Recardoe, who renewed the decree of the Elviran council, and supported it with his authority, grounded also upon the authority of St. Paul, who says, that "All things are impure to the defiled and unbelieving." From whence he concluded, that the Jews being impure, their meats must be so too: but this is a weak and inconclusive argument.

The same council, by another decree, forbade "the possessors of lands to suffer their fruits to be blessed by the Jews, because their benediction frustrated that of the Christians; and it threatened absolutely to cast out of the church such as should not obey it." This custom of blessing the fruits of the earth, at certain seasons, was common to Pagans and Jews, as well as Christians. But who would have imagined that the latter should have made use of either of the former, if this decree had not informed us of it? However, this and the other decree plainly shew that the Jews had lived very peaceably in Spain, and in good harmony with the Christians, till that time, whatever they may have done since.

The Jews enjoyed a no less benign sunshine in the east, and their academies went on in a flourishing manner, if we except the persecution raised against one of their greatest doctors. This was the famous Ravana, or Rabba Nachmanides, head of the academy of Sora. They mention two famous men of that name, one ancient and the other modern. The latter lived in the 474; but the other died before the council of Nice, in 322. He was so esteemed, that they reckon twelve thousand disciples in his academy. He was commonly called the Remover of Mountains. Not that he had power to work miracles, and convey mountains into the midst of the sea, but so profound was his knowledge as to solve the greatest difficulties. He wrote a book that was in great esteem whilst he lived, and after his death. It was a commentary upon the first book of Moses, containing the history of the Holy Land, with the literal and mystical sense. The title of it was *Bereschit Rabba*. It must not be confounded with another work of the same name, which is a commentary upon the *Misnah* of Judah the Saint, composed by one of his disciples.

Ravana, having long taught in the academies of Babylon, was accused of divers crimes by the king of Persia. The fear of being taken, and condemned to death, obliged him to fly, and conceal himself; and he died in his retreat. It is said he was committed prisoner, and that Sapor was about to condemn him, but that the empress, his mother, sent to tell him, that "he should have nothing to do with that Jew, because she had suffered much on his account." However, this persecution was not general; for the academies flourished at Babylon, and the neighbouring parts.

Ravana left a nephew, whom he styled *Avii*, for two reasons: one was, that he meant to signify that he had been an orphan, and that he had entertained him out of charity; the other was, that he would not have him go by the name of his grandfather Nachman, lest afterwards the nephew should be confounded with the uncle, and the disciple with the master. He made such proficiency by Ravana's lectures, as to become head of the academy of Pumbedita, in the year 325, which he governed till 339. At the latter end of his life he married a widow, by whom he had a son, who is known by the name of Rau Bibi.

There was also a professor in the academy of Sora, called Joseph of Great Light, or Saghi Nahoi. He was blind; nevertheless he was a man of great knowledge. He was also surnamed Sinai, because he knew to perfection all the traditions that had been given Moses upon Sinai. He is supposed to be the author of the Chaldee paraphrases upon some of the holy penmen, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, and Esther. This paraphrase is highly esteemed, if we judge of it by the number of its particular editions.

At the close of Constantine's reign, the Jews, who were potent at the court of Persia, revenged themselves for what they suffered in the Roman empire, by raising a cruel persecution against the Christians of the east.

The gospel had some time before reached Armenia. We are told that one of its kings, called Tiridates, had embraced Christianity. From thence it passed on to the Persians, who had great correspondence with the Armenians. They began to build churches, and to consecrate priests. There was also a bishop for the two cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, which were the most considerable of the country. The Jews were numerous there, because, as Jerome observes, they lived quiet and undisturbed, and were persecuted by none of the Persian kings. Being jealous of the progress of Christianity, they murmured: but when they saw Ustazades, one of Sapor's principal eunuchs, turn Christian, they no longer observed any bounds, and made a league with the Magi. Simeon, bishop of Ctesiphon, was accused of criminal correspondence with Constantine, which was enough to destroy him. This bishop refused to worship the sun and the king, when he was brought at the foot of his throne. "I bent my knee formerly (said he) before your majesty because I did it voluntarily, and it was a civil homage; but I cannot do it when you make it an act of religion, and would make me renounce my God." The king, being enraged, caused him to be chained in a dungeon. The Jews and the Magi, taking advantage of this opportunity, pulled down all the Christian churches. The persecution was long and bloody. Ustazades, an old eunuch of Sapor, and eminent for his services, was also one of the first martyrs.

The sons of Constantine were much severer than their father had been. Constantius coming to the empire, was obliged to make war against them. This prince must have been moved by the disorders the Jews had committed at Alexandria, when Gregory, the Cappadocian, went to succeed St. Athanasius. Joining with the heathens, who were then numerous in this great city, they burnt the sacred books, and profaned the baptisteries in so indecent a manner, that St. Athanasius durst not speak it. Their insolence went so far as to force the virgins they had stripped to abjure their religion. In all these indignities they were countenanced by the before-mentioned bishop, who was then in high favour at court, so that they went on with the utmost boldness and impunity.

The inhabitants of Diocæsarea thought they might safely rise during Magnetius's revolt. This rebel was of the same persuasion as Constantius, since we find his medals have the *Laborum*, or church-banner; though Baronius supposes him to have dissembled, and cherished heathenism in his heart like Julian, because he revoked all the edicts published against the idolaters in the places he was master of. The Jews could expect nothing from him, especially since it was in the west that his rebellion had the greatest footing. But as he was powerful, and his troops had often been successful, the emperor was obliged to go personally into Hungary to encounter him. The Persians, taking advantage of his absence, took up arms, and attacked Nisibis, which sustained a four months siege. The Jews, seeing the fire kindled at both ends of the empire, could not forbear making use of such a favourable conjuncture.

Diocæsarea is a city but little known, situate in the second Palestine. Mention is made of three cities of this name, one in Cappadocia, another in Phrygia, and a third in Isauria, since John, bishop of Diocæsarea in Isauria, subscribed in the council of Chalcedon. But the geographers, the learned Holstenius not excepted, generally forget that of Judæa. Scaliger confounds it with another city of Palestine, called Geth, in the neighbourhood of Gaza. This learned man's error, which has been often copied, proceeded from his not understanding Jerome. This father says, that Geth was but a mile

Famous
rabbi of
the east.

Joseph the
Blind, his
works.

and an half from Sepphoris, called at present Diocæsarea. This father speaks of Sepphoris, and he was thought to speak of Geth. Sepphoris had been famous, and the Romans made it a metropolis, when Agrippa II. was put in possession of Tiberias, which occasioned great jealousies and disputes betwixt these two cities. It retained its name till the empire of Trajan. As, after the taking of Jerusalem, a great number of Jews were retired to Sepphoris and Tiberias, the heathens and Christians, who continued with them in these two cities, suffered much in their revolt against Adrian, in which the rebels put all to the sword that came to their hands: when, therefore, the emperor had delivered them from their insults, they testified their acknowledgements with emulation. Those of Tiberias built a temple we have spoken of, which they called Adrianion; and Sepphoris relinquished its ancient name to be called Diocæsarea Adriana, or Diocæsarea.

Though great slaughter had been made of the Jews in this country, yet they still got together there, under the following princes, in such numbers, that, in Constantine's time, they were the only inhabitants, and suffered nobody else of whatever religion to settle there. It is no wonder then that this was the rendezvous of the malecontents under Constantians; and that the inhabitants of this city were the forwardest to arm, when they understood that Magnentius obliged the emperor to march with his troops into Hungary, and that the Persians made a great diversion in the east.

But Gallus, whom Constantians had created Cæsar, and commissioned to march against the Persians, came into Judæa, beat the rebels, and razed Diocæsarea, which had been the seat of their rebellion. Nevertheless, this city raised its head again, and the Jews settled in it.

Constantians being incensed against the Jews, and being withal zealous for the Christian religion, made some laws against them. There is, says St. Hillary, who lived at that time, an edict of the emperor, which hinders them at present from entering into Jerusalem. He makes them perambulate the walls of that great city without entering it. They complained to Julian, when he came to the throne, of this hard usage, in being excluded the gates of a city which had been the residence of their ancestors for many ages. All this is an argument that Constantians had renewed Adrian's edicts, or had made new ones upon the same subject. This prince also made it death for a Jew to marry a Christian, or to circumcise a slave. He also prohibited their having Christians in their service; and especially forbade, under great punishments, the embracing their religion. So that if they had liberty of conscience for themselves and posterity, they were not permitted to receive proselytes when they offered themselves. He loaded them likewise with taxes, and had projected new pecuniary edicts against them when he died.

It was under this reign that Epiphanius was converted from Judaism to Christianity; not (as related) without the interposition of some extraordinary circumstances, with which we shall not trouble our readers, since they were not powerful enough to keep him from running into the wild notions of the sect of Gnostics, whom he met with in Egypt.

Julian was much more favourable than Constantians. This prince had no reason to love the Jews, who worshipped but one God, and abominated the heathen idolatry; but he was glad to augment the number of the enemies of Christianity, which he thought most formidable, and to set all religions at war, that paganism might triumph in the midst of these conflicts. He discharged the circumcised from the taxes wherewith Constantians had loaded them. He wrote to them, and in his letter honoured their patriarch with the style of brother; which is a proof they were then considerable in the empire. He gave them liberty to sacrifice, and rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, because they represented to him that they could not offer sacrifice out of the Holy Land.

They availed themselves of the emperor's protection to insult the Christians; for they assembled in many cities of Judæa and Syria, pulled down their temples at Gaza, Alcalon, and Berytus, and demolished two at Damascus. Those of Egypt did the same thing, and the most magnificent of all the temples of Alexandria was destroyed. They fell to re-building the temple of Jerusalem: but this event, which historians relate with many attendant circumstances, deserves to be particularly noticed.

The emperor not only authorized the building of the temple of Jerusalem, but also furnished them with materials and money. Jerome, speaking of the Jews of his time, says, they imagined that, four hundred and thirty years after their dispersion, they were to become masters of the Romans, sell them to the Sabeans, rebuild Jerusalem, and restore it to its primitive glory; and that the boroughs and neighbouring cities, not excepting Sodom itself, should be rebuilt. This they grounded upon several oracles, promising that God would revenge his people of their enemies, and rebuild Sion. When they saw Julian solicitous for their labouring upon this structure, they fancied the promises accomplished. They insultingly asked the Christians, whether they would cause gold and silver tools to be made to work upon this new edifice. The women and children lent a helping hand; and the heathens themselves assisted them in the restoration of the temple.

But at length an effectual stop was put to it, by such a series of prodigies as quite deterred them from pursuing it, and made them sensible of the infallibility of Christ's predictions against that place. Dreadful earthquakes, and eruptions of fire from the ground, interrupted the workmen when digging for the foundation of the new temple, together with a variety of other contingencies, as are set forth at large in the celebrated performance of Bishop Warburton.

Julian, who had permitted the re-building of the temple, before he departed for Persia, carried his conquests very far. He found there a part of the ten tribes, which possessed an entire city. Historians observe, that this prince, being arrived at Mesene, which is an island made by the Tigris, where Apamea bore a considerable rank, marched towards a place where the Euphrates divides itself into many channels, and found a city called Bithra, which was inhabited by the Jews, who had abandoned it, because the walls were not strong or high enough to sustain a siege. This city had been considerable in the Persian empire, since the emperor's palace, and houses to lodge a garrison, were still seen in it. Julian's army seeing it deserted, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes. It cannot be doubted but these were Jews of the ten tribes dispersed in the east, since they were situated between the channels of the Euphrates. They were numerous and potent there, as they possessed an entire city. They were also faithful to their prince; for they rather chose to forsake all, than to wait and receive the Romans, who would have profited by their stay.

A city inhabited by the ten tribes in the east.

Julian being killed in this war, Jovian, his successor, was obliged to check the insolence this prince's countenance had infused both into the heathens and Jews of the Roman empire. This he did; but his reign was so short, that they looked upon it only as a fleeting cloud; and the rather, because Valens restored entire liberty of conscience to all the enemies of the Christian religion, heathens, Jews, and heretics. He did something more; for Valentinian and he maintained the Jews and their patriarchs in the possession of all their privileges. The law of those two princes is lost; but since Arcadius supports himself with their example in confirming all these privileges, it cannot be doubted but they made it. However, Valens abolished one of their greatest advantages, since he submitted them to public offices, and revoked the preceding decrees that had exempted them. This prince's words are remarkable, because they shew that the clergy was not so far privileged as is at present imagined. "The edict upon which the Jews flatter themselves

Conduct of Jovian.

“felves that they are exempted from the offices of court, is voided by these presents; for even the clergy are not allowed to consecrate themselves to the service of God, without having first paid what is due to their country; and he that will truly give himself to God, ought to furnish a man to fill up his place in public offices.”

Though Theodosius had not revoked this law of Valens, which was executed in the reign of Arcadius, yet the Jews continued happy enough at that time. Maximus rebelling in the east, and obliging Valentinian to implore the protection of Theodosius, who was then in Illyricum, thought it most expedient to gain the Jews, and bring them over to his interests. He not only favoured them, but understanding that the people had burnt one of their synagogues at Rome, he ordered it to be rebuilt. Indeed, Maximus's reign was short. Theodosius having often beat his troops, caused his head to be cut off at Aquileia, and came afterwards to Milan, where Valentinian and he revoked all they had decreed. But as the rebuilding of the synagogue at Rome was a particular ordinance, and Theodosius was persuaded the Jews ought not to be deprived of their religious places, it is doubted whether he annulled that relating to the Jews.

St. Ambrose was, indeed, very inveterate against the Jews, and strenuously opposed the rebuilding another synagogue in lieu of that which the Christians had set on fire at Callinicum, and which Theodosius had ordered to be rebuilt at their charge; but what Zonaras, a Greek monk, and some other writers of later date, say of his preaching before him, taking him to task, and reproaching him for suffering the Jews to enjoy the privilege of their synagogues in his capital, is all entirely false and absurd. He did not preach, but write, to him; and his letter is still preserved, importing that they were so far from thinking themselves obliged to observe the Roman law, that they thought it a crime to submit to them.

The contrary, however, appears, by all that we have hitherto said of the edicts made for and against them; and much more by the new law which that prince published, in the last year of his life, against the untimely zeal of some Christians, who, under pretence of religion, plundered and demolished their synagogues, contrary to the laws which allowed them liberty of conscience, and for punishing such offenders for the future. He even granted them a particular jurisdiction, on account of the frequent law-suits which they had either among themselves, or with the Christians, by which they were not only free from the trouble and charge of seeking for justice from strange tribunals, but were likely more easily to obtain it from judges that were maintained by themselves; all which privileges would hardly have been granted them, if, as is pretended to have been alledged by St. Ambrose, they had looked upon it as a crime to submit to the laws of the empire.

St. Jerome had not the same prejudice against the doctors of this nation as St. Ambrose; for, on the contrary, he paid them a pension, and made use of their instruction for understanding the Hebrew tongue, and the Holy Scriptures. This father, who thought that he had taken too much pleasure in reading Cicero and Virgil, (you are not a Christian, but a Ciceronian, said a judge to him,) changed his opinion for the Hebrews, learned their language with difficulty, consulted their doctors, studied under them, and made use of them to compose a Latin version of the Scripture.

He acquaints us, That, to restrain the fallies of his youth, he put himself under the discipline of a young Hebrew, that had turned Christian, and underwent very uncommon labour to learn a strange language.

He was not contented with the instruction of this converted Jew, but took another, who so passionately loved him, that he fetched the books from the synagogue, under pretence of reading them, and

brought them to his disciple. This master was an ingenious man, and St. Jerome has quoted some of his explications. He sent for a third from Tiberias, whom he employed to revise, by the Hebrew, his version of the Chronicles, which he had made from the Septuagint. He says that this new master was admired by the synagogue. He sent for a fourth from Lydda, whom he paid very dear, because he was a learned man, and interpreted the traditions in the synagogue. It was this rabbin that helped him to translate the book of Job. He had occasion for new assistance to understand Daniel and Tobias, because of the Chaldee expressions that are scattered in these books. But as he laboured with great assiduity, he employed but one day in the translation of Tobias; which a rabbin, equally skilled in the Chaldee and Hebrew, dictated to him.

St. Jerome grew so much the haughtier from these assistances which he had drawn from the synagogue; because this erudition, which was new, and almost unknown in the Christian church, distinguished him from the rest of the priests, and even from the bishops, who hardly knew any more than their mother tongue. In doing some justice to his masters, he boasted of his own skill and understanding of the Scripture. St. Austin, who did not love him, admired him as a prodigy, because he understood three languages. An author, who has taken his name, adds, that St. Jerome understood the language of the Greeks, the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Medes, the Arabians, and of all nations. The moderns have gone farther than the ancients; and because this Father understood the holy tongue, they have espoused his observations as those of an almost infallible commentator.

CHAP. IX.

Equitable conduct of Theodosius the Younger. His pious and liberal disposition. The synagogues destroyed in Macedonia. A remarkable impostor in the island of Candia. Many Jews embrace Christianity. The Jews raise a tumult in Alexandria. Riot and murder the effects of party zeal. Bishop Cyril censured for his violent proceedings. The patriarchal dignity suppressed.

MOST of the edicts which the Christian emperors had published in the fourth century were enforced in the succeeding. Some of them were renewed, and others added, that were thought necessary to check the Jews' insolence against the Christian religion. Theodosius the Younger was obliged to remedy this mischief; but he always did it in an equitable manner, for he only punished those who had deserved it by their crimes. In the beginning of this century new troubles sprung up in Macedonia and Dacia. On the one hand the Jews of these countries continued to insult the Christian religion; and, on the other, the Christians burnt their houses and synagogues, and even sometimes condemned the Jews to death, for no other crime than their religion. Theodosius, who was always equitable, condemned this oppression of the Jews, forbade the magistrates to punish them for religion, and not suffer the edifices belonging to them to be burnt, on condition that, on their part, they would not violate the respect that was due to the prevailing church. But yet the inhabitants of Innessar, three years after, fell into an excess. Debauchery prevailed over the respect that was due to the prince's laws; for they fastened a young Christian to a gibbet, and scourged him so cruelly, that he died. The Christians of that country, enraged at such a barbarous outrage, ran to arms. The battle was violent, because the Jews were numerous. The governor of the province giving Theodosius information of it, he sent orders to chastise the guilty, and the tumult was appeased by their punishment.

Theodosius, who spent the winter at Constantinople, (in the year 425,) made many edicts there; one

The Jews favoured by Maximus.

Vindication of St. Ambrose.

St. Jerome's esteem for the Jews.

Takes great pains to learn Hebrew.

His pious
and liberal
disposition.

one of which forbade the celebrating games and spectacles on Easter Sunday, and during the principal feasts of the year. The Jews and heathens might have alledged, that this decree did not relate to them; but the emperor declared, that they were subject to the law; and told them, there was a time for devotion, and another for pleasure. They thought to excite the prince's jealousy, by complaining, that this mistaken devotion hindered the people from crowning and saluting the emperor's statues: but Theodosius put himself above that, and declared, it was honouring of him to do service to God. However, we see that this relic of heathenism was still retained in this prince's reign, of saluting the emperor's statues, and inserting the title of Numen in the laws.

Those that profess the predominant religion, are apt to imagine that every thing is lawful to them. They think that they signalize their zeal in proportion to the outrages they commit, and, under this notion, prescribe no bounds to their passion. It is the highest prudence, in kings, to restrain these excesses, and to cherish the public peace, by punishing an inordinate zeal. But this is not commonly done; and those who, from being convinced of its necessity, undertake it, do not always succeed. They often render their religion suspected, expose themselves to the raileries of the people, and incur an odium.

Synagogues
destroyed.

The Christians, in Theodosius's empire, pulled down the synagogues, without any other reason than their hatred to this religion. If a private person thought himself affronted by a Jew, immediately he engaged the populace in his interest; and the next thing was to run in shoals to the synagogue, and set it on fire. This was often done in Macedonia: and the emperor was obliged to represent to his subjects, that it was not lawful for private persons to do themselves justice; that there were tribunals appointed to hear their grievances, and to judge of their complaints; and that he had commanded the judges of that country to take cognizance of them. The ecclesiastics, accustomed to religious broils, joined with the people: those of Antioch, where the Jews were numerous and rich, plundered the synagogue, and thought to sanctify the theft by consecrating the booty to the church. Complaints were made of so scandalous a conduct, which were so reasonable, that they were backed by the prefect of the prætorium, who gave informations of the disorder, and the occasions that had produced it. Theodosius condemned the clergy to restore what they had taken, or the value; and ordered a place to be assigned the Jews to build a temple. The decree was equitable, since the Jews lived in the empire upon the public faith of the edicts. But it did not seem so to Simeon Stilites, who was then alive, and violently espoused the interests of the clergy, and the mutineers of Antioch: he wrote so pressing in their favour to Theodosius, that he not only revoked the orders he had given, but cashiered the prefect who had advised him to punish the robbers. This favour, which Theodosius granted upon his request, not only encouraged the Christians of Antioch, but those of the cities and neighbouring provinces, to make new assaults upon the synagogues. They were obliged to have recourse to Theodosius, to obtain some security against these frequent insults. This prince, who was an enemy to violence, forbade them doing any. The Christians were disgusted at it: they resumed the charge against the Jews, and complained, that the emperor's protection had rendered them insolent. In explication of the preceding decrees, it was said, that, in answering the sad and doleful complaints of the Jews, it was designed to screen them from the persecution that some turbulent spirits exercised on them, under pretence of religion, and to prohibit the burning of their churches; but, at the same time, it was declared that, if they had nothing to fear for the temples they were in possession of, it was not lawful for them to build new ones; and that death should be inflicted on all those that undertook the circumcising of a Christian. There were still Christians, at that time, that embraced Judaism; for laws were only made against

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reigning abuses; and it was difficult for the Jews to enforce circumcision on a Christian, if he was not disposed to submit to it.

The losses of the church were repaired by an accident that happened, in the year 434, in the island of Candia, where there were a great many rich Jews, the greatest part whereof were converted, after they had been grossly deceived by an impostor. His name was Moses; and he pretended to be the ancient law-giver of the people, who descended from heaven to procure them a glorious deliverance, by leading them through the sea, to return to the Land of Promise, as they had done when they left Egypt. We cannot conceive how a man could be so frantic as to attempt such a deception, or to persuade himself that he was able to effect it. But yet Socrates affirms, that he not only had this imagination, but also, that he had, in one year, run over all the cities and villages of the island, and persuaded the inhabitants into a belief of it. The infatuation was so great, that, in expectation of the day appointed to throw themselves into the sea, the ploughman neglected the tillage of his fields, and the proprietors abandoned the possession of their lands and houses to the first comer; every one contenting himself with taking what he could carry away. This pseudo Moses, having mustered up his flock upon the top of a rock, the first at hand threw themselves into the water, without any wavering of faith: the women and children plunged themselves in with equal ardour. But it was quickly perceived that their abettor was an impostor; for some were drowned; and others were saved by the Christian fishermen, who happened to be there with their barks, and went to acquaint their brethren how near their credulity had been to cost them their lives. They attempted to seize the impostor, but he had disappeared. In consequence of this, many Jews embraced Christianity; most of them grew wise; and all were ashamed of putting so much confidence in so distinguished an impostor.

An impostor
in the island
of Candia.

There were other adventures that happened in the reign of Theodosius. A Jew of Constantinople, who had been paralytic for many years, and baffled the art of the physicians, thought he might recover the use of his limbs if he were baptized, and therefore desired this ordinance. Atticus, the patriarch, caused him to be instructed; he received baptism, and coming out of the baptismal font, found himself cured. This extraordinary cure made so great an impression upon the Jews and heathens, that great numbers became converts; though the far greater part of the former still continued in their unbelief.

As we are writing the history of the Jews, and not that of the church, we shall pass over a number of those very strange conversions with which this century abounded, and only observe, that the Christians, having then accustomed themselves to make considerable presents to new converts, induced many Jews not only to become Christians with that view alone, but even to run privately from one sect to another, and be baptized in them all for the sake of obtaining fresh tokens of their liberality.

Frauds ex-
ercised un-
der the
mask of re-
ligion.

Socrates, in his ecclesiastical history, gives us a remarkable instance of a Jew, who went through all the sects then at Constantinople; but was at length discovered, in a singular manner, by the Novatian bishop there, and owned that he had been baptized by every one but that. These cheats could not but render the Jews obnoxious to the Christians: but there was still another consideration that made them more so. This was the several arch-heretics, such as the Novatians, Nestorians, &c. who, by borrowing some of the Jewish tenets, were stiled Judaizers and Jews.

The Jews in the city of Alexandria, who amounted to upwards of 100,000, were mutinous and seditious; and the hatred they cherished against the Christian religion tended to sharpen and exasperate their turbulent disposition: so that commotions frequently happened in this great city, and seldom

Jews raise a
tumult at
Alexandria.

ended without bloodshed. Sabbaths were noted as so many days of battle; because the Jews, who devoted this day to idleness and debauchery, instead of going to the synagogue, sought occasion to signalize themselves; and the Christians and heathens commonly insulted them when they went to the synagogue. There were also public shews upon that day; and the Jews chose rather to be there than at their devotions, whereupon the people that flocked thither often engaged in quarrels with them. They used to come to blows, and the governors had seldom sufficient authority to restrain these riots. One day Orestes, the governor of Alexandria, was in the theatre, intending to make some political regulations in the entertainments. He designed, perhaps, by good laws, to prevent the disorders which had been attended with such fatal consequences to the public peace and good of the city. But he was mistaken; for, as he was attempting it, it was perceived, that he was surrounded by the party of Cyril, bishop of the place. It was suspected that they came only there to incense the governor, and dictate to him some ordinance against the Jews. The presence of Hierax, who was only an usher of the lower classes, but one of Cyril's hired flatterers, who used to applaud this bishop as he preached, served to provoke them; inasmuch, that they cried aloud, that that man, whom they looked upon as their enemy, was come only to insult them, and to raise sedition. He must have given occasion for these complaints, since the governor caused him to be seized by his officers, and scourged upon the stage, without any form of trial. Cyril was not a man that would bear such an insult from the prefect, whom he mortally hated. Instead of complaining to him of his injustice, (if it was true that he had been guilty of any,) he sent for some Jews to his palace, and threatened them. They despised the threatnings of an ecclesiastic whom the governor openly opposed, and even resolved to massacre the Christians. In order to this design, a body of the conspirators ran along the streets in the night, crying that the principal church of the Christians at Alexandria was on fire. The crowd burst forth, without arms, to extinguish it. The Jews, who had a mark to distinguish themselves, killed them as fast as they came. Cyril, having notice of it, came out with a multitude of people, entered into all the synagogues, appropriated them to the church, gave up the houses to be plundered, and drove the Jews quite naked out of the city. The governor was highly enraged, because the bishop encroached upon the jurisdiction of the officers of the empire; and because he saw this great city almost unpeopled by such a general expulsion of the Jews. He informed the court of it, whilst Cyril also sent his complaints against the Jews. The people sided with the governor against their patriarch, and obliged him to go and sue for peace to Orestes, who refused to be reconciled.

Cyril brought religion into the affair, and went to the governor with the gospel in his hand, to oblige him, upon sight of that book, to a reconciliation: but Orestes being inflexible in his resentment, Cyril, who had a troop of soldiers, in the habit of monks, ordered them all down from the mountains of Nitris. These anchorites were never seen to descend, but they put the people into a consternation. They marched down that day to the number of fifteen hundred; and observing the governor, as he went into his chariot, began to load him with abuse, and accused him of being an heathen, that they might have a pretence to get rid of him, under a shew of justice. It was in vain for him to cry out, that he had been baptized at Constantinople. Instead of hearing him, they fell upon him with showers of stones, wounded him on the head, and covered him with blood. His guards deserted him, being oppressed by numbers; and the governor would have been left to perish, if the people had not run to his assistance. Ammonius, one of the rioters, was arrested, and condemned to punishment. Orestes wrote to the court. Cyril, on his part, justified the proceedings of the monks, by declaring Ammonius a martyr, and making his panegyric in the pul-

pit on the man who died for so glorious an action. The tumult began some time after, and Cyril was loaded with all the odium of the event, in which the celebrated Hypatia, an heathen virgin, of great sense, learning, and virtue, lost her life, whom this bishop, jealous of his reputation, had caused to be assassinated.

It is in vain to extol Cyril of Alexandria, and to make him one of the principal saints of the purest church. People suffer themselves to be easily dazzled in favour of some men, and canonize those who have been actuated by violent and criminal passions, instead of a regular devotion. It is owned, that Cyril incurred Orestes's hatred by his ambition, and encroachment upon the authority of the imperial officers. How did he take his revenge on him? He caused him to be assassinated by the monks. Is this conduct consistent with the character of a bishop? But he stops not here: he again brings his officers, like so many assassins, against a virtuous, amiable fair one, who unmercifully killed her at a church-door. Socrates had reason to say, that this action involved Cyril and his ecclesiastics in shame and confusion. This same prelate had drawn upon him the people's hatred; since they always engaged against him, notwithstanding their reverence for religion and sacred persons. How could they esteem an ambitious prelate, who hired people to applaud his sermons in public, as Cyril did, and who afterwards acted the votary, and crowned a seditious monk, who had been punished for his crimes, with martyrdom? We cannot justify his conduct against the Jews, since they were not of his jurisdiction: it belonged to the governor to expel them the city, if he thought it expedient; and the bishop was no judge of their privileges and settlements. It was a perfect rapine to head a rabble, to plunder their synagogues, and appropriate them to themselves, with their houses and effects. It was uncharitable to the last degree, to expel people quite naked, who had lived there ever since the time of Alexander the Great, under the protection of edicts.

The Jewish nation received a severe blow in this century in the total suppression of their patriarchs; for their way of living raised murmurs and complaints against them, and the taxes they levied upon the nation occasioned their fall. We have already spoken of their privileges; and have only to add, that Theodosius and Valentinian deprived them of that income, and appropriated an impost made upon their subjects to the imperial treasury. By this means the patriarchal dignity was more effectually suppressed than if it had been annulled by any edict, so that, for want of competent support, it dwindled away. Photius pretends that the primates, who succeeded the patriarchs, were charged with this collection, answerable for it, and obliged to see it conveyed into the treasury.

Thus was the patriarchal dignity absolved in the year 429.

CHAP. X.

State of the Jews, in the western empire, under Honorius. Equitable law of Honorius respecting the Jews. He deprives them of the office of agents. Determination of Severus to convert the Jews. State of the Jews under the Vandals in Africa. Their privileges confirmed by Valentinian. The Jews protected by Theodoric, king of the Goths.

HONORIUS, who possessed the western part of the empire, was harassed with many revolts. Never did prince master so many tyrants; and therefore we see him, in most of his medals, holding a labarum in one hand, a victory in the other, and trampling a rebel under his feet. St. Chrysostom, who derived this prince's glory from hence, did not ascertain the character of heroes; for it is most commonly the weakness or cruelty of the governor that excites rebellions; and it is no great honour for

Riot and murder the effects of party zeal.

for a prince to see his subjects vanquished, and in chains at his feet. The zealots persuade themselves, that his victories were the recompence of his vehemence against the sectaries. It is true he sometimes persecuted them; but he shewed great equity to the Jews who lived in his dominions. There is even a law preserved, made upon their account, which is an honour to him; for he declares, "That the glory of a prince consists in permitting every society quietly to enjoy the privileges they have acquired; and that, though a religion is not approved by a sovereign, yet he ought to preserve its privileges." Pursuant to these maxims, he decreed, that none could destroy or appropriate the synagogues with impunity. He even forbade them to violate the sabbath, under pretence of the public good, and service of the state; because the rest of the week was sufficient to satisfy the necessities of the empire.

Equitable
law of Ho-
norius re-
specting the
Jews.

He de-
prives them
of the of-
fice of
agents.

Nevertheless, to prevent the abuse of their liberty, he forbade the building of synagogues, and deprived the professors of it of offices in the militia, and of that of agents. The agents were distinguished in the militia, having three sorts of employments; to raise taxes in the provinces, to convey bread to the magazines and army for the subsistence of the troops, and to be spies and couriers to the princes. Augustus had appointed these inspectors in every province and region: they brought an account of all that was done to the prince, and to this purpose had the disposal of the public carriages. Honorius deprived the Jews of this employ, who were, at that time, commissioned to furnish the magazines, as they are at this day in some states.

This prince severely restrained the sect of the Cœlicolæ, who had no image of the deity in their temples: they prayed to God in open places, and on flat roofs: they neglect the temples, (says Tertullian,) and make their prayers upon the banks in the air. They swore by the heaven. It is said, that this more particularly agrees with the Samaritans, who had formerly an oratory near Napolouffe, built in the form of a theatre, where they went to pay their devotions. Besides, they had a baptism like the sectaries we speak of. They were called Cœlicolæ, because they read the Bible in Hebrew. Scaliger thought it was a sect of the Essenes that bore the name of Cœlicolæ, or angels, by reason of the angelical life they led. And thus, in the latter ages, the monks have been intitled Cœlicolæ, as if they had led the life of heavenly citizens whilst they were upon earth.

left called
Schamain.

There was another sect in this nation, called Schamain, or the Heavens. Benjamin of Tudela found it in Egypt; and it had so much resemblance to that of the Cœlicolæ, that it is very probable it was a remainder of those who were condemned in the Theodosian code. It has been further maintained, that they were apostates, who forsook Christianity, and turned Jews.

dis-
tinction
of sect.

Honorius looks upon these heretics as people that were but just sprung up in Africa, and whose doctrines he was yet unacquainted with. This character cannot be applied to the Jews, or Samaritans, or Essenes, nor to the apostates that returned to Judaism, whose doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, could not be unknown to the emperor. Besides, the Schamain, which Benjamin of Tudela found in Egypt, were not Cœlicolæ, nor so much as sectaries. This is easily to be observed by any one that reads this traveller with attention; for he distinguishes two different synagogues he saw at Grand Cairo, one whereof belonged to the Jews of the Irack, and the other to the Jews Schamain. As the first name is that of a province from which these Jews came, viz. the Babylonian Irack, from whence they went into Egypt; the second name must also signify a province from whence the Jews who possessed that synagogue proceeded: and Syria is actually called Scham, and the Syrians, Schamain: or rather, there needed no more than to forsake Arias Montanus's version, and to follow that of the em-

peror Constantine, which removes all the difficulty. Indeed, Benjamin makes no difference between these two synagogues, except in their manner of dividing their reading, and the sections of the law, which makes no variation in the worship.

Different
opinions
about the
Cœlicolæ.

An ingenious commentator has differed from all the rest, by observing, that the Cœlicolæ are accused, by Honorius, of disturbing the rules of the church; wherefore he suspected they were baptized in the name of heaven, instead of the common form; and by heaven they understand the God that reigns in it. This was the Jews style long ago. They say still, that the name of heaven is profaned; that the fear of heaven is necessary; and that the assembly instituted by heaven shall remain.

These Cœlicolæ, or worshippers of heaven, were in Africa; for it was to the governors of this province that the emperor directed his orders against them. They were all schismatics; for they had their particular assemblies: and Honorius was for reducing them within the pale of the church. These sectaries attacked the sacraments of the Catholick faith, and the worship and veneration of God; all which is an argument, that they were real Donatists; for these latter impugned the sacraments of the church, by re-baptizing those who had been baptized by the orthodox, and by the addition of some ceremonies. St. Austin says, that Major, one of the Cœlicolæ, was searched for, who had invented a new baptism among them, and had seduced many people. Here you have the Cœlicolæ in Africa; and their principal was Major, of the sect of the Donatists, with whom St. Austin would have engaged in a conference, had he not been called away upon the ordination of a bishop. The baptism Major had invented was new, and little known: he had set up new congregations, and misled many people by this new sacrament. St. Austin's passage so perfectly agrees with Honorius's declaration, that the one seems to be a comment of the other.

They departed also from the worship of God; for we know that the Donatists swore by their martyrs as by the only religion, says Optatus. They demonstrated their veneration for them, by admitting their decisions as so many oracles. This is enough to make them pass for Cœlicolæ, since the saints are regarded as the inhabitants of heaven, and they swore by them; which was not done in the Christian church.

This sect is little known because it continued but a short time. And as the Donatists soon vanished after Honorius, the Cœlicolæ, who made but a very small part of these schismatics, quickly disappeared; and therefore we only find their name in St. Austin and the Theodosian code. We find no track of them among the ancients, who have given the catalogue of heresies; and almost all the moderns have forgot them, as well as the ancients.

They must not be confounded with the Jews, because we find them in the Theodosian code under the same title, and included in the same law. Godefroy has judiciously observed, that the law ought to be distinguished into two articles; one whereof relates to the Cœlicolæ, who were obliged to return to the church before a year's end, under pain of being confounded with other heretics; and the other forbids the Jews the making of proselytes.

They have
no analogy
to the wor-
ship of the
synagogue.

It is true, that this learned commentator thought the Cœlicolæ had a worship common with the Jews, who worshipped the heavens and the stars; but since this worship of the ancient idolaters was abolished among the Jews, and the Donatists had a baptism, and a peculiar worship for their martyrs, there is no need of confounding two different religions. And therefore we discharge the synagogue from this new crime, of which it hath hitherto been thought convicted by the laws of Honorius.

Between Africa and Spain is the island of Minorca, in which were two considerable cities: one, where

Jews numerous at Minorca, where they exercised the chief offices.

Determination of Severus to convert the Jews.

where the bishop resided, was inaccessible to the Jews: there were neither wolves or wild beasts there; and the serpents, which were very numerous, lost their venom. On the contrary, in the other city, called, at present, Port-Mahon, the Jews were in considerable number, though it was subject to the emperor Honorius, yet they arrived to titles, and exercised all civil dignities: for Theodosius, who was doctor of the law, and head of the synagogue, bore the first rank among the Christians, because he had passed through all the offices.

Severus, being appointed bishop of this island, was easily persuaded by Orosius, who had lately returned from Jerusalem, loaded with singular relics, to undertake the conversion of the Jews. They began with private conferences, and proceeded to public disputes; the last of which was held in their synagogue, where, finding some Jewish women had armed themselves with stones to throw at them, they provided for their own defence. The consequence was, that the synagogue was pulled down, and nothing saved out of it but the books and plate: but the bishop, through the power of oratory, brought their greatest men to relent; and, in about eight days, the greater part of them were converted, and the synagogue turned into a church. Many, however, that remained obdurate, went and hid themselves in caverns, till hunger forced them out; and others, leaving all they had behind them, went and sought an asylum in foreign countries; all which circumstances shew that there was some violence used against them by the bishop and his clergy. Beronius seems to own as much; and adds, that this example would have been followed in many other places, had not the crowned head put a stop to this method of conversion.

State of the Jews under the Vandals in Africa.

The irruption of the Vandals, a barbarous people, who had no notion of toleration in point of religion, was very likely to create them new troubles. But yet it is probable they brought upon this nation only such confusions as are inevitable in great revolutions; for we find in St. Austin's works several tracts composed against the Jews, which shew that their condition was not grown more hard or unhappy here, than in the other parts of the empire.

In the "Plea of the Synagogue against the Christian Church," written by a lawyer of that time, the synagogue alledges, "That she is neither a slave or a servant of the Christians, since they are not committed prisoners; and, instead of wearing irons, and other marks of slavery, they were left the liberty of sailing and merchandizing." The Vandals, therefore, promised them the liberty of professing their religion and trading. But, on the other hand, the church answers, "That she is obliged to pay tribute to the Christians; that a Jew cannot pretend to the empire, nor become a leading man or governor of a province; that he cannot enter into the senate or the camp; and that if he be left the liberty of getting his livelihood, it is only to prevent his dying with hunger."

Valentinian confirms their privileges.

Valentinian confirmed all their privileges at Rome, and in the rest of the empire under his obedience. He left the synagogues remaining, that had been built in the preceding reigns; but at the same time opposed innovations; and understanding they were building a temple, he caused it to be pulled down, and fined the undertaker. When the empire changed its master, and the Goths seized on Italy, the Jews still found protection from these barbarous kings.

Theodoric, king of the Goths, protects the Jews.

Theodoric defended them against the insults of the people. He attended to, and followed, the maxims infused into him by his secretary Cassiodorus, of forcing no one; because all violence in point of religion is criminal. This prince often represented to them, their excessive love of riches, and a temporal rest, whilst they lost immortality. But he would not have them driven into this road by violence, since they obstructed their salvation, when they did not enter it with their whole desire.

He was much affected when he heard, that, to revenge a private quarrel, the synagogue of Rome was burnt. He censured the senate for permitting it, and represented the consequences such a tumult might have had, since the flames of that building, carried by the wind, might have consumed a great part of their city. He also severely reprimanded the ecclesiastics of Milan, who went to seize upon a synagogue and its appurtenances. The Christian religion does not authorize robbery. The citizens of Genoa were going to vacate all the privileges which the Jews possessed, who had been settled there for a long time. The people, fermented by their leaders, mutinied, and went to plunder the synagogue, of which they carried away the roof. The oppressed had recourse to Theodoric, whose equity was known to them. They were not mistaken; for this prince maintained their privileges, and permitted them to rebuild the synagogue, on condition that they would add no ornaments, nor make it larger than it was before. And thus the Jews concluded the fifth century in the Roman empire. They frequently submitted to the hatred and tumults of the people, but still they preserved the best part of their privileges by the authority of the sovereigns.

CHAP. XI.

State of the Jews in Persia, under R. Asce. Method of compiling the Babylonish Talmud. Successors of Asce. Revenues and power of the princes of the captivity. Composition of the Talmud obstructed by persecution. Rise of the Sabureans or Sceptics. A new sect, called Gaonim, or Excellents.

LET us now take a view of the Jews in Persia, during that interval where we find their academies in a flourishing condition, under their famed chief, R. Asce, the compiler of the Babylonish Talmud, lately mentioned. Sora was the place of his birth, and the most celebrated academy of all the east, of which he was chosen president at a very early age.

He invented a new method of instruction; for, instead of fixing his disciples constantly to the college, and reading them lectures all the year, he only did it in the months of February and August. In February he gave his scholars a treatise, and sent them to study at home for six months. They returned in August, and gave an account of their proficiency. The subjects were examined: they disputed in his presence; and afterwards he removed the difficulties by the decisions of preceding doctors.

Ten persons were seated over against him; seven whereof were called Princes of the Crowns, whose office it was to paraphrase upon the dictates of the master, and to make repetitions to the scholars, whose number amounted to 2400. Those that distinguished themselves by their diligence were praised and rewarded. The president made a collection of all the subjects that had been handled, and from this the Babylonian Talmud was composed. He then gave them a subject they were to study the half year following, and so the school broke up.

Asce, having taught in this manner sixty years, published a collection of his decisions, which he divided into four different parts. The first contained the maxims and rules of the Mishnah, with the doubts that might be proposed, and their solutions. In the second he handled divers questions, and related the opinion of the Tannæans and Gemarists about them. The third part consisted of the sentences and maxims that had been published since Judah the Saint: and in the last were all the explications the scripture affords for the determination of differences, with the commentaries of the principal doctors. This was the first division of the Babylonian Talmud. But as R. Asce could not finish his undertaking, those that came into it after him changed

changed the method, and made additions, which have rendered it much more confused.

This great doctor died in the year 427. Some make Marimar his successor; but others say, that the feet of R. Hovan hastened; that is, that this master was made president of the academy of Sora, in Asce's place. His son Thobioni (according to the pompous Jewish stile) ascended the throne of his father in the year 455, and reigned thirteen years, during which the nation enjoyed such profound tranquillity, that they called this doctor their Daily Prosperity. He must needs have contributed to their felicity, since they gave him the name of it. We must not be surprized to hear them use the phrases of succession to the throne, and thirteen years reign, though the questions are only about the office of a doctor, or the pedagogue of a school. It is the rabbinical stile to give great ideas of their masters, and to caress them with flattering titles. Those that are unaccustomed to this stile are easily dazzled by it, not imagining that a pedant is placed upon the throne, and that they should expressly say, he reigned thirteen years, when his empire extended no farther than over some scholars, to whom he taught traditions. They also called plain students princes of crowns, because they were the uppermost of a class.

Seeing such a glorious title is given to the scholars, we need not wonder that the princes of the captivity wore it likewise. They entertain lofty notions of these princes, whereas their power was not so considerable as is commonly supposed. The whole nation did not depend on them, as is said, since, as far as the year 429, the patriarchs of Judæa extended their jurisdiction over many provinces; and since that time, the Jews, dispersed in the Roman empire, could not acknowledge a prince residing in the territories of the Persian or Arabian kings, with whom there were continual wars. Would the Grecian emperors, so extremely jealous of their authority, have suffered a foreign Jew to raise taxes upon his subjects, and correspond with them in time of war? This prince's revenues were but small. The doctors say, he obtained of the Persians the privilege of setting up but one judge for the determination of differences between man and man, without being obliged to repair the damage, when the sentence was given wrong; whereas, by the common laws, they were to be judged by three persons. This observation is futile: for it was the Talmudists that fixed the number of these judges to three; and it was impertinent to desire of the king of Persia dispensation from a law which they had voluntarily imposed on themselves. However, the prince established three judges at Nerea, a town half a day's journey from Babylon; and here they paid the Didrachm when they came to be twenty years old. He also punished the violators of the law by fines, which were reserved for the prince. There was such another tribunal at Chaloan, five days journey from Babylon. There was a third at Kesar; and the last at Babylon, where the prince resided: and in all these courts they collected but seven hundred gold crowns, which composed the prince's revenue; and supposing his dignity proportioned to his income, it could not be considerable. By this we discover the reason of the silence of all the historians concerning these heads of the captivity. They say, that all these princes were of the house of David. They assign them a great empire, by which they say the sceptre was preserved in the tribe of Judah. However, these historians, who preserve the succession, the names, and some actions of the doctors, who taught in the schools of Sora, Pundebita, and elsewhere, hardly ever mention the heads of the captivity; and if we discover some names of them, it is not without great uncertainty. R. Asce is highly celebrated; they enumerate his successors in the academy: but in all the fifth century we are examining, we find but one name of a prince of the captivity. It is impossible they should have been so entirely forgotten, if they had performed any important actions in the fifth century, or had been princes, as they are stiled. But to return to the Ba-

No. 48.

bylonian Talmud, which the head of the academy composed.

This work was interrupted by the death of Asce, though he left able disciples, that might have finished it. But this interruption was caused by a persecution that lasted seventy-three years: it was violent; for the observance of the sabbath was suppressed, the synagogues were shut up, and the holy houses given to the Magi. The principal doctors of the nation were made prisoners. Animar, Mor, Asce's disciples, and Huna his son, who was prince of the captivity, were condemned to death, and suffered it courageously; but the Jewish youth, more addicted to the pleasures of life, deserted their religion; so that the Jews were severely afflicted towards the end of the fifth century. However, they resumed courage some time after, and the Talmud was accomplished in the year 500.

A persecution puts a stop to the composition of the Talmud.

Towards the end of the same century arose a new sect, called Seburians, or Sceptics, at the head of which was R. Josi. These doctors pretended to doubt of every thing, and seem to have started up to oppose the infallibility which the Talmudists attributed to the Talmud; but whether by openly questioning its authority, or the sense of its decisions, we cannot affirm. However, this kind of usurped pre-eminence became so odious to the rest of the Jews, that it did not last long. It began to appear only about the close of the fifth century, and was driven out of the world before the middle of the next, by the Gaonim, or Gaons, a new set of doctors, who took that pompous title upon them, which signifies sublime, or excellent, and who, in the succeeding century, became the idols of the academies, and of the people.

Rise of the sect of the Seburians, or Sceptics.

CHAP. XII.

Persecution of the Jews in Persia, under Cavades. They rise against him. Are persecuted under Chosroes. Restored by Hormisdas. Persecuted under Chosroes II. Great numbers slaughtered at Antioch. Conspiracy against the inhabitants of Tyre punished. Chosroes dies of famine. End of the Persian monarchy.

THE sixth century commenced with the persecutions the ten tribes suffered in the east. Cavades, a violent and haughty prince, who could not bear a difference of religions in his kingdom, caused many Christians to be severely tortured. He designed also to force the Iberians to forsake Christianity for the Persian religion; but having first demanded of their king, that their bodies should be left unburied a prey to birds and wild beasts, and the Iberians not being willing to consent to an action so manifestly repugnant to humanity, they put themselves under the protection of the Romans. We must not therefore wonder that this king tormented the Jews of his empire; and it is probably to this that we are to ascribe the frequent alterations that happened in the dignity of the princes of the captivity, for in less than ten years we find four of these princes succeeding one another.

Jews persecuted in Persia, under Cavades.

These were Huna, to whom they give but two years reign; Acha, who reigned three; Tetana, who reigned four; and Zeutra, who reigned twenty years.

In his time arose the famous Meir, a learned rabbi, and great doctor of law, who having declared war against the Persian king with only four hundred men, was very successful against him during seven years; after which his men having polluted themselves with strange food and female intercourse, he was defeated, taken, and put to death by the Persians. They went thence into the city where Zeutra resided, and plundered it. They then took that prince, and the president of the council, and hanged them upon a bridge. His family were forced to betake themselves to flight; and his son and heir, Zeutra II. retired into Judæa, where he became president

Insurrection of the Jews against the king of Persia.

president of the senate, or Sanhedrim. This the Jewish historians tell us was the source of that series of misfortunes which attended them in Persia, inasmuch that their great master Hahonai never dared to shew his face during the space of thirty years, that is, during the whole time of the reign of Cavades.

The Jews
persecuted
under
Chosroes.

Chosroes the Great was not more favourable to them than his father. They had endeavoured to purchase his favour by betraying the emperor Justinian. This prince had sent ambassadors to the east to negotiate a peace, and had loaded them with presents, which were received with such acknowledgments, that there was reason to hope for a speedy issue of the treaty, when the Jews, who had their spies and deputies at this court, insinuated to Chosroes, that if he was willing to continue the war, they would furnish him with fifty thousand men in Judæa, by which means he might take Jerusalem, one of the richest cities in the world. Chosroes accepted the proposal, broke off the negotiation with the emperor, and was preparing to second the endeavours of the traitors, when news was brought that the deputies, who were departed to execute the design, had been seized upon their return, and sentenced to death, having first confessed their crime.

This desire to oblige the Persian prince did not engage him in their interests; and they not only had their share in the general miseries of the empire, when Chosroes, who often took arms against the Romans, pillaged Syria, and advanced to Judæa, to make himself master of Jerusalem, but this prince also shut up all the academies of the east, which obstructed the progress of the sciences. We do not so much as find that there was then a prince of the captivity, since Zeutra II. had been obliged to retire to Judæa, where he long exercised an office infinitely beneath that he would have possessed at Babylon, if he had been suffered there.

Restored
by Hormis-
das.

Hormisdas III. restored them their liberty; for the academy of Pundebita was opened. R. Chanon Mehischka began to teach: but this unhappy prince reigned not long: his rebellious subjects took him prisoner; and his own son, Chosroes II. deprived him of his life.

This young prince did not peaceably enjoy the fruits of his parricide; for Varanes, who had been his father's enemy, declaring himself also his, and pretending to ascend the throne, expelled him Persia, having first beat his army. He was obliged to engage in many battles, before he could get the mastery of Varanes, who had made a considerable party in the state, and defended himself with great bravery. The Jews were in his interest. "This faithless, restless, imperious, jealous, envious, implacable nation (says the Greek historian) was then so powerful in Persia, as to raise the people against their prince, and to fortify the rebels; because it was extremely multiplied, and had amassed prodigious wealth." Chosroes, getting the mastery, expiated this treachery with their blood. Those of Antioch fell first into the hands of Mebodus, the Roman general. This was not the Syrian city, but another, which Chosroes I. had built in Persia, and had given it that name, because he had formed it by the other's model, and had transplanted its inhabitants. It is said they were amazed, when they entered it, to find their country again; a second Antioch; the same streets and houses they had left. Mebodus, having taken this place, put numbers of Jews to the sword, destroyed others by different punishments, and reduced the rest to a miserable slavery.

Persecuted
by Chos-
roes II.

Slaugh-
tered at
Antioch.

However, Chosroes being resettled, was reconciled to them, and usefully employed them in his designs. Indeed, this prince, who delighted in war, gave out, that he armed to revenge the death of Mauritius, his benefactor, upon Phocas, who had killed him, and made himself master of the empire. Chosroes broke into Syria and Judæa, where he did terrible execution. He returned again in Heraclius's time, took Jerusalem, and carried with

him a cross which a Jew had found. It is most probable this nation had correspondence with Chosroes, since, upon his being master of Jerusalem, he returned them all the Christian prisoners, which they only bought to satiate their implacable malice; for ninety thousand persons were unmercifully butchered.

Elmacinus, and other Arabian historians, add, that Chosroes going to besiege Constantinople, there was a necessity of evacuating all the places of Syria, and drawing out all the garrisons, to come to the assistance of the capital; and the Jews, seizing this opportunity, conspired with all their nation in Judæa, to murder, on an Easter-day, all the inhabitants of the city of Tyre, and make themselves masters of that important post. All the conspirators came secretly to the walls; but finding greater resistance than they expected, they spread themselves in the country, where they burnt the Christian churches. The Tyrians, who beheld this spectacle from the ramparts and towers, struck off a Jew's head upon every church that fell, or was burning; and as they killed two thousand Jews, they must have burnt two thousand churches. The citizens going out, found this company dispersed like a flock of sheep in the field, and made great slaughter of them. It is no wonder that Chosroes then favoured the eastern Jews, since they made such advantageous diversions on his account.

Historians relate, that Chosroes continued always devoted to judicial astrology; that entering, one day, the church of Dora whilst the service was performing, the Christians were disturbed, as if their mysteries had been profaned, and their religion dishonoured, by the presence of this heathen prince. Domitian, bishop of Melitene, not being able to bear the affront he offered the church, went out, and threatened to bring his troops. Chosroes sent his apology to the prelate, who received it, returned, censured the prince, and drove him out of the church.

This prince was imprisoned by his subjects and his son, and they gave him gold and silver instead of bread, saying, "Enjoy, at thy pleasure, all the things thou hast desired with an insatiable thirst." He died of famine, in the midst of his treasure, in the year 628; and three years after concluded the Persian monarchy, which went to the Saracens; Isdigerdes, the last of their kings, having been conquered near Cadesia.

C H A P. XIII.

Conquests of Omar, successor to Mahomet. Taking of Jerusalem. Fall of the Persian monarchy. Othman elected caliph. His conquests. Is succeeded by Aly. Moavia reigns at Damascus. Isdigerdes persecutes the Jews. Liberality and candour of the Arabians. Aly marries the princess of Persia to the head of the captivity. Academies restored.

THE Arabians made great conquests, and the Jews of the east universally changed masters. Omar, the second caliph, after the death of Mahomet, his predecessor, reigned but ten years and a half, during which he took thirty-six thousand cities or castles, pulled down four thousand temples belonging to the Christians or Magi, built fourteen hundred mosques, and made himself master of all the east.

Notwithstanding all that Heraclius could do to relieve Damascus, which this caliph besieged by his generals, he entered in at the same time by assault and capitulation; for they had forced the intrenchments on one side, whilst they capitulated on the other.

Syria being conquered, by the taking of this place, they prosecuted the siege of Jerusalem, which was already begun, and in a short time totally reduced the place. Omar, walking the streets with an air of devotion,

devotion, desired them to shew him Solomon's temple, intending to raise a mosque in the place.

The Arabians assert, that their caliph granted the bishop of Jerusalem a very honourable capitulation for the city; that he entered it without suffering any disorders of his troops; and not allowing any church to be taken from the Christians, very modestly desired of Sophronius a place where he might build a mosque. The bishop shewed him Jacob's stone, and the place where Solomon's temple stood, followed by the principal officers of his army, where, in fine, he built a mosque.

This caliph at the same time attacked the Persians by his generals, and, after many battles, Isdigerdes, the last of the Persian kings, lost Cadesia. His capital, children, and treasures, fell into the enemy's hands. For his own part he fled to Chorazan, where he lay concealed for sixteen years, shifting from place to place, till one of his subjects, the governor of Merou, betrayed him, and invited Tarcan, king of the Turks, to take upon him the government. Isdigerdes gave him battle, lost it; and attempting to pass a river in his flight, the boatman disputed with him about the price of his passage; and whilst they were wrangling, the Turkish horse, who pursued him close, arrived, and took away his life. Thus ended the Persian monarchy; and the Jews, who had been long under its dominion, came under that of the Saracens and Omar, who pushed on his conquests, on the one hand, to the river Oxus, and on the other to Egypt, where he made himself master of Alexandria. Mahomet had educated him; so that two parties appealing from his judgment to that of Omar, when he had heard them, he fetched his sabre, and struck off the head of him that had refused to stand by Mahomet's decision. He took the title of Commander of the Faithful, and observed such great humility in the midst of all his glory, that the governor of Susiana going to wait upon him in a temple, he found him asleep upon the steps among the poor: and it was only to do an honour to his nation before this stranger, that he went and sat in the pulpit of the mosque, which served him for a throne. Renouncing the ties of nature, and the endearments of blood, he declared the caliphship should be elective, and that his son should not have a place in the council, unless he was found worthy to reign. He was killed by a slave as he was at prayer.

After his death the six electors met to nominate a caliph. One of them renounced the election of himself, upon condition he might chuse the caliph alone. The thing was agreed to, and he made choice of Othman, in preference to Aly, the son-in-law of Mahomet, and who was the most eminent for that dignity. He entirely subdued Chorazan, and many provinces of the east; and pushed his conquests as far as Andalous, that is, Andalusia in Spain. In the mean time Aly, who always looked upon him with a jealous eye, raised some Arabians against him. They besieged him in his castle of Medina, where water failing after a three months siege, he came out to the rebels with the Alcoran in his hand, and protested he would have no other judge than that book, which was to be the rule of their conduct. This did not stop the mutineers: they stabbed him in many places, and put an end to his existence.

Aly was elected in his room; and though his passion for the caliphship was violent enough to make him kill his brother-in-law, yet he wanted to be entreated to accept this dignity.

Aischah, Mahomet's widow, rebelled against her son-in-law; and as she had great interest with the Mussulmen, already provoked by the conspiracy against Othman, she was at no trouble to form a numerous army. The battle was fought near Basora. Aly got the victory, and took Aischah, after a great deal of blood was shed about the camel she rode upon; because brave men had surrounded this woman, and lost their lives in her defence; and for that reason it was called the Battle of Camel. He respectfully sent back his mother-in-law to Mecca;

and seeing Arabia and the Babylonian Irach fully subjected to his command, he marched to stifle another rebellion, which was raised against him in Syria.

Moavia headed this revolt, resolving to revenge the death of Othman, his benefactor and relation. This prince prided himself in his humanity and clemency. "The one is brave, and the other courageous," (said he, speaking of his enemies;) but for my own part, I am content to be considered among the Mussulmen as a merciful and gentle prince." It was he that first made a gallery, or a separate place, in the mosque, for the caliph, who was at once the pontiff and sovereign. It was from thence he repeated the office of the Mussulmen, and made them a sort of homily, as the bishop and curate do in the church of Rome. This prince was master of Syria, and made Damascus his capital: he pushed his conquests as far as Constantinople, and besieged it so long, as to sow and reap in the neighbouring fields.

Moavia reigns at Damascus.

Moavia was a formidable enemy for Aly, who, notwithstanding, marched against him, and arrived in a little time upon the frontiers of Syria. Water failing him, he asked for some of a Christian hermit, who had his cell near the camp. The hermit had only three hogsheds of water in his cistern, but told Aly, there was a well in the neighbourhood, shut up with a huge stone, where he might plentifully supply himself. Aly discovered the well, and caused it easily to be uncovered; and having procured a sufficient refreshment, returned thanks to God, and continued his march against Moavia.

The armies were quickly in sight; but not venturing to give a decisive battle, fought in little parties: they reckoned ninety of these skirmishes in an hundred days. Moavia lost forty-five thousand men, but Aly infinitely less. The former perceiving himself too much weakened, fastened many copies of the Alcoran at the end of lances, and causing them to be carried at the head of the army, cried, this was the book that was to decide all differences, and that it was not lawful, without reason, to shed Mussulmens blood. Aly was sensible of the artifice; but his troops being struck with an instinct of devotion for that book, demanded that arbiters should be chosen to terminate the differences betwixt Moavia and Aly.

Many skirmishes between Aly and Moavia.

Aly's umpire was nominated by his generals, who chose a man of great devotion and integrity. Moavia's arbitrator was a man of art. They agreed to depose the two pretenders, and to elect a caliph, who should rule over all the countries which the Mussulmen had conquered. Aly's arbitrator spoke first, and cried, he deposed Aly and Moavia, as he took the ring from his finger. Moavia's arbitrator approved Aly's deposition, and confirmed Moavia in the caliphship, with which he invested him in the same manner, by putting his ring upon his finger. It was in vain to appeal to upright dealing and the agreement, which the last umpire openly violated. They cursed and excommunicated one another. In the mean time Aly, who faithfully observed the suspension of arms, had the mortification to see a great part of his army rebel against him, because he had acknowledged another judge betwixt him and Moavia. He beat the mutineers, and marched a second time against Moavia, with different success. Here he lost Abdalla, one of his best generals: he had also the misfortune to hear that his own brother had deserted him, and sided with his enemies. At last three resolute men, enraged to see so much bloodshed, resolved to slay the heads of a faction who caused so great a division between the Mussulmen. Aly was killed in the mosque by one of these assassins, and Moavia was only wounded. Hassan, Aly's son, was forced to yield the caliphship to Moavia, who remained master of Syria and Egypt. He was the chief founder of the race of the Omniades, which was always an enemy to that of Aly.

Jesid, his son and successor, was cruel and impious; and therefore the Persians never speak of him without

Fall of the Persian monarchy.

Othman elected caliph.

Moavia.

without execration. However, he was acknowledged caliph in Persia, and in all the lands of the Mussulmen, except Mecca, Medina, and some cities of Chaldea.

Moavia II. succeeded his father; but he was of so weak a constitution, that he voluntarily resigned the caliphship three months after he had accepted it, and went and shut himself up in a chamber, which he seldom or never came out of. Being wiser, or more resigned, than Charles V. he never repented his abdication, and lived happily in his retreat: but the people regretted the loss of him, and caused the man to be buried alive who advised him to quit his dignity. He was so scrupulous as not to charge his conscience with the choice of a successor, because he did not know any one sufficiently accomplished to sustain so heavy a burden. His motto upon his seal was, "The World is nothing but a Cheat."

Marvan was elected, upon condition, That his children should not succeed him, and that the caliphship should return to the house of Moavia. Marvan at first designed to execute his promise; but having humbled all his enemies, he despised Khaled, who was to succeed him, and called him bastard. This young prince's mother, whom Marvan had married, could not bear this insult, but revenged her son, by strangling her husband.

We have related the great revolution by which the Persian monarchy fell; and the dispersed tribes came under the empire of the Mussulmen, who became masters of the east. Let us now see what share they had in these events.

Isdigerdes
persecutes
the Jews.

Their historians assert, that Isdigerdes, king of Persia, persecuted them some time before the war of the Arabians against him. Their synagogues were given to the Magi; their academies shut up; and the persecution caused the fall of many persons. No wonder then that they rejoiced upon the change of their master. It is an inclination rooted in the heart of the oppressed, to desire, and rejoice at, the humbling of their persecutor. They imagine that God, a just protector of the innocent, punishes the oppressor, and makes him sensible of his iniquity. The Jews passed this judgment upon Isdigerdes and the Persians, who had given them such hard treatment.

They are accused not only of rejoicing at the conquests of the Mussulmen, who destroyed abundance of churches, and did great mischief to the Christians, but of associating with them, of taking their mark, and encouraging them to carry their arms into the empire. But their joy must have often been interrupted by their own misfortunes; for the havoc which the conquerors made in Persia and Syria must have given them disturbance. Besides, it was not necessary that they should provoke the Saracens to war, who were sufficiently inclined to it; and from the moment they had tasted the pleasure of wealth, by plundering some provinces, they forgot their antient poverty, and thought of nothing but enriching themselves with the spoils of their neighbours. We ought therefore to found the motives of the war, and the invasion of so many kingdoms, on the avarice of the Arabians, and the ambition of their leaders, which was never satiated.

Liberality
and candour
of the Ara-
bians.

The Jews highly extol the humanity of the Arabians, who condemned the violence offered to conscience, and restored them to the free profession of their religion. They lived peaceably under the first caliphs, and their academies were open. Chana taught at Pundebita, under Omar. Mar. Rabba succeeded him; whilst Chenina Surfæus, the son of Calipta, reigned at Sora.

Omar's
equity.

Omar sometimes favoured the Jews: for a Mussulman having gained his cause by Mahomet's decision, and the process being brought before him to be revised, he took his sabre, and cut off the obstinate Mussulman's head, to avenge the Jew of his adversary's cavils. After he was caliph, a Jew complaining to him of a governor of a province, to whom he had delivered some goods which he did not pay for, Omar called for ink, and there being

none in the place, he took a brick from the wall of Medina, which he was building, and drew upon it these words: "Put an end to the complaints that are brought against you, or leave your government." The Jew carrying the brick, was presently paid the money. This shews what access this nation had to the caliph, and this prince's love of justice. But yet, if he had equity for private persons, he was very injurious to the nation; for that part which continued in Arabia after Mahomet's conquests he totally expelled.

The Jewish nation, instead of suffering under Jesid, and his first successors, enjoyed a full and absolute peace. Its prince of the captivity reigned with almost as great an authority as if he had been king. The academies had been almost abandoned during the revolution. So great was the desertion of scholars and masters, that they were forced at Sora to make a weaver professor, because he had studied the law. But then they began to relish the sciences again. The profession of physic, which is always profitable, resumed its former lustre. A priest of Alexandria, named Aaron, was at once a physician and teacher: he had published a book, intitled, "The Pandects; or, the Treasure of Remedies." The Jew, Massergieuf, who was at the caliph's court, then translated it into Arabic.

C H A P. XIV.

Justinian's edicts against the Jews. The synagogues of Africa changed into churches. Borium peopled by the Jews. Their insurrection against Justinian. Revolt at Cesarea. Exploits of Belisarius, the Roman general. The Jews assist the Goths. Naples besieged, and taken. Cruelties of the Jews at Antioch. They are powerful in Cyprus. Quiet state under Gregory the Great. His great moderation and equity in matters of religion. Change of the Jewish affairs under Heraclius. They are banished Jerusalem. Their peculiar situation in Spain and Gaul. Decrees of the council of Toledo. A new council. New decrees against the Jews. Their artful conduct. Julian writes against them. Fresh resolutions of the council of Toledo. Their state in France. Edicts published against them. Severity of prelates towards them. Lunel an academy of the Jews. They are persecuted again in France.

WE shall now turn our attention to the Jews in the west, under the Roman emperors at Constantinople, Africa, Italy, Spain, and France, during the sixth and seventh centuries, which we think expedient to join together, to avoid breaking the chain of their history.

The first cause of complaint which the emperor Justinian gave them, was his edict, which forbade them to celebrate their passover according to their own calculation, and enjoined them to keep it at the same time with the Christians. This was no more than what we are told he did to the latter, whom he obliged to follow his new calculation, which caused no less confusion amongst them; but the Jews, ever tenacious of their old customs, resented it at a higher rate.

They were soon after exposed to a more severe edict, by which that emperor deprived them of several privileges, particularly of making wills, and bequeathing legacies.

He likewise deprived those of Africa of the public exercise of their religion, at the request of the council of Carthage, and sent orders to the prefect of the prætorium to turn all their synagogues into churches, and to restrain them from performing any religious duties in caverns.

This law was executed chiefly at Borium, a city of Africa, situate at the foot of the mountains which bounded Pentapolis on the western-side. The situation of this city was strong, because a chain of mountains shut up its entrance, and left but a very narrow passage to come at it. The Jews had made it

it a retreat in Justinian's time. Here they lived the more peaceably, because the emperor demanded no taxes of them, and no imperial collector was ever seen there. They had a stately temple, the foundation whereof they referred to Solomon's time. We are to conclude from this, that they had been a long time settled in this place, and that they were rich, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the Moors. Justinian undertook the conversion of the inhabitants of this city, as well as of that of Aigula, where heathenism still remained, and where they sacrificed to idols, in temples consecrated to Alexander the Great, and Jupiter Ammon. He succeeded in his design; for the Jews as well as heathens embraced Christianity. The synagogue, or temple of Solomon, became a church: and Justinian caused the city to be walled in, to make it more safe.

These edicts, which were, by the Jews, looked upon as a kind of persecution, failed not, as usual, to produce a more than ordinary discontent, which, by degrees, ripened into a revolt, as soon as a proper opportunity offered.

The first was caused by an impostor, named Julian. He appeared in Palestine, and deluded the people of that country. As he took the title of Conqueror, the easier to surprize his nation, he caused all his credulous followers to arm themselves. The seditious falling unexpectedly upon the Christians, who fancied they had nothing to fear from a nation so often humbled, made great slaughter of them: but Justinian's troops ran to the relief of the oppressed: they soon found they were led by a misguided zeal. Their leader was taken, and punished with death, which terminated the revolt.

There was a second disturbance, twenty-five years after, at Cesarea. The Samaritans and Jews, though mortal enemies to each other, united against the Christians of this city. They demolished the churches, murdered many people, and assassinated the governor in his palace. His wife escaping the danger, carried her complaints to Justinian, who sent speedy orders to Adamantius to bring the cause before him. Informations being laid, and the Jews charged with all the odium and cruelty of this violence, Adamantius confiscated the estates of the rich, put to flight great numbers of the mutineers who had a share in the action, and took off the heads of others. The execution was performed with such severity, that it made all the Jews of that country tremble, and prevented, for a time, their taking up arms against the Christians.

In Italy the Jews declared loudly against Justinian and Belisarius, who besieged Naples. This famous general had recovered Africa to the emperor's obedience; vanquished the Vandals; and, in the triumph decreed him for it at Constantinople, brought out the sacred vessels of the temple of Jerusalem, which Titus had brought to Rome, and Gizeric had carried away when he plundered that great city. This spectacle, which revived the remembrance of the taking of Jerusalem, and the ruin of its temple, must have disturbed the Jews of Constantinople. Upon this sight one of them exclaimed, "that these precious vessels ought not to be brought to Constantinople, nor placed in the emperor's palace. They cannot (said he) be preserved in any other place than that where Solomon consecrated them; and this is the reason that Gizeric has taken Rome, and the Romans have conquered Gizeric."

Belisarius, having conquered the Vandals in Africa, passed over into Italy to fight the Goths, who were masters of the principal places, and first attacked Naples.

There were two factions in this great city, one for the emperor, and the other for the Goths, whom the Jews, who were numerous and considerable there, favoured. The imperialists, to free themselves from the inconveniencies of a siege, had represented to Belisarius, that it was more advantageous to lay siege to Rome; because, if he took that capital, Naples, which continued in subjection to

the barbarians but by force, would naturally return to its obedience: but he rejected this proposition, and only made them great promises if they would capitulate. Articles of capitulation were already drawn up, and accepted by Belisarius, who granted all their demands, when the friends of the Goths pathetically addressed the inhabitants, and supported their arguments by the presence of the Jewish merchants, who were there, to assure the people, that they should neither want provisions or ammunition during the siege. The citizens, encouraged by this assurance, took heart, and defended the place for twenty days with the greatest vigour. Belisarius lost many good officers and soldiers in the different assaults in which he was repulsed. The Jews defended that part towards the sea; and as they were persuaded they should have no quarter, since they were the principal cause of the resistance that was made, they fought like desperate men. The city was already taken on another side, whilst they still sustained the enemy's assault in their entrenchments: but at day-light they were forced in them. Belisarius exhorted his army to clemency; but whether he spoke but faintly, or that the soldiers, bent on murder and plunder, were deaf to the general's advice, they respected neither age, sex, or religion, and, without distinction of persons, made a great slaughter. This dreadful severity quelled them for a time; and we hear of neither revolt or persecution during the two subsequent reigns.

Naples besieged and taken.

Though the reign of Mauritius was disturbed with the wars of the Avari, who came from the Danube, and made frequent incursions into Thracia, yet the Jews remained quiet there. This prince's avarice, perhaps, contributed to it; for it was easy to purchase their liberty and peace of him. Besides, the Avari were so remote from Judaea and Syria, that they could not flatter themselves with drawing any hopes of assistance from thence; and perhaps their motions were but little known. But Phocas ascending the throne, by assassinating his mother and his children, it was apprehended this revolution might cause many alterations.

Those of Syria, finding themselves powerful at Antioch, laid hold on the opportunity, and armed against the Christians. The sedition was general, and they fought resolutely on both sides; but the Jews, being the strongest, killed many, and burnt others in their houses, which they had set on fire. The bishop Anallus was treated in a barbarous manner, for they dragged him along the streets, and, after exposing him in the most ignominious manner, threw him into the fire, and burnt him. They were at length, with great difficulty, suppressed by Count Bonetus, whom Phocas sent with a sufficient force against them. Those that came off easiest were banished, and sent away mangled and maimed.

Cruelties of the Jews at Antioch.

The Jews were as numerous and formidable in the isle of Cyprus, where they had found means to establish themselves, notwithstanding the resolution that had been taken in Adrian's reign, of not suffering so much as travellers of that religion there. It was about four years after the massacre at Antioch, that the good Cyprian bishop Leontius, fearing perhaps the same fate from them, resolved, if possible, to convert them to Christianity, and succeeded so well in it, if we may depend upon his apology as genuine, that the far greater part of them were baptized.

The Jews powerful in Cyprus.

Gregory the Great lived at that time: this pontiff was persuaded that the Jews ought to be cultivated, instead of hated, because they were one day to be recalled. Their general conversion was the vehement object of his desires: he prosecuted the means, and wrote to his receiver in Sicily, to abate his farmers, who turned Christians, the third of the revenues they were indebted to him. "They must (said he) be called to the unity of the faith, by mild persuasion, and charitable advice. Violence is likely to disgust those whom gentleness and charity allure. Menaces and terror stop those whom the idea of God's justice, often repeated, has shaken. The true method to convert them

“is not to make them fear us, by carrying severity to excess, but to oblige people to come and hear the word of God.”

He imagined it lawful to employ money, without believing these presents could infuse faith; for, said he, if we convert not the fathers, we may win the children. The Jews have praised this pontiff, in their annals, for his lenity and indulgence to them; and they had reason; for the abbess of St. Stephen de Gergenti, in Sicily, desiring to signalize her zeal to the pope, gave him notice, that a great number of Sicilian Jews desired to be converted. But he would not be dazzled with a notion of increasing the church. He ordered the abbess not to be too hasty, but to wait till those catechumens were well instructed, before she suffered them to receive baptism.

He had the equity to condemn the extravagant zeal of a new convert of Cagliari. A Jew, who had received baptism the day before, thinking to distinguish himself in his new religion, put himself at the head of a company of young people, and went to the synagogue on Easter-day, and set up a cross there. The chief officers, military and civil, instead of approving this violence, certified against the Jew. The bishop himself, whom he had consulted, denied his consent, and condemned the action. Gregory the Great, desiring to coincide with this prelate in his equitable notions, praised him for not confounding the evil with the good, and advised him to pass censure upon the new convert, without hearkening to the excuses he might make, by laying the fault upon his zeal, and love for religion. He required that the cross should be removed, and the synagogue left to the Jews; since, though the law forbids them to build new ones, it appoints that they should be left the enjoyment of those they had already. With the same spirit he condemned the bishop of Terracina, who had taken away a synagogue in his diocese, which the laws had established; and had driven the Jews from another place where they had retired for their devotion.

This pontiff not only revived the old edicts issued against their having Christian slaves, which had been long since shamefully neglected, but ordained that all the Jewish domestics who should take refuge in the churches, and be baptized, should become free.

Change of the Jewish affairs under Heraclius.

The condition of the Jews altered much for the worse as soon as the emperor Heraclius had concluded a peace with Persia, by which some relics, formerly taken by them, had been restored to him, and sent to Jerusalem. It plainly appears, from his own words, that he hated the Jewish nation because they were enemies to the Christian religion: but what gave him the first handle against them was his meeting with one at Tiberias, named Benjamin, a man so wealthy as to have alone furnished his army and court with provisions, and so elated on that account, that he harassed the Christians with troublesome law-suits, and malicious prosecutions. Benjamin, fearing his resentment, found no better expedient to avoid it than turning Christian. But this circumstance did not lessen the emperor's aversion to the nation, whom he soon after caused to be banished out of Jerusalem, with a severe prohibition against those who should, from that time, approach within three miles of the city.

He banishes them from Jerusalem.

The prediction of some soothsayers, whom he had consulted, gave him greater provocation against the Jews. This restless prince questioned them about the fate of the empire, which was in violent convulsions; and they answered him, “It should be ruined by a circumcised nation.” As he saw the Jews numerous, he gave credit to the soothsayers, and persecuted the Jews, by obliging them to abjure their religion.

Not content with this, the emperor carried his zeal against them into the neighbouring kingdoms, and particularly to Sifibut, king of Spain, who made great numbers prisoner; and, to avoid the most cruel torments, many abandoned their religion.

Isidorus, bishop of Sevil, who was one of Sifibut's admirers in other respects, has yet condemned this prince's zeal, which was without knowledge; and, instead of impressing faith in the hearts of the people, commanded it. Being afterwards at the head of the fourth council of Toledo, he caused a very solemn decree to be made concerning it. This council was assembled by order of Sifimand, who had de-throned Scuintilla, the son of Sifibut, and perceiving the peoples minds divided, because his competitor was still alive, made use of religious means to unite them. He convened the prelates of the kingdom to Toledo, prostrated himself before them, and, in profound humiliation, desired a reformation of discipline. The council furthered the designs of the new king, by giving instructions to the Goths to unite under the same prince for the defence of the nation, and pronouncing anathemas on those who should violate the oath of fidelity they had taken to the usurper. The council declared, that neither Scuintilla, who had abdicated the crown, nor his wife, nor children, nor Gelanus, his brother, who had pretended to take Sifimand's part, and had deceived him, should ever be admitted to the benefit of the church. They went also upon the correction of several abuses, and made regulations about the state of the Jews. It condemned the violence that had been done them by Sifibut's order, declaring, that nobody ought to be forced to believe; that we can only save those that desire it; that, as the first man ruined himself wilfully, by crediting fallacious promises, man cannot be saved but by a free conversion of his mind; and that he ought to be persuaded, and not driven, to the faith.

Decreed the council of Toledo.

Chintila, who succeeded Sifimand, and was perhaps his brother, thought also he ought to bring the churchmen into his interest. To this effect he called the fifth council of Toledo, which made many decrees in his favour. But to render his laws more authentic, he caused them to be confirmed by another council, assembled the same year, in the same place. This council did three things against the Jews. 1. It recommended its king, who was inflamed with a persecuting zeal. 2. It solemnly ratified the law that this prince had made to banish all the Jews out of his kingdom. Lastly, it decreed, that no king, for the future, should ascend the throne till he had taken an oath never to violate this law; and anathematized him if he broke it. It is probable this variation of the two councils was caused by the death of Isidorus of Sevil. This prudent and moderate man, whose sentiments were known, presided in the fourth council of Toledo, but he died before the sixth; hence arose the inconsistency of the prelates, who, having lost their truly Christian president, swerved from moderation to violence.

A new council.

New decrees against the Jews.

Recefuinthus afterwards called several councils at Toledo, where he offered them a plan of what ought to be the subject of their deliberations. He proposed that they should debate about the election of kings, in which the clergy had great share given them. The Jews were not forgotten, who, after their conversion in former reigns, continued to judaize. The king was weary of this dissimulation, and would have it remedied. However, it seems that this motion of the king, and the decrees of the council, produced a salutary effect: for the principals of the nation met, and wrote to the king, in the name of those of Toledo, and of all Spain, who were in the same circumstances, protesting to him, that, though they had hitherto dissimulated, being neither perfect Christians or perfect Jews, they were resolved to change their conduct, and sincerely embrace the Christian religion. They assured this prince, that they would no longer have any commerce with those of their nation who were unbaptized; that they would not intermarry with them, or observe the sabbath or circumcision. They promised to stone or burn him that should violate this engagement; and if the king would graciously grant them their lives, they would content to be his slaves, and that their goods should be confiscated.

Artificially induced the Jews.

But their practices soon appeared totally opposite

to their professions; for they not only espoused the cause of Judaism, but publicly attacked Christianity, insomuch that Ervigius was obliged to order Julian, then archbishop of Toledo, to write against them, which he accordingly did, with great force and success, in a learned treatise which he published a little before the close of the seventh century.

Egica complained of a conspiracy the Jews, and their dispersed brethren in Africa, had made against his government. This prince represented to the council assembled at Toledo, that the mischief was spread into all the provinces of the kingdom: that it had not passed the Alps, nor come into France; but that it was nevertheless worthy of consideration; and that it could not be dissembled or tolerated; and therefore demanded not only the council's advice, but assistance. Upon deliberation, it was resolved, that all the Jews should be degraded of their privileges, declared slaves for ever, that their estates should be confiscated, and their children educated by Christians.

France changing its master, the Romans being expelled, and the Visigoths depressed, the Jews laid hold of this revolution to make their way into several places they had not entered before. At least we find, after Clovis, the kings and councils of this kingdom made many regulations relating to their conduct and liberty. They must have been settled at Paris, and the adjacent parts; since Childebert, to whom this kingdom fell by lot, published an ordinance, forbidding them to appear in the streets from Maunday Thursday till Easter Sunday: because he feared that the peoples devotion might cause some insurrection against them; or that they might take advantage of that conjuncture, when the churches were full, and the streets empty, to execute some villainous design. The council of Orleans, held in the year 549, made such another ordinance; which shews that they were dispersed throughout the kingdom.

They were still more numerous and potent in the diocese of Uzes, since Ferreol, the bishop of it, fell under the king's displeasure, and was banished on their account. He thought that he might convert them by living familiarly with them. This familiarity rendered him suspected: it was imagined he engaged in their interests, and probably in their opinions. He was obliged to quit his bishopric, and go to Paris, to justify himself to Childebert, where he continued many years in exile. But the king being convinced of his innocence, and having restored him to his bishopric, he fell into another extreme, and expelled all the Jews from his diocese.

Avitus, bishop of Clermont, went also to convert

the Jews of Auvergne; but the means he employed were not always lawful: on the other hand, the incredulous fell into a criminal violence: for a new convert entering the city with his white habit, upon his receiving baptism, a man of his nation, enraged to see him in that dress, threw upon him a pot of nauseous oil. The people rioting upon that insolence, were going to tear him in pieces, if Avitus had not opposed it: but their revenge was only retarded; for, on Ascension-day, the Christians of Clermont mutinying, quitted the procession to pull down the synagogue. Avitus took occasion to write to the Jews, that he did not approve the violence; but that, as a shepherd, who was to take care of his flock, and seek the straggling sheep, he exhorted them to believe as he did, or leave the city. The threats of the bishop, and the fury of the people, had the effect. The fear of a cruel death enlightened the Jews; and on the third day a part of the people sent their confession of faith to the bishop, desiring to be baptized, which was performed on Whit-Sunday. Those who had resolution to persevere, were banished the city, and obliged to return to Marseilles, from whence they came.

St. Germain, bishop of Paris, was very zealous for their conversion; and the historians of those times relate some instances of his zeal, accompanied with very strange circumstances.

King Chilperic, who found them rich and considerable in his kingdom of Soissons and Paris, also undertook their conversion. Being an abandoned prince, he made it a point to force the Jews, and present them to the font. But this custom was prophaned by these new converts. No great advantage was derived from these designs of Chilperic; indeed, he was actuated by a motive that could not succeed.

Lunel became afterwards one of the most famous academies of the Jews in the west. The youth came to study there from the remotest countries, and found not only doctors that instructed them, but an exemplary charity. Benjamin of Tudela affirms, that the doctors maintained their scholars, and supplied them with cloaths, all the time during their stay in the academy.

After the persecution of the Jews in France, great numbers fled for protection to other countries, where, at the instigation of the Gallic princes, they were most cruelly persecuted. Some were put to death, and others confined in prisons; while great numbers had their heads and beards shaved, and were treated with other marks of infamy, no less obnoxious to the Jews, than degrading to their persecutors.

Avitus treats them with severity.

Zeal of St. Germain for their conversion.

Lunel an academy of the Jews.

The END of BOOK I.



CONTINUATION

CONTINUATION
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE JEWS,
FROM THE TIME OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

INCLUDING A
PERIOD OF UPWARDS OF ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS.

CONTAINING AN
Account of their DISPERSION into the various Parts of EUROPE, ASIA,
AFRICA, and AMERICA.

WITH
Their different PERSECUTIONS, TRANSACTIONS, and PRESENT STATE throughout the
KNOWN WORLD.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

The king of Cozar's conversion to Judaism. The occasion and manner of it. Chasdai's pains to find out the kingdom of Cozar. His letter to king Joseph. Import of the answer.

Cozar's
conversion
to Judaism.

THE eighth century is chiefly celebrated for the conversion of Cozar, king of an heathen nation, and is one of the most considerable events of the Jewish history. Cozar was a serious, thoughtful prince, who, after examining all religions, and holding conferences with Philosophers, Christians, Mahometans, and Jews, determined in favour of that of Moses.

The occasion
and
manner of it

His conversion was effected by the observations and reasonings of a famous rabbi, named Sangari, who explained several learned matters to him much to his satisfaction. The king, however, fearful of alarming his idolatrous subjects, and thereby instigating them to a revolt, communicated the secret only to the general of his army, and departing privately with him, they arrived at a certain mountainous desert near the sea, where the night surprising, and obliging them to enter a cave, they found there the Jews keeping their sabbath. The prince and general, overjoyed at this adventure,

made their abjuration to these Jews, and being circumcised, resumed their way back to the capital. In the mean time, the noise of the king's conversion being spread abroad, those who had hitherto dissembled their Judaism, openly professed it, and converted the Cozareans. Rabbins and doctors were sent for from several places to instruct the new converts, and convert the rest; so that above an hundred thousand embraced this religion. A tabernacle was built after the model of that which Moses set up in the wilderness. The original Jews were exceedingly honoured; and the king himself resolved to have a preceptor of that nation, to remove his remaining doubts, and to open to him all the precepts of the law. He had most inclination for the Caraites, who are scrupulously addicted to the law, and more zealous than the traditionists; but he yielded to the reasons of Sangari, who was a Thalmudist. The king grew happy and potent: he triumphed over his enemies, and made new conquests, which rendered him strong and formidable to his neighbours.

Judaism must have continued long in this kingdom, since, more than two hundred and fifty years after, king Joseph gave an account of his faith to a Spanish rabbi, who desired to be informed of his state, and method of governing his people. The doctor's name was Chasdai, who, according to the most

most authentic accounts that can be produced, lived in the tenth century.

Chasldai was treasurer-general to Abderanus, and had so great an authority at this prince's court, that nothing was done without his advice. He confesses he had often heard mention of the kingdom of Cozar, without being able to discover it, till the ambassadors from Constantinople informed him, that merchants frequently came from this country, whose commodities were skins, and who told him that the reigning king's name was Joseph. He resolved to write to this prince, and be at the charge of sending an express with his letter. He took the opportunity of the ambassadors return to Constantinople to conduct him so far. The envoy resided there for six months, after which he was obliged to return the same way he came, upon information that the roads to Cozar were impassable. Chasldai, much chagrined at this disappointment, designed to send his letter to Jerusalem, that it might be carried to Nisibe, thence to Armenia, and from Armenia to the country of Baradas, and the kingdom of Cozar. But two ambassadors of the king of Gablim arriving at Cordua, undertook to make a more certain and speedy expedition. He was also informed, that there was an old blind man in Spain, who had been a favourite of the king of Cozar; but, upon search after him, he was not to be found, which obliged him to commit his letter to the Gablim ambassadors, who caused it to be delivered to king Joseph.

He was desired to give a description of his kingdom, the number of his provinces and cities, what people he made war upon; whether there were any adjacent isles, whether any of these islanders turned Jews, and the names of the kings his predecessors. He was asked too, whether war expelled the sabbath? *i. e.* Whether it was allowed to defend themselves, and attack the enemy on the sabbath-day.

That prince, at his request, gave him an account of his kingdom, government, and religion, which, if genuine, would prove, at least, that the Jewish religion was not only established in that kingdom under one of his predecessors, whom he names Bula, but likewise prove that it still continued to flourish in his dominions; though there is very little in the description of them, of their situation, limits, climate, cities, rivers, and products, that can direct a reader where to find them; so that we deem it needless to dwell longer on that legend.

CH A P. II.

Jews under the caliphs. Christians persecuted in Egypt. Caliphship translated to the house Abbassides. They are favourable to the Jews. Law of Giasar the Just. Character of Mobadi, successor of Almanzor. Charlemagne's embassy to him. Motassem governs with justice. Fathek oppresses the Jews. Likewise his successor Motarakel. Divisions among the learned. Revolution in the house of the caliphs.

ABDALMELEC held the caliphship in the beginning of the eighth century. His avarice was so exorbitant that nothing could content it; and he was so violent an enemy to the house of Aly, as not to bear even to be commended by a poet of that sect. He pushed his conquests as far as Spain, and triumphed wherever he carried his arms. In the height of his victories he preserved a great moderation: he neither persecuted the Jews or Christians of his dominions; but allowed the former their academies and privileges; and would not take from the latter, by force, one of their churches at Damascus, which they had refused him, but left them in the peaceable enjoyment of it.

Valid, the eldest of sixteen sons, succeeded his father; and though he reigned but nine years, yet he conquered many provinces in Spain and Sardinia. The islands Majorca and Minorca were reduced to his obedience; and his troops penetrated even into the

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Narbonnese Gaul. He was a bigot to his law, and so had no kindness for the Christians. He erected a mosque at Damascus upon the ruins of a church, and built another at Jerusalem. Soliman, that is Salomon, his brother, succeeded him, but continued not long in his sovereignty. He was obliged to fortify Rama, in Palestine, to stop the incursions the Arabians made into the Holy Land. Omar II. Abdalafi's son, was his successor, at whose death the caliphship returned into the family of Abdalmelec, and was possessed by his third son, called Jafid II. He made himself famous by his conquests, it being in his reign that the Saracens besieged Toulouse and Narbonne. The Christians of Egypt suffered so much in his reign, that the king of Nubia, which lies betwixt Thebais and Æthiopia, came to their succour with an hundred thousand men, and would not return till Hafschem sent the patriarch of Alexandria to assure him he would not disturb the church. It is probable the Jews had an hand in these violent proceedings, since they were caused by the avarice of the Egyptian governors.

Christians persecuted in Egypt.

The house of the Omniades ended a little after under Marvan. The Abbassides had already, for some time, meditated a rebellion in Chorazan; the governor whereof wrote a letter to his master in these words; "I see through the albes the light of some coals which will break out to your confusion: fire is kindled with wood, and war by discourse. I would know whether Omni wakes or sleeps?" He answered but this, "The present see more than the absent: cut off the mischief before it spreads farther." But as he studied not how to remedy the disease, the Abbassides, as being descendants of Hafschem, broke out into a rebellion in the reign of Marvan. This prince was brave and unfortunate. Ab or Abbas Saffa, whom Elmacin calls Abulgebatus, revolting against him, and being proclaimed caliph, the war proved cruel and fatal to Marvan by a particular accident. This prince, having drawn his army in battle array, went aside upon a particular occasion. His horse, that he had left, took the bit in his teeth, and running to the army, threw them into a panic, as believing the caliph was killed; so that, without any further information, they took to flight. Marvan made fruitless attempts to rally his frightened troops, and was forced to fly with them to Damascus, from whence, not thinking himself secure, he passed into Egypt, where giving battle again, he lost his life; and his head was carried to his enemy, who remained master of the caliphship. He used his advantages so outrageously, that he was stiled Saffa the Bloodshedder; because, besides those who were killed in the battles, he put all the house of Omniades to the sword, except one man, who fortunately escaped, passed into Spain, and reigned there. Abdalla, the new caliph's uncle and general, having gathered together fourscore princes of the family of the Omniades, caused them all to be knocked on the head with massy wooden clubs; and having their bodies laid on a table covered with tapeltry, gave to all his officers a dinner of a new invention; and the entertainment was carried on among the sighs and groans of expiring men. Afterwards he caused the sepulchres of this family to be opened, and taking out the dead bodies, hung them upon gibbets. Thus perished that house which had produced fourteen caliphs. That of the Abbassides succeeded, and reigned above five hundred years. As the former caliphs had their seat at Damascus, these chose the city Coufa for their capital, situate upon the banks of the Euphrates, four days journey from Bagdad. This city is decayed long since, and considerable for nothing but the sepulchre of Aly, which is in its neighbourhood, and visited by his followers with great devotion. The Abbassides, when they changed the seat of their empire, brought their capital nearer the habitation of the Jews, who had still their academies on the banks of the Euphrates. Almanzor, who succeeded his brother, built also Bagdad, for greater security. He called it the city of Peace; but it retains the name of the hermit Bagdad, who had his cell in the meadows where the city was built. And it was in the neighbourhood of

The caliphship translated into the house of the Abbassides.

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the

the Tigris and Euphrates that the caliphs resided after that time.

They are
favourable
to the Jews.

The Abbassides treated the Jews favourably: In fact this nation having suffered what was unavoidable, and common to all subjects in the revolutions of an empire, resumed their first tranquillity under Almanfor, who was a man of letters, and drew to his court all the learned of his time, without troubling himself about the difference of religions. His first physician was a Christian. Almanfor, who loved him, was willing to make him a Turk; but he answered, that he would either be burnt, or saved with his ancestors. The prince smiled at the answer, and dismissed him to die in peace at home. Almanfor, who delighted in astronomy, had also some men from Persia well versed in that science. He had especially Jews in his attendance, who took advantage of that circumstance to bring their academies into new repute. R. Joseph and Samuel presided in the university of Pundebita. Doræus, Ananias, and Maltha, succeeded them. There were likewise two famous men at the head of the academy of Sora, who went both by the name of Judah; one was the son of Nachman, and the other of Outhrineus. His book, called the Great Lessons, was received with so general an applause, that Judah, who taught at Sora, soon after made an abstract of it. This Judah was blind. However, he had the title given him of the Great Light, because the Jews, thinking it an affront to their learned men to call them blind, concealed that imperfection under an honourable title. There was another doctor in the same century, called R. Mari, whom they also stiled Light of the Eyes, from his great knowledge and penetration. Acha was another doctor profoundly skilled in the precepts of the law; upon which he composed a large volume, intitled Schealtot; but as he clashed with the head of the captivity, he could not arrive to the quality of sublime doctor or excellent, which mortification was attended by another. Samuel, the head of the captivity, when he died, named another prince to succeed him; but so far from having any regard to the reputation and learning of this doctor, he chose his servant to preside over the nation. Acha could not digest this last affront, so that leaving the academy, he went into Judæa, whilst his servant Nithroneus possessed the principality, which he enjoyed for thirteen years. Ananus had the same misfortune as Acha. This rabbin was a man of parts, but could not be admitted to the number of doctors, because his doctrine was suspected of some blemish. This suspicion was well-grounded, for he put himself at the head of the Sadducees, which sect was believed to be almost buried in the ruins of Jerusalem. They recovered strength, and, under the conduct of this famous leader, became formidable to their enemies. Some consider this Ananus as the father of the Caraites, rather than the restorer of Sadduceism. But we have shewn that the Caraites could not claim him for their founder, because they were of a more ancient standing.

Giafar, surnamed the Just, (Sadek,) who lived at that time, heavily afflicted the Jews of Arabia, and also of Persia. He was the sixth of the Imams; so the Mussulmen stiled their supreme pontiff, who presides over the mosques. He has a temporal as well as spiritual authority. Such as cast off their subjection to him are looked upon as atheists. The Persians have a particular reverence for twelve of these Imams, the immediate successors of Aly, among whom Giafar is one of the most considerable. This Imam made an order, that the Jews and Christians who turned Mussulmen should be sole heirs of their family; and as this law was precisely executed, it caused many to apostatise, who by this means succeeded to the estates which they could not obtain in a lawful way.

Almanfor, having reigned two and twenty years, departed this life. Abdalla, his uncle, had disputed the caliphship with him, which he pretended to be due to his valour, and the services he had done to Saffa. But being overcome, he was shut up in a house supported by stones of rock salt; and Almanfor,

by conveying a water-stream under the palace, dissolved these stones, threw down the building, and buried Abdalla in the ruins. The rest of his reign would have been very happy, had he not disgraced it by his avarice. Finding his death approaching, he sent for Mohadi, his son and heir, whom he commanded to honour his relations, because the honour he did them reflected upon himself; and to treat his freemen kindly, because they were persons who would serve him in time of need. He forbade him to build the city Bagdad on the east side, and to admit women into affairs of state; after which he recommended him to Providence, and expired. Historians give quite a different character of this prince. He was as liberal as his father was covetous. He spent six millions of gold crowns in one pilgrimage to Mecca, having conveyed thither snow and ice, which strangely surprized the inhabitants, who had never seen any before. He held his court of justice, attended by the most able Mussulmen, and discountenanced the unjust judges. Lastly, he obliged the empress Irene to pay him a tribute of seventy thousand gold crowns, to be freed from the incursions of the Arabians, who incommoded her as far as Constantinople. He was an enemy to the Jews, and would either have them embrace his religion, or wear a badge to distinguish them from the Mussulmen; and he sent Thebias, one of his generals, to Emesa with this commission, which he executed with great severity.

Aaron, surnamed the Just, succeeded to the caliphship, after the death of his brother, in the year 786, and was one of the greatest of the Arabian princes. He loved men of letters; but, instead of affording them implicit belief, exactly weighed whether their decisions comported with the good of the state: "You are more learned than I," (said he, once, to one of his casuists, who would have put him upon a false step, upon pretence of observing the Mussulman law,) "but I have more prudence and understanding than you."

Charlemagne thought it expedient to make an alliance with this prince: he believed it might be of use to him to make a diversion in the empire of the east, that none might presume to dispute with him the conquests he made in the west. He had, perhaps, more extensive views, to which the caliph's assistance was absolutely necessary.

In order to render his embassy more acceptable, he made choice of Isaac, a Jew, whom he sent to Persia, with the counts Lancrede and Sigismund. Isaac was thought a proper man to negotiate with a prince, who had great commerce with his nation, dispersed in his dominions, and who hated the Christians. He best knew the stile and manner of the orientals, by means of his dispersed brethren, who were in credit at Aaron's court. The eastern Jews, upon the whole, enjoyed a profound tranquillity in his reign, and made their synagogues and academies flourish.

Aaron was succeeded by his son Amin, about the beginning of the ninth century; but he proved so weak a prince, and so addicted to his pleasures, that his brother Mamoun found an opportunity to dethrone him.

He was a prince eminent for his noble actions, a lover of learning, and endeavoured to bring it into the esteem of the Arabians, who had neglected it till that time; and, in order to succeed in it, caused all the good books of the Jews to be translated into that language.

This step was not at all relished by his subjects, who were ready to revolt; but that consideration did not prevent him from distinguishing learned men of all nations, among whom was a celebrated Jewish astronomer, who had been in high repute ever since the reign of Almanfor, but was now esteemed at this court as the phoenix of his age. He was therefore highly esteemed by Mamoun, during whose reign the Jewish academies of Sora and Pundebita abounded with men of letters.

Mamoun, at his death, preferred his brother Mostafem before his own son Abbas; who, at the instigation

Law of
Giafar the
Just.

Charlemagne
of France
succeeded
Almanfor.

Mohadi
initially
the Jew.

Charlemagne
emperor
of France.

Motasslem
governs
with justice.

gation of some lords, had at first a design to assume the caliphship, but afterwards yielding to his uncle's remonstrances, not only took an oath of fidelity, but obliged all his party to do the same. As Christian princes call themselves kings, by the Grace of God, he would be called Motasslem Billah, that is, a prince, preserved by the Grace of God. Disgusted with Bagdad, by the frequent seditions of its inhabitants, he drew nearer to Syria, where he built Samarah, or Sermeurai, which became the capital of these caliphs. He governed his dominions with great justice, and won a battle against the emperor Theophilus, which cost the Christians above thirty thousand men.

Vathek op-
presses the
Jews.

Vathek, his successor, became a bitter enemy to the Jews, upon two accounts. 1. Because they had been guilty of great frauds in the management of the finances, which had been committed to their care in the reign of his predecessor. 2. Because they would not receive the Alcoran, for which refusal they were heavily taxed, and forced to pay very large fines into his treasury.

This prince was a lover of learned men, and particularly of astronomers, who deluded him concerning the duration of his life: and he was so charitable, that no beggar was seen in his capital, nor in the rest of his dominions, during his reign.

Motarakel met with opposition upon his claim of the caliphship, after the death of his brother; for there was a design to set the son of Vathek on the throne: but it being represented that it would be a disgrace to the Mussulmen to have a person at the head of them unqualified to say the public prayers, Motarakel was appointed successor. He rigorously treated the followers of Aly, and forbade the pilgrimages that were made to his tomb.

He does his
duty
for his
father.

He declared himself likewise against the Jews: for he ordered that all who were in his empire should wear a leathern girdle as a mark of distinction. He excluded them from all offices of the divan and the government, which is an argument that they were admitted in it till that time. He forbade them having iron stirrups to their saddles, and to ride upon horses, permitting them only the use of asses and mules. This prince not only degraded them from all the honours they had enjoyed, but stigmatized them with marks of distinction and infamy; and what was of worse consequence to them, Motarakel's law spread itself not only through his empire, but into the neighbouring dominions. In fine, it has more or less subsisted; for it is observed at this day in many places where the Turks command.

He is
killed
by the
Jews.

The Jews had another misfortune in this caliph's reign. Faction was re-kindled in one of their academies. Menachem, the son of Joseph, was sole president at Pundebita, when the people went about to give him a partner, called Mattathias. He could not bear this competitor. Each made their party. The disputes were violent; but at last Menachem carried it. He died two years after, and left the place and authority to Mattathias, who enjoyed it a much longer time.

Motarakel was slain by his son. This cruel prince had an iron stove, pointed within, which he caused to be heated in proportion to the punishment he designed for the offender; and when the sufferer cried, "Have pity on me," he answered, "Pity is a meanness of soul." His vizier died in this stove after forty days torture. He spared not his own son Moutassar, who, tired with these hardships, caused him to be slain. He was not long a gainer by his parricide. Being tormented with cutting remorse, he thought he saw his father reproaching him with his crime. His brother Mothas was as unfortunate as he; for the Turks and Egyptians which he had in pay, revolting against him, entered into his palace, dragged him from his throne by the feet, exposed him to the sun, and beat him with their battle-axes till he had signed his deposition. They contrived his death soon after, either by debarring him of drink, or by giving him poison with water and

ice. Mothadi, who succeeded him, was quickly deposed by Mothamed, a weak man, addicted to his pleasures, who was absolutely governed by his brother and nephew. It was in his reign that Egypt was dismembered from the caliphship. Akmed refusing to depend upon him, was declared a rebel, and ordered to be execrated in all the mosques of the empire. But this hindered not a new dynasty being set up in Egypt, and the beginning of a succession of new caliphs.

Revolutions
in the house
of the cal-
iphs.

CHAP. III.

Violent effects of a dispute concerning images. Jews oppressed in Syria. Favoured under Nicephorus and Michael. Revolution in Spain. Juda a learned Jew. The Saracens, abetted by the Jews, are victorious. Jews flourish under Lewis the Debonnaire. Disturbed by the bishop of Lyons. That prelate's untimely zeal suppressed. State of the Jews under Charles the Bald. They are accused of assisting the Normans. Obnoxious to particular cities.

THE question about images occasioned violent commotions in the empire. Not only the divines engaged in it, the church divided, councils were called, and passed contrary decisions, but persecutions also broke out, the people revolted and flew to arms, and the controversy drew after it torrents of blood.

The Jews were accused of having had a considerable hand in it, if they were not the first movers of it. However that may be, it is plain that the new emperor declared himself no less zealous against the Jews than against images; for both they and the Montagnards, or Manichees, were commanded by him to turn Christians, under the severest penalties; only the latter being more tenacious of their principles, suffered themselves to be burnt for them; while the Jews took their old method of dissimulation to save their lives. But as the patrons for images gained their point, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the emperor and his followers, they obliged the Jews, on whose sincerity they had no great reason to rely, to subscribe to a formulary, acknowledging themselves worshippers of holy images, and imprecating Divine vengeance if they were not sincere in their profession.

Violent ef-
fects of a
dispute con-
cerning
images.

The Jews found themselves involved in the desolations of Jerusalem and Syria. Abdalla, the son of Aly, traversing Judea, commanded the Christians to shave their beards, and wear long caps. Arriving at Jerusalem, he would have all the Jews, as well as Christians, to be marked in the hand, to distinguish them from Mussulmen. Most of the Christians so marked, being unable to bear this disgrace, or else fearing a more violent persecution, withdrew themselves to the territories of the Roman empire. But the Jews, who were as much afraid of Leo Isauricus as of the caliphs, continued in the lands subject to their obedience. It is even said that they entered into Abdalla's train, that they might enrich themselves with the spoils of the Christians. Indeed, this general had always a considerable number of them in his army, to whom he sold the church-plate and furniture he had plundered.

The Jews
are oppres-
sed in Syria.

They fared much better under Nicephorus, who succeeded Leo Isauricus, about the beginning of the ninth century, and declared against images; for which reason it probably was that the other side loaded him with invectives, as having put himself under the guidance and direction of the Manichees and Attingans, a kind of diviners or soothsayers, to whom they attributed surprising power and influence, with respect to the success of princes, and the state of kingdoms. Nicephorus, however, protected the Jewish nation, and suffered them to live unmolested during his reign.

Favoured
under Ni-
cephorus
and Mi-
chael.

Michael, surnamed the Stammerer, was still more favourable to them than Nicephorus. It is even said,

said, that he was half a Jew. This prince came from Amorium, a city of Phrygia, in which a great variety of sectaries had taken sanctuary. It is pretended that Michael borrowed something from all these sects, which he had known and studied in his youth; that he had taken baptism from the Christians, which he substituted in the room of circumcision; but otherwise he generally observed all the Jewish ceremonies.

The state of the Jews in Italy, at this time, cannot be ascertained; and Spain furnishes but a very slender account. The Saracens had entered and reduced it to their obedience. Moses, or Musa, the governor of Africa, upon the invitation of the Christians, sent one of his generals, named Tarck, into Spain, who, making his descent at the foot of the mountain Caspe, gave it its name; hence it is called Gibal Tar at this day; or, The mountain of Tarck. Roderick lost his life, and crown that was given him in the year 712. Moses, taking that advantage, passed his army into Spain, and pushed his conquests not only to Toledo, but beyond Saragossa. But as he depended upon Olic, the caliph of Damascus, he was recalled some time after.

Revolutions
in Spain.

A Jew was resolved to take advantage of this revolution, and of the wars the new governors made with the French in Languedoc: he was called Serenus, and pretended to a divine mission. He found in Spain abundance of people disposed to believe and follow him into the Holy Land, where he was to establish his empire. Ambisa, who was then governor, took advantage of this desertion, and seized all the estates they had vacated by their credulity. It is not said how far Serenus carried these credulous people; but it is most probable that some died by the way, and that the rest returned into their country, to bewail the loss of their estates, which they had so imprudently quitted.

The house of the Omniades, which enjoyed the caliphship in the east, sent governors and troops hither to confirm their ancient conquests, and to make new ones. This family was ruined by that of the Abbassides, which made a general massacre of all that belonged to it. Abdalrahman, whom we call Abderame, must not be confounded with a general of the same name, who was defeated by Charles Martel, and had the good fortune to escape into Spain with his father. Moavius acknowledged him caliph in all the west. He reigned there a long time, and began to build the famous mosque of Cordua, which his son finished by the help of the Christians, whom he ordered from Narbonne Gaul, to work upon the sumptuous temple of his prophet. In the reign of this caliph appeared R. Juda, who distinguished himself in his nation by his learning. As he had studied philosophy, he investigated the causes that hindered the sea from overflowing the land, and published a treatise on it, which got him great reputation. He published also an Arabian dictionary, and translated many books of that language into Hebrew; which shews not only that this man was learned, and that the sciences flourished then in the Spanish synagogues, but also that these first caliphs were more favourable to them than to the Christians, who were forced to labour upon the building of a mosque, after having taken the materials from them.

R. Juda
a learned
Jew.

As Languedoc was added to Spain ever since the Visigoths were masters of it, that province was the first exposed to the incursions of the Arabians, who had defeated the Visigoths. In the first years of their conquests they made themselves masters of Narbonne, and came and besieged Tolouse. It is asserted that the Jews, who had made a particular treaty with them, assisted them, upon condition that all the Christians should be murdered that were in the town after it was taken. It is also said that the Jews of Tolouse, weary of the tyranny of the present bishop, called in the Saracens from Spain, and promised to deliver up the city, upon condition that, having massacred all the Christians upon their entrance, the traitors should be permitted to enjoy several privileges, and an entire liberty. The Sara-

cens took Narbonne in their march, and advanced as far as Lyons, destroying all that fell into their hands. Vaifier, duke of Aquitaine, vainly endeavoured to oppose their passage; he was defeated, and lost his life. After his death, the victor besieged Tolouse, took it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, except the Jews, to whom he religiously performed the promise he had made them. But Charlemagne having won three battles over Abderame, and retaken the city of Tolouse, was resolved to punish the traitors for their baseness, and all the blood they had caused to be spilt. They were condemned to death, and the instruments of their punishment were already prepared, when the cries and groans of so many poor wretches moved Charlemagne, and obliged him to mitigate the punishment. Instead of a general execution, he was contented with the heads of the principals in the treason; and ordered, for the future, that all the Jews living at Tolouse should receive a box on the ear thrice a year at the gate of a church, that should be appointed by the bishop, and pay a perpetual fine of thirteen pounds of wax.

The Saracens, abetted by the Jews, are victorious.

They were still more favoured under Lewis, surnamed the Debonnair, whose chief physician was a Jew, whom some historians have represented as one of the greatest magicians in the world. He was in such high credit with that prince, that all the courtiers were glad to gain his and his countrymen's friendship with the most sumptuous presents. The emperor gave them liberty to build new synagogues, and granted them very advantageous edicts. So powerful a protection bred jealousy and great disorders in the diocese of Lyons.

Jews flourish under Lewis the Debonnair.

Agobard, who was bishop of it, had forbidden his flock to sell Christian slaves to the Jews to be carried into Spain, and to keep the sabbath. It cannot be doubted but this prelate had a power to make such laws as these for the government of the people committed to his care, and then did what is usual with able men when invested with authority. He forbade the Christians to buy wine of the Jews, and to eat with them during Lent. The Jews complained of these laws to Lewis, who being provoked against Agobard, and the citizens of Lyons, sent three commissaries to take information. The bishop was much surprized to see them arrive at his house. Some inhabitants, who probably were guilty of more capital oppressions, betook themselves to flight. The bishop, having more authority, waited the consequences of the inquest, which was not to his advantage, since the Jews were restored to the possession of their privileges, and the market on Saturday was changed to another day of the week, that the necessity of trading that day might not oblige them to violate their sabbath. The emperor had in his turn the power of making regulations relating to the police. In the mean time Agobard was much disgusted: he questioned whether these were the true orders of the emperor; though he could not doubt it, since his seal was put to them. He accused his ministers of corruption: he charged the Jews with stealing frequently Christian children, in order to sell them, and of doing the basest actions, and related this upon the declaration of a fugitive of Corduba, who said, that they had sold him in his youth.

Disturbed by the bishop of Lyons.

These accusations were not believed at court, and his remonstrances had no effect. Evrard, the emperor's commissary, continued to protect the Jews, and to mortify the archbishop of Lyons, who omitted nothing in support of what he had done. He wrote a second time to the emperor, and sent him a treatise on the Jewish superstitions, signed by two bishops he had joined with him, to give greater weight and authority to his book. He endeavoured to prove in this piece, that we ought to have no commerce with heretics, and particularly with the Jews, because there is no sectary but what has some article of faith in common with the church.

All these effects failing, Agobard made a journey to court, to solicit more effectually against the Jews, whom he looked upon as personal enemies. He had audience of the emperor, but it was only an audience

Agobard's untimely zeal for his people.

audience of leave; being permitted to return to his diocese without giving him any satisfaction. The disappointment of this journey redoubled his grief. He was afraid of provoking the court, by baptizing of heathens who were in the service of the Jews, and sometimes took refuge in the churches to turn Christians. Therefore, as he durst not venture upon this last stage without the emperor's leave, he sent to beg his permission. What answer he had we cannot learn; but we have reason to conclude, from a most uncharitable and spleenetic epistle he wrote to the great and learned Nebutius, bishop of Narbonne, that it was not acceptable.

Their state under Charles the Bald.

The protection the Jews found at Lewis's court, against one of the most learned bishops of his age, made them flourish in France. It was said openly at court, that the posterity of Abraham and the patriarchs ought to be respected. Even some Christians began to conform to the Jewish rites in many instances that were a reproach to their profession.

The state of the Jews was not so entirely agreeable under Charles, surnamed the Bald, when Remisius, a prelate of eminence, caused some of his clergy to preach in their synagogues; by which means so great a number of their children were like to have been converted, that they were forced to send them away to Vienne in Dauphine, Macon and Arles in Provence, and other places, where they were more numerous. The bishop sent a complaint to court, and begged of that prince to send orders to the bishop of Arles, &c. to follow his method, representing that the conversion of those children was a greater act of charity than saving them out of the lion's mouth. In all probability Charles consented to this request, for numbers of Jewish children were baptized, all by their own free choice; and the emperor was soon after poisoned by Sedecias, his Jewish physician, lately mentioned, who is supposed to have been suborned to that vile deed by those of his own nation.

The Jews used of being the Romans.

noxious crucu-cities.

They are likewise accused of having a great hand in the troubles that happened under this reign, by the incursion of the Normans into several provinces, particularly that of Aquitaine, where they were very numerous. They were still liable to the ignominious sentence passed against them by Charlemagne, of being buffeted three times a year at the church door, which was not, indeed, executed on all the Tolousan Jews, but was, in time, confined to their Syndic, or head magistrate, who received that punishment in the name of the rest. We may add, that, though their credit was very high at court during the life of the treacherous Sedecias, yet they were liable to many insults from the populace in cities at a distance from it. Thus, for instance, those of Beziers, in Languedoc, were yearly driven about, with volleys of stones, from the eve of Palm-Sunday to the Tuesday in Easter-week, from which indignity they at length redeemed themselves by a tribute they paid to the bishop of the place. Indeed, it is no wonder that the Jews, though powerful at court, should be obnoxious to the inhabitants of particular cities.

CHAP. IV.

State of the Jews in the tenth century. Learning begins to flourish. David the head of the captivity. His reign and pride. The Jews numerous and powerful. Heads elected and deposed by vote. Rabbi Hay a descendant of David. Cader's persecution of the Jews. Ezechias head of the captivity. Rise of a new schism. Extinction of the academics. Persecutions under Hakem.

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THE tenth century, which is in such discredit with the Christians, was not so unreputable to the Jews. Instead of deploring the gross ignorance that overspread Christianity at that time, they boast that they never had such excellent doctors as then. They erected a new academy in the east, because

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those which had subsisted for many ages were not sufficient to contain the numbers of professors and scholars. The Arabians applied themselves to study, in spite of the oppression which destroyed the authority of the caliphs. There appeared among them able physicians and logicians; and notwithstanding they had approved the vanity of astronomical predictions, yet they studiously cultivated this science, that was useful at court. The Jews imitated the Arabians: an inclination and genius for learning, which had been extinct, revived among them: however, their progress was interrupted by the divisions that arose between the professors and heads of the captivity. They even saw these academies fall; and the whole nation being expelled the east, was forced to seek a new refuge in Spain and France. They underwent fresh misfortunes through the zeal of the crusaders, who made it a piece of devotion to massacre all the Jews before they proceeded to the conquest of Judaea.

David the head of the captivity. His reign and pride.

David was the prince of the captivity; a haughty man, who governed this nation with the authority of a king. The Jewish historians complained, that his predecessors couched to the caliphs, and paid them tribute; but that David recovered all his privileges, and enforced them like a king. There were two things that might contribute to this exaltation; the long reign of David, who was head of his nation above thirty years, and the weakness of the caliph Moctader, who then ruled. He was not only young, but so dependent upon his officers, that they deposed him twice; and he had been absolutely deprived of his authority, but that they could not find any person in the family of the Abbassides to substitute in his room. The weakness of the government gave David an opportunity to raise himself, and affect a stately pride. He caused troubles and divisions in the academy of Pundebita, by carrying his authority too high. The Jews had elected Misbischer president of their college: David chose another; and the jealousy of these two professors, who had different privileges, increased the disorder. The division was violent for five years; and there was no way to appease it, but by forming two different schools in the same place.

That of Sora was so fallen from its ancient lustre, that nobody could be found, either willing or able, to teach in it. David sent for one, named Jom Tob; but he being an unqualified man, instead of raising the declining academy, left it as he found it. They were then forced to seek out the Rabbi Saadiah, to fill up the vacancy, and draw scholars to the place. Saadiah, at first, discharged his post with great success. His principal care was to explode the error about the transmigration of souls, that had been dispersed among the Persians for many ages, and was still preserved in the east, notwithstanding the frequent revolutions that happened there, both in the empire and religion. He made some progress in it; but the prince of the captivity desiring him to sign a regulation he had made against the laws, the doctor refused him so unjust a demand. This refusal, which David did not expect, incensed him very much: he upbraided Saadiah with ingratitude, and sent his son to threaten him with the loss of his head, if he did not obey his orders; but the rabbi apprising his scholars of this insult, they mutinied against David, and attacking him in a body, obliged him to retire. The nation divided after the example of its heads, and every one engaged in a party. Saadiah's faction so far prevailed at first, as to get David deposed, and Joseph, his brother, proclaimed prince of the captivity; but his authority lasted not long. David, supported by his party, resumed the government. Saadiah was constrained to fly, and seek a place of retirement, in which he continued seven years; and it was in this sanctuary that he composed most of the works which have perpetuated his name after his death. He came out of it, at last, to be reconciled with his prince; but he had the happiness to survive him, and have the peaceable possession of the academy.

We may learn from this event, that the power of the heads of the academy was almost equal to that of the Jews numerous and powerful.

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of the princes, since the latter could not enact any laws but what were signed by the professor. Moreover there hath been frequent insurrections against each other. Saadias, though a stranger in the east, withstood David, the haughtiest and most potent prince the nation had seen for many ages.

These heads of the academy might at the same time be princes of the captivity, though this did not always happen. Indeed, Hay, one of the sublimés, was at the same time head of the academy and prince of the nation. Besides, the title of prince is often given to the others. They say that such a one reigned alone in the academy; and that the empire of Raf Nehemiah, head of Pundebita, in the middle of the tenth century, lasted eight years; the titles of reign and empire only relating to their instruction. We commonly find, in the Jewish chronicles, the names of these heads of the academy, whilst we see no prince of the nation.

Heads of the nation elected by vote.

The princes of the nation, and the heads of the academy, were elected by a majority of votes. The example of David, deposed by Saadias's intrigues, proves, that the power of the princes was neither absolute or independent of the people. Besides, the government was not hereditary in a family; and though the son sometimes succeeded the father, yet this rarely happened. The same thing must be said of the heads of the academy; the prince contributed to their election by his authority in the nation; but the doctors gave their votes: the votes and inclinations also of the people were heard, though not always. We find an instance of it in the tenth century, when there was a professor wanting at Pundebita. A very rich merchant offered himself as a candidate for the place: part of the people were for Nehemiah; others declared for the merchant, named Aaron; and this last was chosen. But the other succeeded him seventeen years after.

Flourishing state of the Jews.

The nation was in so flourishing a condition at that time, that nine hundred thousand Jews lived in the city of Pheruts Schibbur. This name signifies the rupture of Sapor; and, according to this etymology, Sapor should be acknowledged for the founder of this city; and, amongst many kings of Persia of this name, it might be attributed to Sapor II. who took Valerian prisoner, and treated him so cruelly: for this prince not only enlarged his kingdom by many conquests, but also built many cities in them, and called them by his name. Some give this honour to a rabbin, called Schiabbour, or Sapor, who founded the academy. In the mean time it was not the academy, but the city it stood in, that bore this name. It was situated five miles from Babylon: and if it had nine hundred thousand Jews in it, it must have been peopled by that nation, and also of prodigious extent; for there are very few cities in the world that contain within their walls so many inhabitants. Scherira, who was made president of this school, kept it flourishing for thirty years together. He was a mortal enemy of the Christians, and particularly of the monks, whom he wrote against, and called forgers. This rendered him the more acceptable to his disciples, who commonly look upon these outrages as so many acts of zeal. Scherira, finding himself advanced in years, resigned his place to his son Hay, the most excellent of all the doctors.

Hay a descendant of David.

It is said, that this doctor descended, in a direct line, from David the prophet, and king of Judæa. As a proof of it, they affirm, that he had a lion in his escutcheon, which was also in the arms of the ancient kings of Judæa. But his principal glory did not accrue from so illustrious a birth: he distinguished himself in his nation by many different works, which he published upon purchases, sales, and wages. He has one upon the interpretation of dreams. Another contains his questions upon the book of Jetfira, or the formation, in which we find the manner they formerly wrote the name of Jehovah at Jerusalem. Hay was a poet, and some of his verses are still remaining; in which he instructs mankind also in the duties of piety. He had so great a reputation, that they came from the east and

west to consult him. He became head of the academy of Pundebita, as well as of Pheruts Schibbur, in which he had been professor from nine and twenty years of age. It seems too that he was elected prince of the captivity; but happening to draw upon him the jealousy of his own nation, both he and his father fell into disgrace.

The caliph, who then reigned, was called Cader. ^{Cader's persecution of the Jews} Though he was of the house of the Abbassides, he lived privately with a neighbouring prince, who reigned in the marshes that are formed by the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. But the sultan having deposed Thai, set him upon the throne. He quickly shewed himself worthy of the empire he was raised to. He reformed the abuses that had crept into the state, and extended his care as far as Egypt, where he proved to the Fathemites, that reigned there, that they were not Aly's family, as they boasted. Cader, who lived eighty-one years, and reigned above forty, resolved also to give a check to the Jews, who had taken too great advantage of the preceding troubles, and usurped an undue authority. Scherira and Hay were accused to him as men of wealth and power, who governed the nation; and they were put in prison. The caliph fleeced them of all their wealth, and caused Scherira to be hanged, though at that time above an hundred years old. Hay had the good fortune to escape this violence. He went on with his lectures in the academy, and taught there till 1037. This was the last of the Excellents.

After Hay's death, Ezechias was elected prince of the captivity; but his reign was short and unfortunate, for, after two years, the caliph arrested him with all his family, and put them to death, except two sons, that fled into Spain. The academies were shut up, and the learned obliged to seek sanctuary in the west, whither the persecuted people followed them. ^{Ezechias' head on a captivity}

It was in the reign of Ezechias that the schism arose between the children of Asher and Napthali, who are thought to be the first Masoreths; at least they are the first grammarians who applied themselves to review and correct the Scripture. Father Simon, well versed in this subject, who saw Aaron's manuscript and printed corrections, has no esteem for them, believing them to be later than the Masora, and pretty modern. We ought not to judge of them by the noise or schism these two masters raised in the nation, for people often divide in the schools upon niceties of grammar. But if their corrections be trifling, the authority of the Hebrew text is still the greater for it; for it is a proof that the original text had so long preserved its authenticity, and stood in need of no great correction.

The persecution, which continued in the east, entirely ruined the affairs of this nation. The house of the Abbassides, which had always favoured the Jews, being degraded from its authority, the Sultan Gela le Doulat, who reigned by the name of Cajem, resolved to extirpate them; and to that purpose shut up their academies, which were never opened after. He banished the professors, or obliged them to banish themselves, and to translate their academies into the west. He destroyed the prince of the captivity with his family. The people also suffered extremely in this persecution, which was so bloody, as to reduce the Jews to an inconsiderable body, disperse them into the deserts of Arabia, and drive them for refuge into the west. ^{Persecution in the east}

The Jewish historians say, that the caliphs, being jealous of the grandeur in which the prince of the captivity appeared among them, began to fear the exaltation of some one of David's family, who should seize upon the government and the crown. They gave out, that it would be scandalous for masters to be obliged to obey their slaves, and resolved to kill him; which resolution they executed as he passed with the princes of the academies. The news of it was immediately brought to the court, which sent a detachment of guards to wrest the prince of the captivity out of the mutineers hands; but

but they arrived too late. However, the nation took advantage of this accident, and resolved to have no prince for the future, that they might no more excite the jealousies of potentates, and to wait till Providence should please to send them one who might give them an entire deliverance.

It is here that most authors put an end to the heads of the captivity, and eastern academies: tho' Benjamin de Tudela, who travelled in the following century into the east, to pay a visit to his brethren, still found a prince of the captivity among them. Petachia, who went from Ratibonne with the same design, and in the same century, found a prince of the dispersed nation at Bagdad, in Persia. His name was Samuel; and he asserts that he traced his genealogy as high as the prophet of that name. The princes of the captivity were rarely seen afterwards, and preserved only the name without the authority. They might have some school in the thirteenth century, which they stiled an academy; but those of Sora and Pundebita, and all the rest which had made a figure, were abolished in the year 1039.

Extinctions
of the academies.

was persecuted under Hakem.

The Jews underwent a fresh persecution in Egypt, in the reign of Hakem, the third caliph of the house of the Fathemites. His father had left him young in the hands of a tutor, in the year 996. He was a man of weak intellects, and suffered himself to be misled by D. Arar, an impostor, who was slain, notwithstanding his interest with the caliph. After his death, an impostor, named Hamzah, succeeded him, and from him arose a new religion, opposite to all others, which was that of the Drusi, little known to us, but which he had blended with a vast number of extravagant notions not worth repeating.

Hakem declared himself an enemy both to the Jews and Christians, as the only sects that opposed his doctrines. He ordered the former to wear a mark, by which they might be known: he caused their synagogues to be demolished, and forced them, by scourges, to quit their religion, and to turn Drusi. But being inconstant in disposition, he quickly changed his opinion, and permitted them to return to their old religion. This prince died in the year 1026, in Egypt, where he had reigned.

CHAP. V.

State of the Jews in Spain. Account of Moses, surnamed Clad with a Sack. The Talmud translated into Arabic. Revolutions in the caliphship. R. Samuel Levi chief of the Jews. Persecuted in Grenada. Men of learning in the eleventh century. The languages and sciences generally cultivated. Few learned men in France. R. Gerson and his disciples.

THE divisions and wars that troubled Spain, during the tenth century, afforded the Jews of this country great tranquillity. Abdalla, who was caliph there, had the mortification to see his uncle rebel against him, and make powerful efforts to wrest the empire out of his hands. But being defeated, he was obliged to take sanctuary among the Christians, where he caused himself to be baptized, purchasing his quiet and life by a feigned conversion. Abderamus III. often entered the territories of Christian kings, and fought many bloody battles, which were not advantageous to either party, because each claimed the victory, and re-assembling their forces, soon after prosecuted the war with new vigour. This prince, who reigned above fifty years, had at last so reduced the number of his enemies, that they could find no soldiers. They proposed to purchase a truce, or to retire before his army, which amounted to eighty thousand strong. But the boldest counsel having prevailed, the Christians, who were but an handful of men, encountered them with that resolution, that the Arabians betook themselves to flight, leaving the field of battle with their spoils. His son Hakem renewed the war, and besieged the city of Leon; but the inhabitants defended themselves so vigorously that he was forced to raise the siege. Hescham had the famous Almanfor for his

general, who had this title given him upon account of the great victories he had obtained both over the Spaniards and Arabians. The latter, though the caliph's subjects, often rebelled against him. One of his officers had the insolence to give out that he was dead, causing a body to be buried in the tomb of his ancestors, in order to delude the people. He usurped his place, and reigned, till a faction, being convinced that their old caliph was alive, brought him out of his prison, and restored him to the throne. But he fell from it a second time, by a new commotion that happened at Toledo and Corduba. He quitted Spain, and went to live in Africa, after a reign of thirty-three years. Such was the condition of the Arabians in Spain, who were continually at war with the Christians; and who, besides these wars, were divided, and in frequent rebellions against their caliph.

Neither were the Christians more at rest. Ordoin, king of Leon, had so exasperated Castile, that it resolved, after his death, to form itself into a republic. To that end it actually divided the government between two persons, one whereof took care of the civil policy, and the other had the command of military affairs. Froila the Cruel drew upon him the hatred of the people by the barbarity of his reign, which lasted not above fourteen months. Division entered into the family of Christian princes as well as the Arabians. In the reign of Ramides a new division happened, which forced him to give up part of Castile to his uncle, and the city Compostella for his capital. He presently named a person of quality to be bishop of it: but his scandalous misconduct causing his expulsion, his father called in the Arabians to restore him. This kindled a civil war, and Compostella was often taken and retaken.

State of the Christians.

Besides those learned doctors who were natives of Spain, Providence furnished the Jews with a famous one, viz. Moses, surnamed *Clad with a Sack*. This man having left the east, and being taken by corsairs, and carried with his son upon the coast of Spain, was ransomed by the Jews of Corduba. This was done out of charity, without any knowledge of his merit. By putting himself in the corner of a school, as a layman and a beggar, who had no other than a sack, wherewith he wrapped himself up to cover his nakedness, he argued so profoundly upon all the questions that were proposed, that the president of the school yielded his place to him. He was created chief of the nation, with a good salary. But having great inclination to die in his country, he resolved to return thither; though the caliph would not suffer him, for reasons of state. The Talmud was then very little known in Spain; and when any controversy arose, the synagogues sent their deputies to Bagdad to have them decided. Hakem, who was caliph in Spain, and did not like his subjects passing frequently into the east, where the Abbassides, the enemies of his house, reigned, and who had destroyed it, was highly gratified by Moses' teaching the Talmud to the Spaniards. He retained him in order to stop the course of these deputations, which gave him, perhaps, some suspicion. Moses reigned a long time; and Enoch, his son, ascended his throne.

Account of Moses surnamed Clad with a Sack

Thus it is the historians change a judicial seat into a throne, the authority whereof extended but over some fugitives, and was purely precarious.

Hescham II. king of Corduba, whom the Jews call Aschasez, did more than his father; for he ordered the Talmud to be translated into Arabic, either from curiosity to learn what was in a book so cried up by the Jews, or to make it more common in the nation, in order to prevent the pilgrimages to Bagdad and Jerusalem.

The Talmud translated into Arabic.

R. Joseph undertook this great work, and very successfully accomplished it: but he grew so haughty upon it, that he could no longer bear Enoch should be preferred to him to be chief of the nation. He broke with him: their division made a noise: the synagogues engaged in it: but Enoch had the more numerous party. Joseph was excommunicated. He appealed

appealed to the king; but Hescham would not meddle with this affair, either out of policy, or because living in dependence upon his haged, or grand chamberlain, he was not at liberty to protect his favourites. Joseph, being deprived of the protection he expected from court, left Spain, and took the road to Bagdad, where he thought to find a retreat near the famous Hay; but he gave him to understand, that he could not receive him, because he was excommunicated by the Spanish synagogues. He remained therefore at Damascus, where he died, without being able to procure a revocation of the sentence which had been pronounced against him.

Revolutions
in the ca-
liphship.

The divisions of the Saracens increased more and more in Spain during the eleventh century. There had been a long time a design to dethrone that branch of the Omniades which reigned there. Their weakness had so disgusted the people, that, after they had changed their master, they swore never to admit any man more of that family. The usurpers were not much more successful, for the people were quickly involved in a new search of a sovereign. One of the Omniades, who survived the ruin of his house, offered himself to them. They represented to him, that, by attempting to ascend the throne, he incurred a certain death. But ambition overcame love of life: "Kill me to-morrow," (said he,) provided you make me this day a king."

R. Samuel
Levi chief
of the Jews.

The revolutions in Spain were advantageous to the Jews; for R. Samuel Levi became secretary and minister of state to the king of Granada, who afterwards made him prince of his nation, and he employed his credit at court in protecting it. He even scattered his bounties among foreigners; for the African, Egyptian, and Babylonian doctors were his pensioners. The Jews had the satisfaction to see his son succeed him in his posts; and the only thing which moderated their joy was the haughtiness of this young man, whose riches had rendered him proud; whereas his father had preserved his humility in his greatest exaltation.

Persecuted
in Grenada.

But an unexpected turn of affairs disturbed the repose and tranquillity they enjoyed. Joseph Hallevy, one of the learned men of that age, set up for a converter of the Mussulmen. The translation of the Talmud into Arabic, which was made some years before, facilitated this design, though it miscarried. The king of Granada could not bear this insult offered the established religion; so that the Jewish rabbi was put into prison, and afterwards to death. The persecution began by the king's order, in which fifteen hundred families in this one kingdom greatly suffered. This calamity was the more sensibly felt, because prosperity had made them rich and powerful. They were apprehensive lest the neighbouring kings should imitate so dreadful an example: but the violence was soon stopped, and went no farther than the kingdom of Granada.

They would have undergone a more severe and destructive oppression under king Ferdinand, who, at the instigation of his bigoted wife, was going to sanctify his war against the Saracens by the extirpation of the Jews, had not the bishops, and even the pope, (Alexander II.) put a stop to his furious zeal, by publicly opposing and condemning it. But what most probably extricated them out of all danger from that monarch and his successor was, the revolution which the Moors occasioned in Africa; in consequence of which Alphonso, distressed on every side, found himself obliged to befriend and caress, instead of oppressing them, in order to procure their money and assistance. Accordingly they were promoted by him to considerable posts, and obtained such other privileges, that pope Gregory quite disapproved of them; though his censures could not prevail upon Alphonso to retract them.

Peter I. his grandson, had not more regard to the exhortations of Nicolas of Valencia. The crusade being published in Spain, as in other Christian kingdoms, Peter resolved to engage in this war against the infidels. Nicolas represented to his king, that it was in vain to go in quest of foreign enemies so far, when he had so many at home; and added, that

the Jews had such an inveterate hatred to the Christians, that they never met them without denouncing curses on their heads, with many other articles as absurd and ridiculous; to which the king, who was averse to persecution, only lent a deaf ear. However, the moderation of this prince did not save the Jews from being massacred by the crusaders in several other parts of Spain.

Notwithstanding these pretensions, this country had abundance of Jewish doctors in the eleventh century. Samuel Cophni, born at Corduba, published a commentary upon the Pentateuch, the manuscript whereof is in the Vatican library. Those that have read it esteem it as a fine piece, but confess it has a great many allegories. He had a dispute with a divine of his nation, and died in the year 1034.

Men of
learning in
the eleventh
century.

At that time appeared the five Isaacs. One of them was called Isaac Alphesi, as coming out of Africa, from the kingdom of Fez, into Spain. He passed for one of the most learned men of his time, and became prince of the exile in Spain. His epitaph, written in spondaic verse, which shews that at that time they observed quantity, after the manner of the Greeks and Latins, was a most noble one. The second of the Isaacs was the son of Baruch. He derived his genealogy from the ancient Baruch, Jeremy's secretary; and pretended that his family, which came into Spain in Titus's time, had subsisted there till then. He understood Latin, Greek, and Arabic. He had studied the mathematics, and was so eminent in this science, that the king of Granada, called the mathematician for his passionate love of it, sent for him to court to be instructed by him. He was received there with such applause, and lived with such satisfaction with the African Saracens, that he became unmindful of his country, and continued there to his death, which happened in the year 1004. He had a violent quarrel with the first of the Isaacs, surnamed Alphesi. They could not be reconciled whilst they lived: but, at the hour of death, one of them gave an example of repentance, and the other of charity. Isaac, the son of Baruch, died first; and finding himself ill, sent his son to beg his enemy's pardon, and to throw himself into his arms, as into those of a patron and a faithful friend. The son obeyed: Alphesi received him into his house, treated him as a child, and continued teaching him, to his death, the mysteries of the law.

Another more general division soon arose. The learned rabbins multiplying in Spain, in the eleventh century, gave birth to many controversies respecting the study of the sciences, whereof the Talmudists designed to rob their scholars, to oblige them to an implicit submission to their principles. They maintained that the study of languages, and the human sciences, was condemned from the emperor Titus's time, lest the people, dispersed among the nations, should be drawn into their idolatry, by the charms of the politeness of their writings. The Postille, annexed to the text of the Mishnah, contains a malediction pronounced against him who keeps swine, or teaches his son Greek; as if it was equally impure to feed an unclean beast, and to give men a good education.

Their
structure

These laws were not always religiously observed. It was impossible for the Jews who dwelt in Egypt not to speak Greek; for those of Rome, not to understand Latin; and for the Spaniards, mingled with the Saracens, not to make a continual use of Arabic. R. Salomon, who taught at Barcelona, in the eleventh century, prevailed so far as to have those rigorous decrees of the fathers tempered; but he durst not abolish them. He pronounced an anathema, and a sentence of excommunication, against all that began to study Greek before twenty years of age. The bounds being once removed, R. Mar set himself above the anathema, which Salomon had decreed against the young students, and restored them to a full liberty. They applied themselves therefore to the languages, mathematics, and other sciences, which produced a considerable number of great men.

The
language
sciences
generally
revived.

France was not so fruitful in famous rabbins as Spain; and we might even complain of its barrenness during all the centuries which we have examined, there being not above five or six doctors to be found who were of any note. The most famous was R. Gerson, whom some will have to be born in Germany, at Mentz. However, he was a Frenchman, or, at least, published his book of Constitutions there. It is probable he had less respect paid him in his life-time than after his death; for they hesitated a long time about the reception of his collection of laws, which began not to be in vogue till the middle of the thirteenth century. He was afterwards called the Light of the French Captivity.

One of his chief disciples was Jacob, the son of Jekar, a great musician, and who deeply studied cases of conscience. The succeeding doctors constantly quote his decisions with approbation; and they are received as laws that cannot be transgressed without criminality. It is said he died the same year as his master. Salomon, who had studied under these two great masters, made some figure. Chronologers are not agreed, however, upon this article; for some make him study in the year 1140, in the middle of the twelfth century; and others make him die thirty-five years before.

He had another famous disciple, whom the lawyers call Albarcellonita. This was Judas, a Barcelona doctor, who wrote a treatise upon the privileges of women. He published another upon the times, wherein he historically recounted the different ways the Jews had reckoned the times. Their first epocha was that of their departure from Egypt. They began another at the creation of a king, because the form of their government was then changed. There was a third upon Alexander the Great's entering into Jerusalem, which was followed to the tenth century of the Christian church. For Scherira, who lived at that time, obliged his nation to calculate the years from the creation of the world. He also published sermons.

Moses Hadarscian, that is to say, the Preacher, was also one of Gerson's disciples. They began at that time to make sermons in the synagogues, which had been much neglected hitherto; and perhaps Gerson introduced this custom, since we find two of his disciples who became famous by their preaching. Moses, who came from Narbonne, was doubtless the most eloquent, having the title of preacher given him by way of excellency. This rabbi lived in the middle of the eleventh century, and died in the year 1070, with the glory of leaving the famous Salomon the lunatic his disciple.

C H A P. VI.

The Pseudo-Josephus, a native of France, in this century. His history fabulous. Jews in Hungary. Their state in Germany and Bohemia. Protected by the emperor. Massacred by the crusaders. A second crusade productive of the same consequences as the former.

AS we are treating of the French rabbies of this century, we must not omit the author of the pretended history of Josip Ben Garion, whom the Jews have substituted for the Greek historian Josephus. This Jewish impostor, to gain the greater credit with his readers, begins with giving himself out for a royal prince and priest of the Jewish nation, in whose person Providence had united those two dignities to war against their enemies. He calls himself the Josephus full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel, fortitude, knowledge, and of fear of the Lord, who sacrificed his life for the sanctuary and for his nation. He sacrilegiously adds, that one of his soldiers one day cried aloud to him, "Thou art the man of God. Blessed be the God of Israel, who hath created the soul that animates thee, and hath endowed thee with such extraordinary wisdom." And when taken by

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the Romans, their army asked each other with tears, "Is that the person so admired among the Jews, and so dreaded by the Romans? How is he caught, who was alone once able to fill our army with terror, and hath spread throughout the universe the fame of his valiant deeds?" Titus himself was no less taken with his person and courage, and raised him above all the priests and Levites of his nation.

His imposture succeeded so well, by his pirating, from the Greek and original Josephus, such facts as were to his purpose, misrepresenting, and adding others, and couching his history in the Hebrew tongue, that the Greek copy became not only neglected, but suspicious, and at length rejected as a forgery by those of his nation. So that we need not wonder if many of them have been deceived by it, and extolled it to the skies. But as this author and his history have been fully confuted by several able and authentic writers, and the many falsehoods, contradictions, and absurdities, which plainly prove its forgery, amply exploded, we shall therefore proceed with a detail of the Jewish affairs as they were circumstanced in other nations in Europe.

We begin to find them flourishing in Hungary towards the latter end of the eleventh century, when Ladislaus, who then reigned, convened a synod, in which were made several regulations, importing, that if a Jew should marry, or, as the act words, "*sibi associaverit*," a Christian woman, or buy a Christian slave, they should be set at liberty, and the price given for them be confiscated to the bishop. His son Coloman being come to the throne, forbade them, by a new law, to use the Christian slaves; but permitted them to buy and cultivate lands, on condition they used no other but Pagan slaves, and settled only in such places as were under the jurisdiction of a bishop. These two laws shew the Jews to have been numerous and powerful in that kingdom.

The Jewish nation was extremely multiplied in Germany; it had even built synagogues in most of the considerable cities, particularly in Triers, Cologne and Mentz. It had penetrated even to Franconia. This people passed from thence into Bohemia; where, in the eleventh century, they performed such considerable services to the Christians, against the irruptions of the barbarians, that they were allowed the privilege of a synagogue. They entered into Hungary. It is said they were terrified by a variety of prodigies, which happened at the beginning of the eleventh century; and fearing the end of the world was at hand, they turned Christians. These prodigies, however, had not converted such numbers of them, but that many were disposed to acts of violence and outrage.

A priest, named Goteschal, put himself at the head of fifteen thousand banditti he had got together in Germany, and declared war against the Jews. So pious a pretence procured him the veneration of the people, and the protection of kings. He over-ran Franconia in a little time; from whence he passed into Hungary, where he had, at first, an entire liberty to exercise his cruelties; but when it was perceived, that, under the pretence of religion, this army plundered and ravished the wives of the Christians as well as the Jews, they surprized them in their debaucheries, and Goteschal was slain, with the best part of his troops. So tragical an end, however, hindered not the count of Linenguen from making the same attempt. He ravaged a part of Germany, by declaring himself a persecutor of the Jews; but attempting to pass into Hungary, found the passage stopped. Being resolved to force it, he vigorously attacked those that kept it; and, elated with success, had already divided the kingdom with his conspirators; when the Hungarians, attacking them unexpectedly, as they were deliberating, put them to the rout. The emperor Henry, who was then at Ratibonne, declared himself in favour of the Jews, restored them to the places from whence they had been expelled, and made their plunderers refund. This indemnification occasioned fresh complaints

7 I

His history fabulous.

Jews in Hungary.

Their state in Germany and Bohemia.

Protected by the emperor.

and accusations, as they were charged with having magnified their losses, in order to enrich themselves by a more plentiful restitution.

The crusades rekindled a fresh zeal against the Jews. They complain that these votaries, passing through Cologne, Mentz, Wormes, and Spiers, committed a massacre, from the month of April till July, in which were stabbed and drowned five thousand persons; and that the number of those who were forced to abjure the religion of their fathers cannot be ascertained. They do not exaggerate the matter; on the contrary, historians amplify the number, with the addition of hideous circumstances. They assert that fourteen hundred of them were burnt at Mentz; and that, from the resistance and disorder which happened on that occasion, half the city was reduced to ashes. Those of Wormes at first retired to the bishop; but he would not receive them, unless they turned Christians. The people suffered them not to deliberate long: some embraced Christianity, which they abjured as soon as the form was over; and others destroyed themselves. Something like this happened at Triers. The women, seeing the crusaders coming, murdered their own children, saying, "It were better to send them thus into Abraham's bosom, than to abandon them to the Christians." Others, laden with stones, threw themselves into the river, and were drowned; and some fled to the bishop's castle. Egilbert, who resided in it, preached them a sermon, by which they were apparently converted; but the year following all of them, except one, relapsed into Judaism. The bishop of Spire had more humanity; for he not only protected the fugitives, but caused some of their persecutors to be hanged. The mischief went so far, that the Bavarian annalists reckon twelve thousand that died in that country; and others affirm, that the number of those who perished in Germany was almost incredible.

A second
crusade.

Another crusade was published fifty years after. Rodolphus, who was commissioned to preach it up on the banks of the Rhine, did it with great success. As it was one of the articles of his religion and his doctrine, that the enemies of Christianity were first to be taken off, and those stabbed who were near at hand, before they went to seek them in foreign lands, the people were inflamed by his exhortations: but the massacre was not so great as designed, because part of them took their flight betimes, and retired to Nuremberg, and other cities depending upon the emperor, under whose protection they found more security. We must do justice to St. Bernard, and acknowledge that Rodolphus's doctrine did not please him. He wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, whom this hermit had inflamed by his preaching, to prove to him, that he ought to look upon the persecution of the Jews as inhuman; and therefore he advised that he might be sent back to his desert.

Nevertheless, the flame was spread far and near by his trumpeters, not only in Germany, but in most other parts of Europe, and great numbers of Jews were massacred, if we may credit their chronologers, while others, being driven into despair by the cruelties they were likely to undergo, put an end to their own existence. With these persecutions ended the eleventh century.

C H A P. VII.

Benjamin of Tudela's character and travels. Jews in the east from Benjamin's account. Decay of the academy of Pumbedita. Power of the caliphs in ecclesiastical affairs. Jews favoured under the caliph Mortanged. Heads of the captivity dependent on the caliphs. Jews in other eastern parts. Ezekiel's tomb. Jews in Egypt. At Tyre. Peculiar superstitions. Jews in Jerusalem. In Upper Galilee. Account of Aben-Ezra, another Jewish traveller. Jews in Greece. At Constantinople. At Rome, &c. The prince of the nation at Capua. In Germany, Bebe-

mia, &c. In France. The holy assembly of Lunel. General remarks upon the whole. R. Petachia's account of the Jews in Tartary and Nineveh. In Bagdad. Of their chiefs. Persecutions in Persia.

WITH respect to the state of the Jews in the east during the twelfth century, we shall be obliged to refer, as the best guide we can procure, to Benjamin, surnamed of Tudela, a city of Navarre, the place of his nativity, who tells us that he had visited most of these parts. His accounts, indeed, sometimes appear fabulous; nor has he scrupled to interlard them with absurd and incredible stories to raise the credit of his nation.

Benjamin
of Tudela's
character
and travels.

Our author informs us, that he found several considerable synagogues, and a number of Jews, who lived there at ease, and enjoyed the liberty of their religion unmolested. That the city of Pethora, upon the banks of the Euphrates, contained 4000 Jews.

Jews in
east from
Benjamin's
account.

He found another 7000 also at Almozal, which answers to the ancient Nineveh; the one having been built from the ruins of the other, upon the opposite bank of the Tigris, and being only separated by a bridge. There was Zaccheus, a descendant of the house of David. There was also a famous astronomer, called Beren Alpherec, who served as a chaplain to king Zin-Aldin. It may seem strange that a Jew should officiate as chaplain to a Mussulman; for Zin-Aldin was of that religion, and brother to Noraldin, king of Syria, whom the Mussulmen reverence, not only as one of their most illustrious conquerors, but as one of their greatest saints. But perhaps this Jewish astronomer did not scrupulously weigh the difference of religions, but conformed his own to that of the prince he served, as their nation are so apt to temporize.

Benjamin, before he arrived at Bagdad, passed through Rohobod, where he found 2000 persons of his nation. Carchemis, famous for the defeat of Pharaoh Nachor, and situate upon the banks of the Euphrates, contained five hundred. Pumbedita was but two days journey from hence. But this city, so well known, had changed its name, being then called Aliobari, or Alnebar. He discovered here some footsteps of the grandeur of his nation; for there was the tomb of Bostenai, that prince of the captivity who had married a daughter of the king of Persia. He observed also those of two illustrious doctors, with the synagogues they had built before their death; but it was no longer that flourishing academy of scholars whose chiefs had been so famous in former ages: there was only 2000 Jews in it, some of whom applied themselves to the study of the law.

Decay of
the academy
of Pumbedita.

The same fate had befallen that of Sora; of which the author is content to revive the remembrance, and call to mind, that many heads of the captivity, descended from the house of David, had taken up their residence there. He only celebrates the city and academy of Nahardea. He observes also of Nahardea, that its schools were demolished, and the doctors had retired into the west.

The authors of the Talmud, and the excellent doctors, were no longer found at Sora and Pumbedita, in Benjamin's time; nor even in other places, where there were still many Jews.

The Persians ascribe great antiquity to this capital. It was built by Almanzor, and afterwards became the residence of the succeeding caliphs. Benjamin gives a magnificent description of their palace and city. The reigning caliph was invested with a supreme, and even despotic, authority. He kept his brothers chained in their respective palaces, because they had conspired against him. His subjects hardly ever saw him, though he was very affable to others. The pilgrims that passed that way earnestly desired a sight of him; but, instead of shewing himself, he caused a skirt of his robe to be hung upon the window, that every one might see it; and a herald cried out, "Go in peace; for our Lord, the light of the Ishmaelites, is favourable to you."

He

Caliph's
power in
ecclesiasti-
cal affairs.

He was supreme in ecclesiastical as well as civil authority. The people believed him almost equal to Mahomet; and he held the same rank among the Mussulmen, as the pope has among the Christians. At the fast of Ramadan he came out of his palace, clad in sumptuous attire, having, among other articles, a piece of black cloth upon his head, to signify, that all his glory was only vanity, and that joy was quickly changed into sorrow. He was attended by all the great officers of his court, and a vast multitude of people, who came that day from far to have the satisfaction of seeing him. When he arrived at the oratory, near the gate of the city, and had received the acclamations of the people, he kissed his robe to give a blessing, and ascending into a lobby of the chapel, expounded the Mahometan law to them. He then killed a camel, pieces of which he distributed to his principal officers, who looked upon it as an extraordinary favour. The ceremony being over, the caliph returned alone to his palace, by the banks of the Tigris, which were covered with thousands of barks; and the ground he had trod was held so sacred, that no one durst walk in the place where he had set the sole of his foot.

Jews fa-
voured at
Bagdad un-
der the ca-
liph Mo-
taased.

It was under the protection of the caliph Motased, who reigned ten years, that the Jews then lived peaceably at Bagdad. He esteemed them, and had many in his service. He perfectly understood their language, and wrote it; and had also some knowledge of their law. There were but a thousand Jewish inhabitants in this city: and the error of Isaac, the son of Arma, who says there were many thousand Jews, would be deemed a gross one, were we not accustomed to find these Jewish writers magnify whatever contributes to the glory of the synagogue. If there were few inhabitants, there were yet twenty-eight synagogues, and ten tribunals, or councils; at the head whereof were ten eminent persons, employed only upon the affairs of the nation, and called the ten Otiosi, or Idlers. Above these ten was the head of the captivity. He that had then that post was a descendant of David, and his name was Daniel. The Jews gave him the title of Lord; and the Mahometans that of Lord, the Son of David. His authority extended over all the Jews which were in the dominions of the caliph, from Syria to the Iron Gates and the Indies. Our author represents this prince of the captivity as a kind of sovereign; for the Mahometans were obliged to respect him as well as the Jews; and he that, meeting him on the road, refused to rise and salute him, received an hundred stripes. The nation was obliged to have their teachers and doctors from him, who gave the imposition of hands. That he might support his dignity, the merchants of his nation raised an impost in the fairs, and paid him a kind of tribute. Some provisions were also sent him from the remote provinces. Daniel, besides this, had his patrimony and lands that were given him. He kept a table; and had hospitals, where he maintained the poor. But he was forced to purchase this grandeur and liberty, by a tribute paid to the caliph, and by rich presents to the principal officers of his court.

Head of the
captivity de-
pendent on
the caliph.

This observation is of great moment, not only because it shews that there was still a prince of the captivity in the twelfth century, though they had been abolished an hundred years before, but farther, we learn, that this head of the captivity had only a power borrowed from the caliph, which he did not exercise till he had received imposition of hands from the infidel prince.

The Jewish rabbies, who pretended that those eastern chiefs were independent of any other monarchs, and still retained the power of life and death, have left no stone unturned to prove that favourite point; insomuch that Origen himself believed that those Assyrian monarchs, under whom they lived, being content with their subjection and dependence, allowed them to govern their people according to their own laws, and to inflict even death on the guilty; and proved it not only from the apocryphal book of Susanna against Africanus, but from more recent instances under the

Roman emperors, after the destruction of the temple by Titus. He has been followed by others, both ancient and modern, who pretend they had a power to raise a tribute on the nation, and to punish recusants, as well as other criminals, with death.

Leaving the province of Bagdad, Benjamin passed through Reien, where he found near five thousand Jews, who performed their devotions in a great synagogue. He proceeded towards the ancient Babylon, where was Nebuchodonosor's palace, grown the habitation of owls and reptiles. But some leagues from thence were a thousand Jews, who said their prayers in the palace which Daniel built for his oratory. Hila is but five miles from it, where there are four synagogues, and ten thousand Jews. A little farther were discovered the foundations of the ancient tower of Babel, built immediately after the flood. At length he came to the tomb of Ezekiel, upon the banks of the river Chobar, where there are sixty towers, with a synagogue in each of them. Near this place is another edifice, built by Jeconias, when Evil-merodach gave him his liberty. This palace fronts the Euphrates on one side, and has the Chobar on the other. Thirty-five thousand Jews were employed in this great work for the service of their prince. His picture was still seen in the roof, and those of all the officers who accompanied him; and Ezekiel brings up the rear. This prophet's tomb, which was preserved, drew people from all parts. The heads of the captivity visited it every year with a numerous train. It was a place of devotion, not only for the Jews, but for the Persians, the Medes, and abundance of Mussulmen, who came to bring their presents, and pay their vows at the synagogue. They reverence it as a sacred thing; and therefore no military persons, whether vanquished or victorious, ever touch it. A lamp burnt night and day upon this tomb; and the head of the captivity, and of the counsels of Bagdad, furnished oil. There is a rich library; and all that die without issue augment it by sending their books. Here was also seen the original of Ezekiel's prophecies, written with, as they pretended, his own hand.

Jews in
other eastern
parts.

Ezekiel's
tomb.

Coufa had for some time been the capital city of the caliphs; but they had changed their residence. However, Benjamin coming there, found near seven thousand Jews, who had but one synagogue. Jews in E-
gypt.

Egypt is one of those places where the Jews have resided longest: they were numerous in the twelfth century, when Benjamin paid them a visit. He computes thirty thousand of them in one single city upon the frontiers of Ethiopia, which he calls Chouts. He saw two thousand Jews, and two synagogues, at Misralim, at present Grand Cairo. There was some division among those that inhabited it. The occasion was frivolous; for some who came from Judea, dividing each section of the law, finished the reading of it but once in three years; whilst the other ancient inhabitants of Egypt read it all in one; as was done in Spain, and other places. Here resided the head of all the synagogues of the country, who created the doctors, and supported the interest of the nation with the caliph.

Our traveller was far from forgetting the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt so long. He thought he could observe some tracts of their ancient buildings. Many Jews were retired thither; two hundred were in one place, five hundred in another, and near three thousand in the city of Goshen; as many at Alexandria, and very few at Damietta.

The rest he represents as dispersed in all the other provinces and towns of Egypt in great numbers, though vastly short of what they once were, when the single city of Alexandria was reckoned to contain an hundred thousand of those people.

We now pass into Judæa. Our author went to Tyre, where he found four hundred of his nation, most of whom were glass-makers. This was a profitable trade, because the Tyrian glass was then in great

great esteem, and transported far and near by the sea-faring Jews. However, there were some that were learned, particularly in the Talmud; and of these an Egyptian, called R. Ephraim, was the most eminent.

Peculiar Superstitions The Samaritans had abandoned their capital city; but there were two hundred at Cefarea, and an hundred at Shechem, which they made the seat of their religion. They had priests descended from Aaron, who never matched into other families, that they might more certainly preserve the succession of the priesthood. They offer sacrifices upon Mount Gerizim in all their solemn feasts: and affirm, that their altar was built with the stones the tribes placed in the Jordan, when they passed this river under Joshua's conduct. They are very superstitious about washings, and the choice of their cloaths: they religiously preserve those which they wear in the synagogue, and never put them on on other days.

Jews in Jerusalem. It is astonishing that Jerusalem, where God had once fixed his temple and name, which the Jews ought to consider as his habitation, was almost entirely abandoned by that nation. Our author found not above two hundred persons, who were, for the most part, dyers of wool, and every year purchased the privilege of the monopoly of that trade. They lived all together under David's tower, and made there a very mean figure.

In Upper Galilee. If Jerusalem had so few Jews in it, the rest of the Holy Land was still more depopulated. Benjamin found two of them in one city, and twenty in another; most of whom were dyers. He says, that Schunem was one of the cities that had the greatest number, wherein he reckoned three hundred.

Ascalon, built some leagues from that, and of which the Holy Scripture often speaks, as belonging to the Philistines, contained five hundred and fifty-three persons: the greatest number was made of Samaritans; the least of the Caraites, who rejected traditions; and the rest were Talmudists.

It was in Upper Galilee that the nation was in greatest repute after the ruin of Jerusalem, for the Jews retired thither upon the destruction of the holy city. The academy of Tiberias grew famous from its doctors, and there the Jerusalem Talmud was composed. Many changes happened in it from that time to the twelfth century, for Benjamin found hardly any Jews in Galilee of the Gentiles. He saw at Tiberias but fifty persons of his nation, a synagogue, and some ancient tombs. In fine, he only celebrates it for its excellent waters and hot baths.

Account of another Jewish traveller. Aben-Ezra gives a different account of Tiberias from that of Benjamin de Tudela: for, having travelled there twenty-five or thirty years after him, he says, that he consulted the doctors that were in it. So considerable a change could not have happened to this city in so short a time, as to restore an academy, and produce doctors: nor is it probable that Benjamin, who, on all occasions, does so much honour to his nation, designed to detract from the lustre of Tiberias.

These two travellers, however, may be reconciled in a degree, by observing, that there was a synagogue, and, of consequence, some rabbins, who managed it; and these, perhaps, were the doctors Aben-Ezra consulted in his travels. This city, having lost its walls, continued a long time exposed to the perpetual incursions of the Arabians, who often pillaged it; till Solyman walled it in. This advantage made it more populous. The author of a letter, entitled, "The Genealogies of the Righteous of the Land of Israel," says, that there were in his time two kinds of academies, situate without the gates of Tiberias, one small, and the other very mean. In effect, Rabbi Juda Zona, who, from a Jew, turned Christian, and died at Rome in the middle of the last century, pursued his studies in one of the academies of Tiberias. There was another much more esteemed academy at Sapheta; but as Benjamin does not mention it, it is reasonable to suppose it was not yet erected.

Benjamin passed through Greece, and found

mount Parnassus (which had been so long the mansion of Apollo and the Muses) inhabited by two hundred Jews, who cultivated it, and sowed pulse upon it. They had some rabbins; but, whatever be the reasons, they have been since forbidden to settle within some leagues of it.

There were three hundred Jews at Corinth. Thebes, so well known in antiquity, but infinitely decayed in the twelfth century, supported two thousand Jews, silk-workers and dyers. The rabbins there were so learned, that none but those of Constantinople could equal them: though we hear nothing of their productions in that kind. Two of the most ingenious were Samaritans: but it is a question, whether they had not renounced their schism and opinion, to engage in the study of traditions, since they taught the rabbinites. There were some at Patras, at Lepanto, and in most of the cities of the empire; but their number was inconsiderable, there being reckoned but fifty in one, and twenty in another.

Benjamin, leaving Greece, arrived at Ægriphon, a great city, situate on the sea-coast, where merchants rendezvoused from all parts of the world, and wherein were two hundred Jews. It is supposed this was the ancient Chalcis, in the neighbourhood of Negropont. From thence he went to Jasterisa, another stately city, containing an hundred Jews. There were as many at Robenica, which is but a day's journey remote from it; and about an half from the River of Dogs, (Günopotamus,) through which he entered into Walachia, in his way to Constantinople, whither he at length arrived. He observes, that there were there about two thousand Jews, silk weavers and merchants. Besides this, there were five hundred Caraites, who lived peaceably with the other Jews; but were, however, separated from them by a wall, to prevent their communication. They were all placed in the suburbs of Galata, or Pera, upon the banks of the Straights, which habitation had been long ago assigned them by Theodosius; for which reason these suburbs were called by Frenchmen, "The Jewry." They had hitherto preserved the privilege of depending only upon the governor of the suburbs; but Manuel deprived them of this privilege, and submitted them to the common judges. It is probable that this prince had already done it when Benjamin came there; since he represents his nation as very odious in his reign; though his physician, who was a Jew, did all he could to protect them. It was not only unlawful for them to ride on horseback into the city, but the Greeks would ride in crowds, revile, and maltreat them. They broke open their doors, defiled their waters, and pelted them with mire; and yet they have continued there ever since that time.

Benjamin passed into Italy. He observed that, at that time, the Genoese enriched themselves by the pirates they sent to sea. The burghers, being divided one against another, had almost all of them towers on their houses, from whence they made war: They reckoned ten thousand of these towers in Pisa, designed for the same use. These two cities had but very few Jews in them. He came to Rome, which he represents as the capital of the Edomites, and the pope as the head of their religion, whom he describes a great prince; and affirms, that there were many learned rabbies there, that did honour to their nation.

There were Jews also at Capua, where resided the prince of the nation. There were doctors famous throughout the universe; and yet there were but three hundred inhabitants of this nation. From thence he proceeded to Naples, where he found five hundred inhabitants of his nation. There were an hundred more of them at Salerno; amongst whom the priest Solomon, the Greek Elias, and the R. Abraham of Narbonne, were of the greatest eminence. There were Jews also at Maffi, Benevento, Acoli, and Trani, in the kingdom of Naples; which is the rendezvous of those who embark for the pilgrimage of the Holy Land. He only found one at Corfu: but the number was greater in Sicily: he

he reckoned two hundred at Messina, five hundred at Palermo; and in all these places they paid no tribute

Jews in Germany, Bohemia, &c.

He travelled from thence into Germany, where he found the Jews not only more numerous, quiet, and peaceable, but likewise more zealous, devout, and hospitable to strangers. They bewailed the desolation of their city and temple; and expressed a longing expectation of hearing the voice of the turtle dove, as they termed it; by which they meant their glorious recall into that once happy land. He penetrated as far as Bohemia, which, he tells us, was then called the New Canaan, because the inhabitants sold their children to all the neighbouring nations.

This traveller also visited the synagogues of France, which he entered. The number of the Jews was inconsiderable here, as well as at Gironne: but there were three hundred at Narbonne; at the head of which was the rabbi Calaninus, descended in a right line from David; rich and potent, especially in lands, which had been given him by the lords of the country, in recompense for the services he and his ancestors had done. This city was looked upon as the centre of the Jewish nation and their law.

The learned assembly of Lunel.

Montpelier was then full of Mahometans, Greeks, Christians, and Jews; which shews that this city had, at that time, great commerce with the remotest countries. In the neighbourhood was Lunel, where the learned assembly studied the law day and night. Melchullum, the president of it, had five sons, all of eminent abilities; and one of them profoundly versed in the study of the Talmud. The strangers who came to study there were maintained. Beaucayre had also its professors; one of which, called Abraham, disbursed, out of his own finances, all that was necessary to maintain six poor scholars, lest poverty should obstruct their application. There were in the twelfth century synagogues at Arles, Marseilles, and not only in cities, but even in boroughs. Our author concludes with Paris, where Lewis reigned; and there was also an assembly much addicted to the law, and abounding in charity, for it received all the Jews that came there as so many brethren.

General remarks.

We shall only observe, that the Jews were very low in the east in the twelfth century; that they had not been able to restore themselves since the misery that had befallen them above an hundred years before; for they were found only in small numbers upon the banks of the Euphrates, and in the ancient cities, where sometimes they had been reckoned at nine hundred thousand. The crusaders did not suffer them to settle again in Judæa. Thus they were miserable in all the places where they had appeared with greater lustre, and there was a general decline in point both of fame and learning.

R. Petachia's account of the Jews in Tartary and Nineveh.

Before we conclude the twelfth century, it will be necessary to give our readers a short account of some other Jews dispersed into other parts, according to the relation of rabbi Petachia. This rabbi was born at Ratibon, and travelled not only through most parts where Benjamin of Tudela had been, but agrees with him as exactly as if they had copied each other; so that we shall forbear repeating from this what has been said by the other, and take notice only of such facts, or curious particulars, as are not mentioned by him.

The account R. Petachia gives of those Jews he saw in Tartary, is, that they were heretics, that is, they did not observe the traditions of the fathers; and, upon his asking them the reason why they did not, they answered, they had never heard of any. They were, however, such strict observers of the sabbath, that they cut the bread on the preceding which they were to eat on that day, when they hardly stirred from their seats, eat their victuals in the dark, and knew of no other prayers but those contained in the book of psalms.

When he arrived at the New Nineveh, he found about 6000 Jews there, whose chiefs were called No. 50.

David and Samuel, two near relations, descended from David. All the Jews of that country were obliged to pay them a certain capitation, one half of which was to be conveyed to the lieutenant of the king of Babylon, and the other belonged to them. They had lands of their own, fields, gardens, and vineyards, well cultivated. It was, it seems, here, as well as in Persia, Damascus, &c. the custom among them, not to maintain any singers; but the chiefs, who kept at their table a number of doctors, obliged them, sometimes one, sometimes another, to perform that office. Their authority was so great, that they could punish strangers, as well as those of their own nation, when, upon their pleading before them, they were found in the wrong; and there was a prison kept for all such delinquents.

In Bagdad.

Upon his coming to Bagdad, he found about one thousand Jews settled there; but speaks of two thousand disciples, under the chief of the synagogues, and other learned men. These sat on the ground, whilst he taught them from an high desk, covered with a gold tissue; and every one had a copy containing the books of sacred writ. The Jewish women went forth veiled, and avoided speaking to strangers, either in the streets, or even at their homes. We shall only add, with respect to the chiefs here, to what we mentioned out of Benjamin, that, upon the death of Daniel, who left no male successor, the Jews, who had preserved the right of choosing their chief, divided themselves, one party nominating David, and the other Samuel, to that dignity, both lineally descended from David, which division still subsisted when our author left Bagdad, where, he adds, the Jews were treated with great lenity, exempt from any tribute to the king, and only paid a piece of gold to the chief of the synagogue. But they were used with severity in Persia, where, nevertheless, they were computed to amount to 600,000; for which reason he only ventured through one of the Persian cities.

His account of the chiefs

Jews treated with severity in Persia.

He went thence into Judæa, of which he gives much the same account as his brother Benjamin: so that having now gone through the most material account of our two Jewish travellers, we shall supply the rest from other authors, with respect to some other countries and facts by them omitted.

C H A P. VIII.

The Jews favoured by St. Bernard. Protected by Pope Innocent II. By Alexander III. Persecuted in Spain. In France, by Philip the Augustus. Expelled the kingdom. Afterwards recalled. Jews in England obtain new burying grounds, by grant of Henry II. Persecuted and massacred throughout the kingdom, under Richard I. Learned men in the twelfth century. Eminent men in other capacities.

ST. Bernard, who, as already observed, was a great enemy to the Albigenes, espoused the part of the Jews; and not only would not have them persecuted, but repressed the violent zeal of some persons bent upon their destruction, and justified their excess of usuries, which they demanded of the Christians. He alledged, that their future conversion rendered their present toleration necessary; and that, in reality, if their usuries were complained of, there were many Christians who were guilty of more scandalous extortion. St. Bernard also biassed Pope Innocent II. in their favour; for, as he was very serviceable to this pontiff, who was obliged to fly into France, it is thought that he inspired him with these sentiments of gentleness and equity, which were so much the more necessary, because he found himself in a foreign kingdom, where he had need of toleration and assistance. They brought him wholly into their interests when he made his entry into Paris; for they joined in the solemn procession to meet him, ordering a roll of the law

The Jews are favoured by St. Bernard.

Protected by Pope Innocent II.

law to be carried before them, which they presented to him with great respect; and this is one of the ceremonies of the installation of the popes, which has long continued. The Jews of Rome are obliged to wait for him in the way to St. John de Lateran, and to present him with a copy of the law, when he returns this answer: "I reverence the law which you have received of God by Moses; but I condemn your exposition of it, because you still expect the Messiah, which the apostolical church believes to be Jesus Christ our Lord."

The Jews
protected
by Alex-
ander III.

Some time after they had occasion for pope Alexander the Third's protection, who granted it them so much the easier, because the rabbi Jebiel was superintendant of his house and finances. The people of Italy insulted them in several places, and hindered them from celebrating their feasts. They made their complaints to the pope, who granted them his protection, prohibiting any from taking away their synagogues, and disturbing them as they celebrated their sabbaths, or exercised their religion. But, at the same time, he ordered that they should not have the privilege to cite churchmen before a civil tribunal, nor take possession of the churches by virtue of pledge or sale.

Under so powerful a protection the Jews flourished in Italy till the end of this, and even in the following, century. Cossi, a little borough of the Milanese, grew famous for the multitude of illustrious rabbies it produced. Monza, the city where the kings took the iron crown, produced many others. Ricina Nova, in the marche of Ancona, had the same honour.

Persecuted
in Spain.

The beginning of Alphonso the Eighth's reign in Spain was not favourable to them. He was yet a child, when his father Sanchez the Desired was killed by the Saracens. He ascended the throne young. Moreover, as he was well disposed, he was easily over-reached. Joseph the Jew was his first minister of state, and grew so potent, as to have his coach of state and guards to attend him. Gonzales, an officer under him, having committed some fault that deserved disgrace, resolved to destroy his benefactor and his master. He declared to the king, he could devise the means of procuring him vast sums; in order to which he demanded of this prince eight heads of the Jews at his own choice, which were granted him. Thus he found an expedient at once to gratify two passions, his avarice and hatred of that nation. He chose eight considerable persons, whom he caused to be beheaded, and confiscated their estates, part of which he gave to the king, and converted the rest to his own use. He afterwards offered a much larger sum for the grant of twenty more. But this offer was not accepted, because the king chose rather to reap the profit without the effusion of blood, by obliging the richest of the synagogue to ransom their lives. They did not stop there, for it was debated in council, whether they should all be expelled the kingdom, and their effects seized on, in order to defray the charges of the war, without burthening the people with new impositions. The opinions were divided in council, which gave the Jews time to deliberate among themselves, and to offer considerable sums of money. They were, however, highly rejoiced, when they saw Gonzales fall into disgrace with the king, who caused him to be arrested, notwithstanding his great services; so that his fall established their tranquillity. But what farther ingratiated them with him, was his falling deeply in love with a beautiful young Jewess, to whom he sacrificed his honour and interest, and, for her sake, to her nation; for the Jews taking that advantage, grew so powerful and insolent, that the court and clergy became quite scandalized at it, and at length dissolved the charm, by the death of the beloved object. The Jews took advantage of this happy juncture, and grew so potent, that R. Eliakim, who then lived, and wrote at that time a ritual of the ceremonies observed in all the synagogues, and which is called the Custom of the Universe, reckoned twelve thousand persons of his religion in the city of Toledo.

They were also very numerous in Andalusia, where they applied themselves closely to learning. But study served only to disturb the union of the divines, who were divided into three different sects, which Maimonides, who then lived, has distinguished, and which he looked upon as an unhappy consequence of the abolition of the Sanhedrim. Indeed, whilst that tribunal remained, the oral law was not written, by which they avoided diversity of opinions, and the difficulties and errors that arise from the text of a book, or from the different readings of the copiers.

It was during this quiet interval, or, perhaps, a little before this time, that, according to the Jewish chronologers, copies came to be dispersed of the sacred Hebrew, according to the manuscript of the celebrated Hillel, which had appeared some time before, (at what year cannot be determined, nor what became of it,) in which two verses were found wanting in the twenty-first chapter of the book of Joshua. These were the 36th and 37th verses, which mention the four cities of refuge appointed to the Levites out of the tribe of Reuben; but which, being found in the book, made Grotius imagine they had been since transplanted from thence into the text of Joshua above-mentioned; though without foundation, seeing they are not only found in the Septuagint, or Greek version, which is allowed to be more ancient than Hillel's manuscript, but likewise explain that text, by telling us that those towns were on this side Jordan, and on one side of Jericho.

Their fortune in France was much diversified. In France
by Philip
They were accused at Paris of murdering St. William, and, for their punishment, sentenced to the flames. Indeed, they deserved death, if they were guilty of that crime; and if no innocent person was involved in the fate of the guilty, they had nothing to complain of, but themselves, and their own cruelty.

They were very hardly dealt with at Beziers. On Palm-Sunday, every year, commenced a certain pastime, which amused the people, who were therefore careful to renew it. The rabble flocked out at night, scoured the streets, broke the Jews windows, and stoned all those that fell in their way. The bishop, having often noticed this inhuman proceeding, which was their preparation for the Easter ceremonies, treated with the Jews, and prevailed with them to buy off this insult by paying him a tribute. The treaty is very singular; for the bishop engaged himself, and his successors, to preserve the Jews from insults, from war, and dilapidation, by day and by night, all the time betwixt Palm-Sunday and Easter; declaring that he would shut the doors of the church against all that should break open those of the Jews: and, on their part, he obliged them to pay annually, to the bishop, two hundred sols de meilgeuil, which might amount, at that time, to four marks in silver. They paid, moreover, above four silver marks to the church of St. Nazarus, to purchase ornaments. This treaty was concluded at Beziers, and rendered them pretty easy, till they were expelled under Philip, surnamed Augustus.

This prince, at the beginning of his reign, under pretence of devotion, banished the Jews out of his kingdom, confiscated their estates, and only permitted them to sell their moveables, and carry away the money, which was reducing them to the last extremity; since people, taking advantage of this circumstance, refused to purchase or pay.

Rigord, who wrote the life of Philip, says, that, by this exile, he revenged the death of a young man, named Richard, whom the Jews had crucified at Paris; and that he was convinced, by this example, of what he had often heard the young princes say, that were educated with him, that the Jews every year committed such a murder. This accusation often recurs, and all nations charge this crime upon the Jews, whilst none can conjecture the origin of this imputation. However, Richard was looked upon as a martyr, and was buried in the churchyard of the Little Fields, which still preserves its name.

name. He was afterwards removed to Innocents church; from whence, we are told, the English carried away his body, in Charles V. reign, leaving only his head in the church. This was the ground of the pretence to fall upon the Jews. They were seized in all the synagogues, plundered of every thing that was most valuable, and at length expelled the kingdom.

But Philip did not always remain an enemy to this nation. Whether he had only made the decree of banishment at the solicitation of the cardinal de Champagne, brother to the queen mother, and first minister of state, or was willing to revenge himself on pope Innocent III. for a flagrant indignity offered him, or whether he was sensible that the state suffered much by losing such a multitude of rich merchants and ingenious artists, he recalled them from their banishment. The zealots blamed this recall of the enemies of Christianity, and the people murmured. However, the exiled Jews returned, but for no long continuance.

Those in England, who had been banished out of it ever since the year 1020, had since found means to settle again in that kingdom, and were become so numerous in the reign of Henry II. that, having then but one burying ground in London, they petitioned that monarch to permit them to have some new ones, which were accordingly granted.

But they suffered much under Richard I. because the court and people were prepossessed with a notion, that the Jews were all magicians, and might practice some witchcraft upon the king, if they were present at his coronation. Severe injunctions were given to all the Jews not to appear at it. Some, who came from far and near, at great expence, to see the ceremony, were resolved not to lose their labour or money. They flattered themselves they should not be known, because they were strangers in the city; but they were mistaken. The officers, having discovered some of them at Westminster, fell upon them with staves. They dragged them out of the church half dead: but the noise of this execution being spread in the city, set the people in an uproar, who broke open the houses of the Jews, and killed those they met with. Happy were they that found faithful friends to shelter them. The tumult spread from the capital to the counties, where great numbers were slain. The day after the coronation, orders were given to stop these violent proceedings: but whether they were ill executed, or that it was impossible to put such a sudden check to the fury of the people, the persecution lasted almost all the year, which was that of the jubilee.

A greater calamity still befel them when Richard crusaded. The Jews thought they had purchased this prince's favour, by the great sums they had brought into his treasury to support his expences; but the people resolved to make a general massacre of them. This was performed at Norwich, where they began. Many of them suffered at Stamford and St. Edmund's. The massacre was more terrible at York, where 1500 had seized on the city to defend themselves; but being besieged, they offered to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cried out, "That it was better to fall by their own hands, than the hands of barbarous assassins." This animating the rest, they became the executioners of their own wives and children, and retiring afterwards to the king's palace, set it on fire, and expired themselves amidst surrounding flames.

Before we close this century, we think to give some account of the most celebrated rabbies who flourished at that period. We begin with the learned rabbi Nathan Ben Jechiel, chief of the Jewish academy at Rome, and author of the book called HARUCK, where he explains all the terms of the Talmud in so copious a manner, that he has, in some measure, exhausted that subject; inasmuch, that those who have come after him, have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great Buxtorf,

who made frequent use of his remarks, without quoting him.

The next in time, though superior in learning and merit, was the great Aben-Ezra, surnamed, by way of excellence, the Wise, as he really was one of the most learned men of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning: was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic; in which last science he hath excelled all that went before him, and is chiefly admired by the Christians for his judicious explanations of the sacred books.

We have in this century three famous rabbies of the name of Levi. One born at Cologne, who, after many inferences with the Christians, was baptized, and taught Latin, under the name of Herman. 2. Judah Levi, a good poet, and author of the dialogue, entitled, "Chozar." 3. Abraham Levi, a learned rabbi, said to be related to Aben-Ezra, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the Caraites, though far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment; so that not being able to cope with them, he had recourse to king Alphonso VII. to whom he had rendered signal services, and obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced.

CHAP. IX.

Decline of the Jewish nation in the east. The Jews persecuted by the caliph. Character of Joseph. Moses Nachmanides. His knowledge. A revolution in Egypt. Two sorts of Mamalukes. Simeon Duran. His works. Establishment of the Moguls in Asia. Interest of the Jews with Arqoun Khan. Revolutions and massacre on the death of that prince and his ministers. Jews peaceable under the Greeks.

WE shall here again be obliged to join the 13th and 14th centuries together, to avoid being frequently forced to break off the thread of their history, and begin with those of the east, where we shall find them strangely dwindled, both in number and figure, especially with respect either to their chiefs, their academics, or learned men.

Petachia, who travelled to all the synagogues of his nation, and whose voyage is paralleled with that of Benjamin his cotemporary, affirms, that he still found a prince of the captivity in the east, when he arrived there. But it is probable the persecution raised at the end of the twelfth or thirteenth century, completed the ruin of the nation in this country. Nasser Ledinillah, one of the Abbassides, was then caliph at Bagdad. His reign lasted forty-seven years, all which time he persecuted the Jews. He was induced by two reasons. One was, that he was very zealous for his religion; for he caused a great number of mosques and places, dedicated to the Mahometan service, to be built in his dominions. The other was an excessive avarice. It is said of him, that seeing a cistern, which he wished to be filled with gold and silver, but which still wanted two fathoms of it, he cried out, "Shall I not live long enough to fill it?" On the contrary, his grandson Moslanger, finding it full, exclaimed, "How happy should I be could I live long enough to empty it!" Both of them lived to see their desires accomplished. Nasser, who designed to fill it, made use of the law of escheat, before unknown, and appropriated the succession of all foreign merchants who died in his dominions. The riches of the Jews drew upon them great extortions from a very covetous prince, and at last an open persecution; for Nasser commanding them all to depart his provinces, or turn Mussulmen, part of them went into exile, and the rest chose to stay upon his terms.

Joseph, the son of Jahia, an able physician, after he had dissembled for some time, also went into banishment. He had studied the mathematics, and discoursed on that science with wonderful facility. He

felt the weight of Nasser's persecution; and having sold his estate, through means of dissimulation, retired into Egypt with all he had. He there found Maimonides, and, with his assistance, corrected a treatise on astronomy which he had written. After Maimonides's death, he quitted Egypt, to retire to Aleppo, where he purchased an estate, married, and practised physic, under the protection of Malek Aidaher.

Moses
Nachmani-
des, his
knowledge.

Judæa was much depopulated by the wars which the Saracens and Christians waged there, as well as in Syria. Most of the cities frequently changed masters. Nevertheless, there were still doctors and synagogues in it. For here it was that the famous Moses Nachmanides retired, and built a synagogue. He was born at Gironne, and applied himself to physic; but afterwards made great progress in the study of the law, which has given him the name of the Father of Wisdom, the Luminary and the Flower of the Crown. A sermon, he preached before the king of Castile, obtained him the character of the Father of Eloquence. Ramban (which is the name he commonly goes by) at first despised the caballistical law; but when he had once relished it, he attained to the greatest perfection in it.

We cannot conjecture why Ramban, who enjoyed so great a reputation in his own country, left it to go to Jerusalem; but it is certain he retired thither, built a synagogue, and died there. Authors do not agree about the precise time of his death. He composed a prayer upon the Ruin of the House or Temple; Letters to induce men to Piety, and particularly to recommend the holy state of marriage. He entered deeply into the reigning disputes of that time, concerning Maimonides's sentiments; and made an apology for R. Alphes, which he entitled the Book of Wars. It would be useless to affix a catalogue of his works, which may be seen elsewhere. Baruch Germerheim also quitted his country to effect the reformation of the Spanish synagogues. From thence he went to Candia; and at length sought a retreat in Judæa, where he died.

A revolution
in Egypt.

The tranquillity of Egypt was no less disturbed than that of the Holy Land. St. Lewis endeavoured to make a conquest of this country: he took Damietta, and defeated Malek Almohadam, who succeeded his father, and then reigned in Egypt; but this caliph won a second battle, in which the king was made prisoner. Almohadam's mother caused him to be killed by Ibek, the leader of the Mamalukes, whom she was disposed to marry. Thus the love or ambition of an unnatural mother threw Egypt into foreign hands. There was no deliberation about the election of St. Lewis; for Ibek, the sultaness's gallant, was proclaimed king, and the mamalukes became masters of this great kingdom.

These mamalukes, so famous at that time, were of different nations: the first were slaves of Great Armenia, or Turcomans, which some Tartars had sold to the Egyptians. The king of Egypt took a thousand of them into his service, and employed them in building a fortress upon the sea-coast; from whence they took the name of Mamalukes Baharia, that is, maritime slaves. These people, accustomed to labour, arrived to the greatest employments, till at length Ibek became king of Egypt. The sultaness having caused him to be slain, Coutus was elected by the mamalukes. He vanquished the Tartars, who had hitherto been thought invincible; but, on chasing a hare, he was killed by Bibars, one of his principal officers, and the greatest man the Turcoman mamalukes ever had. He reigned but seventeen years, but spent them all at the head of his armies, which were generally victorious. Helaun, one of his successors, committed the same fault as the Egyptian sultans; for he brought a number of slaves from Circassia, to whom he entrusted the guard of the towers of Cairo, from whence they took the name of Jorghite Mamalukes, and growing potent and numerous, dethroned the marine mamalukes, and made themselves masters of Egypt.

It is said that these mamalukes received none but Christians among them, whom they caused to abjure their religion; and that all descended from Mahometan or Jewish parents were excluded. If this conjecture were solid, we could not doubt but the Jews were suspected by the governors of Egypt for near three centuries; for they were as much mistrusted as the natural Mahometans. These latter were distrusted because they were thought to be still attached to the house of the caliphs, the descendants of their prophet, who subsisted still in Egypt, but had no authority, and only concerned themselves with the affairs of religion. The Jews had no reason to raise again this decayed house; why then should they be mistrusted, and hindered from entering into the body of the mamalukes, when they renounced their religion? It is, however, true, that the Jews made no great figure in Egypt under their empire, and that they were great gainers by changing their master, as we shall see in the sequel. They preserved their synagogues, but had no share in public transactions. It looks as if they had renounced study, since no learned men appeared among them.

We only find, in the fourteenth century, one Simon Duran in some city of Africa; but he was not originally of this country. He had passed thither from Spain, from whence he had carried the commentary of Alphes, which he had translated. He composed a Chronology of the ancient Rabbins, the Buckler of the Fathers, Diligent Judgment, and the Judgment of Justice; which Buxtorf has confounded, as if they were but one book, because they are always joined together.

The Tartars, or Moguls, formed a new monarchy in Asia, and immediately seized upon Chorazan. This great revolution was occasioned by one of the most frivolous subjects that could embroil sovereigns. Mohammed, surnamed Chovarezm Shah, reigned in Chorazan, and had obliged all the neighbouring princes to submit to his laws. He had even forced the great Tartars to raise the siege of Samarcand. A numerous caravan of Tartarian merchants arrived at Otrar, a city of the Transoxiana, under the guard of a considerable officer of Ginghizkhan's spies. That which exasperated him was, that, being a Turcoman by birth, he had been brought up in the seraglio with the slaves, and had changed his name to conceal his origin. He wrote to his master, that he must punish all these slaves with death; and as the Persians have a saying, "The wisest are blind, when the decrees of Providence is come," Mohammed, who had so great an interest to live peaceably with the cham of Tartary, ordered the prisoners to be put to death without examination; and would give no satisfaction to Ginghizkhan, who demanded it before he engaged in the war which broke out betwixt these princes. Mohammed lost his courage as soon as he saw the vigorous resistance that was made by a handful of Tartars, who stopped his army in passing the Oxus. He deliberated whether he should pass that moment to the Indies, where he had made great conquests, but changed his design. The Tartars pushed him to such extremities, that he was forced to make his escape to the isles of the Caspian Sea, where he died, and was buried. His mother, whom he had put into an impregnable castle, was obliged to surrender for want of water; but no sooner was she got out, than there fell such a torrent of rain, that the cisterns overflowed. Ginghizkhan sent her home attired in mourning; but the crowd of those, who desired to see her before she went, was so great, that she was stifled for want of guards to disperse them.

The Tartars pushed their conquests much farther, and took Bagdad. Mosthadem, the last caliph of the house of the Abbassides, who then reigned, was a prince of very indifferent intellects, and so devoted to his pleasures, that he could not refrain from them, even when Hagalou, the sultan of the Moguls, invested the city, and pressed him hard by a siege of two months. This prince, being taken, was led through the streets of the city, wrapped up and smothered in a felt, in which he soon expired. One of his sons was taken off as he courageously defended a gate

Simon
Duran, his
works.

Establish-
ment of
Moguls
Asia.

a gate of the city, whilst his father was revelling; and the other was slain by the conqueror. Thus ended the illustrious house of the Abbassides, that had produced thirty-seven caliphs; and the east was subjected to the plunders of the Tartars and Moguls.

As these barbarous nations depopulated all the places they passed through, the settlements which the ten tribes had in this country were destroyed, and the nation again dispersed. However, they devoted themselves to these new masters of Asia, and sometimes found favour at their court. Akmed Khan, surnamed Nicoudar Oglan, after he had usurped his nephew's monarchy, turned Mussulman, and thereby drew upon him his subjects' hatred, who had great inclination for Christianity, and aversion for the Mahometans. Argoun Khan, who impatiently bore his uncle's usurpation, issued out of Chorazan, where he had retired, was defeated, and taken prisoner. This disgrace raised him to the throne; for Lemir Buga, who was ordered to kill him, joined with him, and surprising his uncle's general, and the sultan, who was diverting him at Bagdad, he caused him to be taken off, and ascended his father's throne. Argoun at first gave the government to Buga, who had done him so important a service; but this minister, elated with his grandeur, and unable to bear his exaltation, rebelled, was slain soon after, and a Jewish physician, ingenious and agreeable in conversation, named Saadeddoular, became first minister of the sultan. They do him this justice, that he deprived the Christians of nothing they possessed in Argoun's empire. But he employed all his address to raise his nation, and to procure it new establishments. Thus the Jews of the east began to revive, and to enjoy the advantages they had been so long deprived of.

The Mussulmen with indignation beheld the progress of the dispersed tribes, and the rather because they were kept out of all employments, and shut out of their prince's camp; but they were quickly so-laced by Argoun's sickness, while the Jews prayed in all the provinces for the sultan's health.

Saadeddoular, who foresaw the consequences of this sickness to himself and brethren, sent express orders every where to redress the grievances which were complained of during his ministry, and to appease the people by a speedy satisfaction, but all to no purpose. Argoun died, and, even before his death, the minister of state was accused of having poisoned his master. This accusation, invented by the Arabian historians, seems improbable. Nevertheless, Saadeddoular was taken off; and after the prince's death, which the Mussulmen considered as a very fortunate event, they fell upon the Jews, and made great slaughter of them, to revenge the real or pretended injustices they had done them.

We read likewise, in Aboufaid's life, who was sultan at the beginning of the fourteenth century, that a Jew appeared at his court with a pompous equipage; from whence it is inferred, that, notwithstanding the massacre at Chorazan, after Argoun's death, the Jews had re-established themselves at the court of the Moguls, who became Mussulmen. This monarchy was cantoned into many principalities after Aboufaid's death, which division gave rise to bloody wars, for each endeavoured to encroach upon his neighbour's frontiers, till Tamerlane appeared.

It is probable that the Jews enjoyed tranquillity in the Grecian empire during these two centuries; at least we meet with nothing to the contrary. We learn that they enjoyed full liberty of conscience; since the Greek writers of those times condemned the violence which the Latins exercised against them, in forcing them to be baptized; tho' none were more ready than themselves to judaize. These reproaches were but too well founded, considering the cruel usage the Jews met with from the crusaders, both in the west before they set out, and thro' every place of the east where they arrived.

No. 50.

CHAP. X.

State of the Jews in the west. Persecuted at Toledo. Massacred by the crusaders. Marriages with foreign women condemned. The prior of the Dominicans attempts their conversion by gentle means. Raymond Martin, a Dominican, produces a composition called "The Pontard of Faith." Alphonso X. king of Castile, encourages the Jews. Malouin's stratagem against them. Several learned men at this time. Books of devotion and instruction composed by the rabbies.

THE Jewish nation was numerous and potent in the west, and particularly in Spain, where it maintained its interest equally with the caliphs and Christian princes, because the different exigencies of state rendered them necessary to both. In the mean time their number and authority sometimes excited the jealousy of ecclesiastics, who persecuted them. This happened at the beginning of the thirteenth century at Toledo. The bishop of that great city, piqued to see his diocese filled with multitudes of opulent Jews, and desiring to enrich himself with their spoils, exasperated the people against them. This bishop, who was of a warm and restless temper, interfered in all affairs of peace and war, and nothing considerable was transacted in Spain but what he had a hand in. His merit had raised him to the see of Toledo, notwithstanding his birth; for he was an obscure native of Castile. His diocese became sensible that he was fitter to be a minister of state, or the general of an army, than a bishop. But the Jews suffered more from him than any others; for, putting himself at the head of a rabble which he had raised, he tumultuously entered their synagogue, dispersed the assembly, and thence proceeded to plunder their houses. He endeavoured to justify his rapacity, by accusing the Jews of having betrayed the city when the Moors besieged it: but it is not probable the besieged would quit the city to go in procession a league from it, or that they would have given up the custody of it. Besides, the capitulation of the inhabitants is their apology; for they were permitted to quit the country, and carry off their effects. They were allowed seven churches, upon condition of paying the imposts that had been paid to the Goths; and the Jews, who were included in the treaty, had liberty of conscience.

This disaster was followed by another; for the crusaders, who were preparing for their expedition to the Holy Land, having their rendezvous near this great city, completed what that prelate had begun, from a notion that the destruction of these enemies to Christianity would undoubtedly obtain a blessing on their enterprise; so that these votaries prescribed no bounds to their cruelty. Abravanel looks upon this persecution as one of the four severest that his nation suffered; for, according to his account, a greater number of Jews went out of Spain than Moses brought out of Egypt. The nobility of Spain withstood the torrent of these cruelties, and repressed them by their authority and resistance. But king Ferdinand, who endeavoured to win the love of his people, by persecuting the Albigenses and other heretics, and who himself set fire to the pile on which they were burned, to shew the ardour of his zeal, could not be favourable to the Jews, the most odious of all.

They ought, according to their principles, to blame themselves for their calamities, and to consider themselves as the principal causes of them; for, by their own confession, they were fallen into two trying sins. There was some variation in their *tephelim*. Their superstitious partiality for these phylacteries of the head and hand, was notorious in very early times, but it increased in the following ages. Even the points and ornaments of their letters were a subject of scruple and controversy betwixt

betwixt the German and Portuguese synagogues; and the Spaniards, differing upon this matter, raised commotions in the beginning of the thirteenth century; for R. Baruch made a journey from Germany to Spain, to reproach them with the novelties which they introduced into their synagogues.

Marriages with foreign women condemned.

In Spain they were guilty of a more palpable misdemeanor, for they no longer scrupled to marry strange women. As marriages with Christians had been severely forbidden, it is probable they contracted oftener with the Saracens' daughters. Moses de Cozzi reprobated these marriages. He was of an Italian family, and therefore retained the name of the town of Cozzi, in the Milanese, whence he came; but he was born in Spain, and deemed the most learned rabbi in his time. He was averse to these heterogeneous marriages. He preached often upon this subject, and, at last, had the good fortune to be heard; for many sent away the strange wives they had married. There were near 12000 Jews in the city of Toledo.

The prior of the Dominicans attempts their conversion by gentle means.

Raymond de Pennafort, prior of the Dominicans, had already condemned the violence that had been too often employed to destroy rather than convert the Jews, and recommended gentle instruction. As he had great credit with James I. king of Arragon, whose confessor he was, and often minister to the pope, he persuaded this prince, that he ought to repress the insolence of the people, to oblige many to the study of Arabic and Hebrew, to qualify them to dispute with Jews and Saracens, and to lead them to Christianity, by convincing them of their errors. They boast much of the success he had with the Saracens, and affirm, that he converted above ten thousand of them; and that the Moors of Africa had a sincere desire to do the same thing; but they do not so confidently speak of the conversion of the Jews. It is only observed, that they entertained great respect for his person, as an acknowledgment of his gentle and equitable way of dealing with them. King James of Arragon, at his request, published divers edicts; and though they were not so rigid as others had been, yet they infringed upon their ancient liberty.

Raymond Martin, a Dominican, composes a prediction, called, "The Poinard of Faith."

The exertion of this Dominican produced the *Pugio Fidei*, or Poinard of Faith. This book is sometimes ascribed to him, as if he was the author; but he was only the promoter of it; nor did it appear till three years after his death, composed by Raymond Martin, a man of the same order. It has been supposed that he was born a Jew, and that he turned monk after his conversion; but Nachmanides does not upbraid him with being an apostate from Judaism, though this violent and passionate rabbi spared not the grossest abuses. He had been selected to study the languages, to be employed in the conversion of the Jews; bore some part at the conference held at Barcelona, in the palace of king James, and, in his presence, against Moses Nachmanides, the famous casuist before-mentioned. We are told that Raymond so confounded his adversary, that he was obliged to quit Spain, and retire to Jerusalem, to avoid the shame and reproach that he would have incurred.

Alphonso encourages the Jews.

About the same time Alphonso X. king of Castile, employed another rabbi, Isaac, the son of Sid, who made the astronomical tables, which have since been called the Alphonfine, and held in great esteem by all the learned, who have applied themselves to that study. Moses, the son of Tibbon, who then lived in the kingdom of Granada, translated all Euclid's elements, whose manuscript is still at Rome. It is said he taught at Montpellier when he composed this work.

Malicious stratagem against the Jews.

Alphonso likewise made use of them in other cases; and proving so generous a patron, it excited the jealousy of the zealots, and put them upon devising new plots and accusations against them; and it was probably about this time that three villains, of the city of Oriena, in Andalusia, threw a dead body into the house of a Jew, and accused him of murder. This calumny being spread through the city, the people massacred all the Jews that fell into

their hands. Some of them escaped into their friends houses; but it being the feast of unleavened bread, and there being none of it to be met with, they were very near dying with hunger, as chusing rather to fast than break the law. The inhabitants of Palma imitated the Orienians in slaughtering the Jews, who solicited their brethren to lend a deputation to the court, to put a stop to a massacre that was like to become universal. The persecutors followed the three Jews, that were deputed, very closely, and arrived even before them; because these envoys had been obliged to leave the road, and abscond in a forest, for fear of falling into their persecutors hands. Joseph, the head of the embassy, pleaded with so much eloquence, that he was admired by all the court. The king acquitted the nation of the pretended murder; but, nevertheless, rebuked them for their excessive usuries, the sumptuousness of their dress, and the pomp wherewith these fugitives walked the streets, to the provoking jealousy of his subjects. He asked them why they taught to sing, since they ought to be in mourning? Why they instructed their children to fence, since they never went to war? The Jews excused themselves, by saying, that their nation had a mixture of bad and good men, like the Christians; and that the king had only condemned the magnificence of habits in the Jews, without mentioning their women, which occasioned them to think the edict did not relate to them.

The countenance and protection of Alphonso produced many learned men, besides those already mentioned, and, amongst the rest, the famous Meir Mithridos, as he is called by Gantz; though he was the son of Theodorus, prince of the Levites at Burgos. He ought not to be confounded, as is commonly done, with another Meir of Narbonne, his cotemporary, and who had, like him, a great many disciples.

This rabbi, a native of Toledo, was a great casuist. He gave his principal piece the title, "Before and Behind, or before the Faces," to shew that he penetrated to the bottom of the most subtle arguments, and had studied all sides of a question. He wrote also a volume of letters against Nachmanides, and trained up disciples that maintained their nation's and their master's honour.

Nor was it only at the court of Castile that the learned rabbies appeared, and were respected. James I. king of Arragon, respected them so highly as to receive moral lectures from them. He desired of them the books of devotion and piety they had composed. R. Jona, who lived at that time, wrote to another Jona, of Gironne, for advice, how he ought to act with the king of Arragon's injunctions, who had commanded him to write a book, to instruct man in the duties of religion and piety. It is believed likewise, that it is to this Jona we ought to ascribe the honour of a famous book concerning fear, which is attributed to the other Jona, and has been translated into several languages. The rabbies, upon the whole, must have been in great favour with this prince, since he had recourse to them to be instructed in the rules of true piety.

C H A P. XI.

Massacre of the Jews in Languedoc. They are exposed to fresh outrages. Massacre of them in Toledo. Mebir, a Jew physician, put to the torture for poisoning the king. Jews persecuted by Henry III. Oppressed in Arragon. Learned men.

THE grossest outrages were committed on the Jews in Languedoc by the rabble, who were instigated to it by the monks. Nothing could resist the torrent which overflowed on all sides, and made horrible havock wherever it came. They particularly attacked the Jews, to enrich themselves with their spoils; yet the Christians were not secure, because the smallest pretence was a sufficient motive for pillaging their houses. Application was made to the pope, who resided at Avignon; but the people despised

The learned men in the time of the pharaohs.

Bookish notions of the rabbies.

Massacres in the Jews in Languedoc.

despised his excommunications and anathemas. The count de Tolouse executed the laws and justice upon them. He seized some of them, and made them prisoners; but the people opened the prisons, and the monks broke their chains. The count was willing to save some Jews; but the man, to whom he had entrusted their custody, delivered them to their enemies; and he had the mortification to see them come into his city to force the remainder of that nation to turn Christians. They submitted to it to avoid death. The massacre continued at Bourdeaux, Agen, Castel-Sarasin, and other cities. Those who were retired to Narbonne, imagining the storm was over, came out of their retreat; but they found in the way a troop of ruffians, who, supported by the peasants, put them to the sword. The king of France, tired with so many cruelties, ordered them to be prosecuted without quarter. The nobility armed by the king's order, and obliged them to retire into Navarre and Arragon. They carried the same disposition thither, and caused the same disorders. The king of Arragon armed against them, put prince Alphonso at the head of his army, who caused the leader of the ruffians to be killed by his master of the horse, and dispersed the rest. Part of them perished by the sword, and the rest by pestilence.

The plague was a fresh spring of misery to the Jews, who were supposed to be the cause of it. They were accused of conspiring with the peasants of Mesura, to poison the waters of the river, and of furnishing them with the ingredients. They were cast into prisons, and informations were lodged against them. Their innocence was proved; but the king, who was unwilling to acknowledge the injustice he had committed, in retaining such vast numbers of prisoners so long upon a false pretence, declared that he had shut them up only to convert them; and upon their refusal to embrace Christianity, fifteen thousand of them were sentenced to the fire and burnt.

Alphonso the Eleventh, their friend and protector, though wholly guided by one Joseph of Astigi, then intendant of his finances, was prevailed upon, nevertheless, by his mutinous subjects, to issue out an edict against them, on account of an indignity pretended to have been offered by a Jewish boy to the apparatus of a sacred ordinance, as it was carried through the streets. A council was called that very night, to deliberate whether they should be massacred or banished, when the advice for banishment prevailed. Happily for them the prince-royal obtained a revision of the process, by which it was found that it was a young Christian, whose curiosity had brought him to the window to see the procession, and had by chance overset a vessel of water upon the chalice. The king, upon this, revoked his edict, to the mortification of the zealots, who gave out that the Christian had been suborned to make a deposition in favour of their enemies. This, however, did not hinder the populace from falling upon the Jews in another city, where they massacred them upon the same pretence, and might have gone a much greater length, had not the king caused ten of the mutinous ringleaders to be hanged.

No sooner had they escaped this danger, than they fell into another, much more dreadful. There was a mutiny against them at Toledo. R. Ascher, having fled some time before from his native place Northembourg, retired to Toledo with his eight sons. One of his children, seeing an assassin breaking open his house in order to murder him, fell into such an excess of rage, as to kill all his relations that were shut up with him. He stabbed his own wife, and that of his brother Jacob, a man remarkable not only for his disinterestedness, while he lived, as teaching always gratis, though he was poor, but for leaving behind a famous book, intitled Turim, which is a body of civil and ecclesiastical law. This Jew, having killed all his relations, dispatched himself, for fear of falling into the hands of the Nazarenes. Some place this persecution in the year 1340; but others date it nine years later, and with reason, not only because in the year 1340, R. Jacob composed

the book before mentioned, but Alphonso XI. who had countenanced the nation from the beginning of his reign, was living in 1349. At his death he tolerated a sedition which he could not suppress. Peter the Cruel, his son, who came to the throne in the year 1350, saw several factions formed in his kingdom, either by the insolence of the people, or the great, who usurped part of his authority, and caused most violent commotions. Henry de Tristemare, his natural brother, supported by Bertrand de Guelclin took Toledo, killed him, and came before Burgos, which still resisted. The Jews fortified themselves in their quarter, and refused to surrender to the conqueror. Peter, they alledged, was their lawful king; and that they would rather lose their lives, than receive another master, who was not the heir of his house. Henry could not forbear esteeming their fidelity for a deceased king, and therefore granted them honourable conditions when they engaged on his side.

Tristemare, at his accession to the crown, made Don Mehir his physician; but dying soon after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, Mehir was put to the torture, and confessed that he had killed the king. Other Spanish authors, however, as Gulman and Mariana, think he was rather poisoned by a Moor, whom the king of Granada had sent thither for that purpose. But as his death was occasioned by a weakness in his nerves, there is no great probability that he was poisoned, especially by his physician, to whom he had been so good a friend.

The Jews were not treated more favourably at the end of this century than they had been at the beginning. They complained that the monks, who were willing to make themselves favourites at court, or with the people, from a principle of zeal, affected to appear their irreconcilable enemies. One of them obtained an order, by the queen's means, to banish them all from Spain. But this prince, being advised not to cut down, or pluck up, a vine that bore good fruit, was appeased by a sum of fifty thousand gold crowns. They suffered much more under the reign of Henry III. king of Castile, who was but fourteen years old when he came to the throne. Martin, archdeacon of Astigi, preaching in the streets of Seville and Corduba, so inflamed the minds of the people against the Jews, as to cause them to massacre them. The flame flew to Toledo, Valencia, and Barcelona, where some were plundered, and others killed, whilst the more politic changed their religion, to escape the fury of the rabble. The synagogues of Seville and Corduba, which were so numerous, were dispersed by the multitude of deserters. Henry pursued them. Those that retired to Andalusia, and other places, were murdered by the inhabitants.

His son John was as inhuman as himself. Those who concealed themselves in the father's reign, perished miserably in the son's, because they were denied all the necessaries of life, and were easily distinguished by a red badge, which they were forced to wear.

Nor were they more happy in Arragon; for the states being assembled to prevent the consequences of a war, that seemed inevitable, they resolved to raise new taxes upon the Moors and Jews, to supply the exigencies of state, whilst the nobility took up arms; and these imports subjected them to continual vexations and prosecutions, which reduced them to the lowest degree of misery.

However, this century was not without its great men, among whom we must reckon one Salomon, son of Chanor, who went from Constantinople to Burgos, to reveal the Profundities of the Law. This was the title of a book in which he explained the difficult passages of the Pentateuch, and the interpretations of the rabbies, that were too metaphorical or hyperbolical.

His son Schem Tou lived in the year 1375, and translated St. Matthew's gospel into Hebrew. He also published his Paradise, in which he maintains, that

Mehir, a Jew physician, put to the torture for poisoning the king.

Jews persecuted by Henry III.

Oppressed in Arragon.

Learned men.

that most of the Talmudic stories ought to be interpreted allegorically.

Zerechias the younger also lived at that time, who must not be mistaken for another of the same name, who lived in the twelfth century, and passes for a Spaniard; though he was born at Lunel, in Languedoc, because this province then depended upon Spain.

The king of Castile had two Jewish physicians in his suite: the latter, called Meir Algudes, was at the same time intendant or head of all the Spanish synagogues. He translated Aristotle's ethics. This philosopher's works were so esteemed by the rabbies, that Schem Tou, another learned man, inserted them in his Excellency of the Law. This mark of esteem is the more extraordinary, because the doctors hardly ever read the works of foreigners, which they generally despised.

CHAP. XII.

The Jews favoured by the popes. Reason of the conduct of the popes. Conduct of pope Gregory IX. He prevents a general massacre of the Jews in France. A persecution at Trani. Jews protected and instructed by Clement V. Particularly favoured by Clement VI. Become powerful at Bologna.

The Jews favoured by the popes.

Reason of the conduct of the popes.

Of all sovereigns, hardly one is to be found whose authority has been more indulgent to the Jews than that of the popes; who, whilst they persecuted Christians not subject to their laws, countenanced this nation, out of which they chose intendants of their finances. They granted them privileges, and left them full liberty of conscience. Some popes, indeed, have been their enemies: it is impossible that, in so long a succession of Roman bishops, they should all have been of the same constitution, and followed the same principles. They still lived more quietly under the dominion of the heads of the church than any where else: and it is easy to assign the reasons of the popes conduct towards the Jews, whilst they maintained a quite opposite one towards the Christians.

The popes had not so much spleen against the Jews, because they had not sufficient power to give them umbrage. The Protestants opposed the pontifical authority, and endeavoured to resume the privileges that belonged to them; and therefore the popes have made constant efforts to weaken and destroy them. Besides, the Jews have no particular grudge to the popes, as all Christians to them are upon a level. The desire of revenge, and the glory of destroying rivals, have no place here: instead of gaining by their destruction, the respect to their revenues interests them in their preservation.

Conduct of pope Gregory IX.

Gregory IX. nephew to Innocent III. was one of the most zealous pontiffs. He was for having all princes leave their kingdoms, to make the conquest of the Holy Land from the infidels. He had the pleasure to see the isles of Minorca and Majorca, that were full of Mussulmen, return into Christian hands, after Ferdinand had destroyed the fleet of the Moors. It is said too, that all the inhabitants of these two isles turned Christians. Though he had a misunderstanding with Frederick the emperor, yet he scrupled not to write to him, to let him know, that he might deliver the incredulous Jews to the secular arm to be punished; in which he departed from his uncle's conduct, who preserved them in their ancient privileges. But he himself altered his opinion; for, being informed that the Jews were massacred in several places, when the expedition was on foot for the Holy Land, he prevented these barbarous executions.

He also delivered them from another persecution they fell into, under pretence that they used human blood in their medicines. The inhabitants of Huguenuau accused the Jews, their fellow-citizens, of stealing some children from the Christians, and

murdering them in a mill, in order to use their blood in some of their remedies. The imposture was gross; and the emperor, who nicely investigated the matter, was convinced of their innocence. The like fury prevailed in Spain. The English Jews would have been treated with the same inhumanity, had they not warded off the danger, by buying the minister's and the king's favour. They were killed and persecuted in several places: but the greatest massacre was at Paris. It had lasted longer, if pope Gregory IX. who had then the see, had not written pressing to Lewis, to stop the course of these cruelties, and not to force the consciences of the Jews: and thus they were indebted for their lives to the pope's toleration, not only in his diocese, but also in France.

He prevents a general massacre of the Jews in France.

They were severely treated in Trani, where a popular tumult was raised upon vain pretences. They were grown potent in these two cities, and also in the whole kingdom of Naples, where they had numerous synagogues and learned rabbies. They compare the poets of this country with those of Provence, who were then in so great reputation. The king openly protected them, because they had done him essential services in his wars. He gave them a recommendation when he died; but it was thought they could not have a greater service done them, than by converting them to Christianity. To evade the persecution, they promised to change their religion, upon condition they might take wives from good houses, and the noble families of Naples. Every body was deceived in this contract, except the ecclesiastics. The Jews were surprized to see these conditions granted. In the mean time there was no retracting, and they must turn Christians. It was no less surprize to others, to see several marriages made up by means of so recent and suspected a conversion. Those that found not a match returned to their old religion. A monk of Trani, in order to be revenged on the Jews, accused one of them with offering an indignity to the rites of the Christian religion. This incensed the common people, who mutinied, and massacred all they met with. The tumult proceeded from Trani to Naples, where the Jews would have been all murdered, if some men of power had not concealed the richest of them, and screened them from the popular fury. The Jews would have been to blame if they had accused the pope of all these commotions, as he had no hand in them; for Alexander IV. sent Octavius to Naples, to restore the Guelfs, and to enforce his authority. But Octavius could not succeed, and the pope died soon after the ill success of his negotiation. So that he could neither cause or remedy the miseries the Jews suffered.

A persecution at Trani.

They were more at rest in Ancona. This territory was not in the ecclesiastical state, since pope Clement VII. did not seize it with his troops till the year 1532, upon pretence of defending it against the Turks.

Clement V. who removed his see to Avignon, because of the troubles Italy was disturbed with at the beginning of the fourteenth century, protected them there against the fury of their enemies.

Jews protected and instructed by Clement V.

This pontiff, who endeavoured to secure them from violence, took also care of their instruction: for he appointed professors in all universities, to teach Hebrew, and train up scholars to dispute with and instruct them, after they had learned their language and rites, and the necessary arguments to convince them.

Clement VI. succoured them in a signal manner. The persecution they suffered was commonly a fury, that breaking out at one end of a kingdom, not only inflamed the adjacent provinces, but the neighbouring states. The pretence for this, which was almost universal, was the poisoning fountains and rivers to destroy all those that drank of them. Such as soberly examine the matter, acknowledge, that it is impossible thus to poison rivers. Many people, however, died this year; and the Jews were thought guilty of the mortality. They were massacred in Spain and Germany, where the mischief began.

Particularly favoured by Clement VI.

Twelve thousand of them perished in Bavaria. The imperial cities made bridges with the ruins of the houses of the Jews they pulled down, which consequently must have been in great numbers. Some, reduced to despair, suffered themselves to be crushed under their battered houses; and others burnt themselves, to avoid falling into the hands of their persecutors. Clement VI. in the midst of all their disasters, received them at Avignon, whilst they were burnt in other places, and did all that lay in his power to stop the torrent of this excessive fury.

The Jews were then potent at Bologna; for, besides the synagogue they already had, they built another, larger and finer, and also set up an academy there. It was one of the Hannaarim, who removing from Rome to Bologna, that made this new settlement. This family, which bears the name of Children, is still illustrious, and pretended to be so at that time, since Moses, the head of it, traced his genealogy as high as those Jews whom Titus carried to Rome. They lived in this great city till the end of the fourteenth century, and then made choice of Bologna, where they made great improvements, and built the finest synagogue in Italy.

C H A P. XIII.

Edict of Philip the August against usury. The Jews expelled Britany. Decrees of the council of Lyons. Of the council of Vienna. Jews persecuted under St. Lewis. Recalled. Banished Gascony by Edward I. By Philip the Fair. Recalled. Persecuted afresh in Languedoc. Banished for ever out of France. Obtain privileges at Metz.

PHILIP the August still reigned at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and many petitions were presented to him against the usury of the Jews, who, not content with their excessive interests, and the mortgages of the church-plate, made their debtors slaves. The princes connived at these extortions, because the usurers bought their protection; and because, upon the people's complaints, they were condemned to great fines, and the confiscation of their estates to the royal treasury.

The king, however, was so often importuned by the remonstrances of the people, that he issued several decrees, forbidding the lending money to a monk, unless he could produce the letters-patent of his chapter; the taking in pledge the ornaments of the church; and the necessary tools of workmen. The soldier had liberty to pledge his house; but the husbandman and carpenter, who lived by their labour, were prohibited borrowing of a Jew, upon pain of losing the debt. The edict was still severer in Normandy, where there were Jews as in other places; for the creditors were obliged to cite the borrowers before the bailiff, and the debts were invalid that were not registered in his presence.

These remedies did not cure the evil, as we find afterwards many regulations upon the same subject. It was debated in the assembly of Melun, convened by St. Lewis at the beginning of his reign, when it was forbidden to borrow of the Jews, or take up money at interest from them, to deprive them of all pretences of violence and injustice. But among all the laws, the statute of the duke of Britany, in the year 1239, is the most remarkable.

The Jews dispersed in this province were very numerous, and, being for the most part usurers, impoverished the people. The merchants and nobility complained of it. John Rufus was then duke of Britany, his father Maucclerc having laid down the government. This prince assembled the states, by which it was enacted, at the request of the bishops, abbots, barons, and vassals of Britany, that all the Jews should be banished out of this province for ever.

The debtors of the Jews were discharged from the debts they had contracted with them; and those

that had received pledges from them were allowed to keep them.

All that killed a Jew were declared innocent; and the judges were forbidden to take an information against them, or to bring them to trial.

It was resolved to address the king of France to cause this statute to be executed in his dominions, that is, to expel the Jews, to strip them of their fortunes, and give licence to kill them.

The duke of Britany engaged for himself and his posterity, for the present and future, "to maintain the said ordinance; and in case of its violation, the bishops had not only power to excommunicate him, but to confiscate his lands in their dioceses, without any respect to the privileges he had obtained, or might obtain for the future."

Lastly, he declared, "that not one of his vassals in Britany should be admitted to do homage, till he had taken oath before two bishops, or two barons, to observe this law, and not to suffer any Jew upon his territories."

The great council of Lyons, in which the emperor was excommunicated, made two new decrees. By one, princes, who had Jewish subjects, were commanded to oblige them to return to the crusaders all the money they had extorted from them, upon pain of excommunication to some; and others were deprived of the privileges of civil society. By the second, the Jews were inhibited from demanding their debts of the crusaders till their return, or till they had received an authentic certificate of their death. The council of Vienna also, called in the same century, was obliged to maintain the Christians against the oppressions they suffered by the usury of the Jews.

Notwithstanding all these decrees and precautions, the Jews still found means to maintain their influence, inasmuch that, in some provinces of France, particularly in Languedoc, they had the privilege of being raised to the magistracy, and, in most places of the kingdom, to have Christian slaves; a circumstance which was attended with very great inconvenience, and often with enormous abuses.

Saint Lewis, zealous for his own religion, persecuted all others. The inquisition, encouraged by his orders, exercised its utmost cruelty upon those they called heretics. In fine, this prince, infatuated with the crusades, permitted those that engaged in the holy league to commit several outrages. In his reign the people rose at Paris against the Jews, under pretence that they sacrificed children on Good Friday, and had occasion for Christian blood that day. Many of them were massacred. The same fury raged in the provinces of Brie, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, where about 2500 persons suffered violent deaths, who refused to abjure their religion. Things at length proceeded so far, that the pope was obliged to write to the king, desiring him to moderate his rage, and informing him, that the Jews ought to be allowed to follow the dictates of their consciences.

During this prince's unfortunate imprisonment in the Holy Land, a prodigious body of his subjects confederated together to go and rescue him. They were headed by one James of Hungary, a Mahometan, and afterwards an apostate from the Cistercian order, who, at the head of this multitude, marched to Orleans, where he massacred all the priests and monks he met with. Departing thence, he pursued his road to Bourges, where he caused all the Jews' books to be seized, in order to be burnt, and plundered them wherever he could. But at length the people rising against these plunderers, in their turn, made great slaughter of them, in which they lost their leader, with many others.

We are told of a conference between R. Jechiel, a learned Jew and great casuist, and Nicholas Dominim, a famed convert from Judaism, before queen Blanche, then regent of the kingdom, and a private encourager of this new crusade. The Christians and

Decrees of the council of Lyons.

Council of Vienna.

The Jews persecuted under St. Lewis.

Jews-powerful at Bologna.

Edicts of Philip the August against usury.

Jews expelled Britany.

Jews give us different accounts of the success of it; but that St. Lewis was no friend to the Jews plainly appears from the edict which he sent, whilst under his confinement, to have them banished out of France, which was punctually executed. The Jews, however, pretend that it was the king himself that banished them after his return.

Philip the Bold recalled them, urged, as it is said, by the necessity of his affairs; for the imprisonment and schemes of Lewis had exhausted the finances of the kingdom; and the wars which Philip was obliged to sustain accomplished his ruin. It was thought, therefore, they could not better re-establish the revenues, than by recalling a people that brought treasures along with them, together with the art of making money circulate. Philip's natural lenity contributed much to this recall: however, they were expelled under Philip the Fair.

The Spaniards claimed Levi, the son of Gersom, grandson of Nachmanides by his daughter, as one of those doctors that do their country honour; tho' he was born in Provence, and was therefore a Frenchman, if we consider the provinces that at present compose that monarchy, and have always been a part of Gaul. This rabbi maintained peculiar principles of his own, and was totally averse to every thought that tended to countenance the supposition of apparitions. He lived till the fourteenth century, in which he composed his commentary upon Samuel, and many other works; and was a witness to part of the miseries that ruined his nation in France.

Levi Ben. Gersom a learned rabbi.

Gascony had likewise a great number of Jews, who had gained such an ascendant there, that complaint was made to Edward I. then in possession of it, by an English knight, who, having mortgaged some lands to one of them, and summoned him before a judge, refused to appear or release the mortgage. The king gave the Jew to understand that he must comply, and that, though he had suffered them to enjoy all the privileges which his father had granted to them, he would himself be judge, and shew that he did not design to give them the preference over the Christians; upon which the Jew submitted to the law. But the king having soon after escaped being killed by a clap of thunder, which passed over his bed, and killed two of his officers in the same chamber, thereupon banished them out of Gascony, and all his other dominions in France. There had, by this time, crept such abominable abuses, both amongst the Jews and Christians, in all those Gallic parts, that pope Nicholas IV. sent orders to all his inquisitors there to be more watchful over their conduct; and they executed his commands with great punctuality.

Jews in Gascony banished by Edward I.

His example was not long after followed by Philip the Fair, who wholly banished them out of his dominions. It is said that he did a good deed from an evil principle, the desire of plundering and becoming rich. The king was covetous, and so violently oppressed his people, that the Parisians rebelled and besieged him in the temple, where he remained a whole day without food, the besiegers having engrossed whatever was valuable in the synagogues. He banished all the Jews, upon pain of death or conversion, and confiscated the estates of the exiles to his own use, permitting them only to carry their cloaths and a sum of money out of the kingdom. Part of them died by the way with fatigue and hunger: the rest retired into Germany, from whence the Jews of that country look upon themselves as originally of France, descended from these persecuted people.

By Philip the Fair.

Some turned Christians, to prevent the misery they thought unavoidable in foreign countries; and, amongst the rest, Nicholas de Lyra, who wrote more learnedly and strongly against the Jews than any either before or after him.

But most of the rest relapsed into the Judaism they had abjured; and four years after one of these proselytes was burnt at Paris the same day with Margaret of Hainault.

That avarice and interest which had expelled the Jews out of France, caused them to be recalled again eight years after. Lewis Hutin, or the Mutineer, (for these two words signify the same thing,) succeeding his father, and seeing great disorder in his finances, the kingdom exhausted of money, the people ready to mutiny, remembering the oppressions they had suffered in the preceding reign, was not contented with sacrificing Enguerrand de Marigny, his father's favourite, to their resentment, but as this execution did not remedy the mischief, he demanded a large sum of money of the fugitive Jews, and upon that condition recalled them to his dominions, where they lived peaceably in his reign, which, to their misfortune, was very short, and they were again exposed to new troubles.

Recalled.

In the year 1320 they underwent a second persecution. This misfortune was no sooner over than they fell into another. Historians relate, that the Saracen king of Granada, mortified to find himself so often overcome by the Christians, sought an expedient to be rid of them otherways than by arms. He called the Jews of his kingdom, and asked them, whether there was no way to poison all the Christians? They undertook this commission; but thinking they could not execute it themselves, as they were too much suspected, they corrupted some lepers, and communicated their design to them, which was to poison the wells and fountains. These lepers being bribed, and farther hoping to enrich themselves with the spoils of the dead, assembled in four general councils, and formed their project all together. The waters were found poisoned in France and Germany. A leading man of Pernay sent to the king the deputation of a leper, whom he had seized in his territories, and who confessed he had been corrupted by a rich Jew, that gave him a receipt, which being dried, put in a bag, and thrown into a well, immediately rendered all the water baneful. The lepers were tried; some were shut up in prisons, and others in their pest-houses, and prohibited to go out. The people of Languedoc, without waiting for the necessary formalities of law, massacred them in such a barbarous manner as cannot be read without horror; while the pretended criminals marched to the flames, and other cruel executions, with as much joy as if they had been going to the celebration of a festival. At Paris they had more equity shewn them, for none but those who appeared guilty were put to death. Some were banished, and others kept prisoners till they had discovered their treasures, which king Philip the Long seized, and thereby raised a considerable sum. Some historians, however, affirm, that they were all expelled out of the kingdom.

Persecuted afresh in Languedoc.

The exigencies of the state obliged Charles, dauphin of Vienne, and duke of Normandy, to recall them during the disorders caused by the imprisonment of his father in England, by the oppression of the great men, and the mutinies of the people, who were weary of their tedious tyranny. When he came to be king, he confirmed what he had done as dauphin, obliging only the Jews of his kingdom to wear a badge of distinction.

Recalled.

Their last calamity happened in the reign of Charles VI. This prince, being disordered in his senses, or, as some affirm, bewitched, the Jews were accused of committing some murders and other outrages, for which some of them were hanged, others scourged, and the synagogues fined, severities which obliged many of them to turn Christians. At length appeared the edict which for ever banished their whole nation from the French dominions, and it is from that sad epocha that they begin the date of their years.

Banished ever since France.

They have been tolerated in France, though they have not an entire liberty. Profanus, the celebrated astronomer, taught at Montpellier in the middle of the fifteenth century. Mary de Medicis not only sent for Montalto to Paris, to be her physician, but obtained of Henry IV. an absolute liberty of conscience for him and all his family. There were Jews afterwards in Gascony, and from thence came Isaac Castro

Castro de Tartas, who being taken at Brasil by the Portuguese, was put into the inquisition, and burnt alive. But if the Jews have lived in France, it was only by way of toleration, without public authority. Most dissembled, and feigned the profession of a religion they abhorred. There are still in that kingdom some of these disguised Jews, who have entered into public offices in the church, to screen themselves from the royal authority, which persecutes them with the greatest severity even into their retreats.

We must, however, except the city of Metz in Lorrain, in which they preserved their ancient privileges and a synagogue. This was afterwards confirmed to them by Lewis XIII. and an edict passed in their favour, by which all criminal causes relating to them were to be referred to the council, and their ancient privileges confirmed; which edict, given at St. Germain's, bears date 1670.

CHAP. XIV.

Oppressions of king John. Jews under Henry III. Crusades dangerous. Jews purchase an indemnity. Heavy taxes imposed on them. Henry deceives the crusaders. Jews disposed to quit England. They are sold to Richard, brother of Henry. Accusations preferred against them at Lincoln. A party in England withstand the king's oppression. The Jews synagogue seized. Their expulsion by king Edward.

WE read of nothing worth mentioning concerning the Jews in England till the time of king John, except that they were invited into this kingdom by William the Conqueror. Even so early as the reign of king Stephen, anno 1145, they were accused of crucifying a young Christian in contempt of that religion, and were accordingly punished for it. They were again prosecuted for the same atrocious act in Gloucester, in the reign of Henry II. anno 1181; but some have supposed, and not without probability, that these accusations were feigned, in order to oppress and fleece the individuals of that nation.

King John reigned with severity, used his subjects ill, and incurred the displeasure of the court of Rome by his oppressing the archbishop of Canterbury; which obliged the pope to interdict his kingdom. The Jews he loaded with heavy taxes; and when they began to refuse him money, made them prisoners, and extorted, by violent punishments, what he could not obtain by his edicts. Not satisfied with these extortions, he confiscated the estates of all the Jews of his kingdom, and banished them by proclamation.

The English rebelled against king John, and invited a foreigner to reign in his stead; but his death put a stop to the calamities that threatened the kingdom. The barons joined with young Henry III. raised an army, and gave battle to Lewis of France, who, with difficulty, had much ado to repass the sea, after he had given up all that he had taken. Henry reigned fifty-six years, during which long term the Jews had several turns of fortune.

Henry III. proposed to convert the Jews of his kingdom, which he thought he could not more effectually promote than by founding a seminary for the maintenance of converts. He committed the conduct of it to an ingenious man, who carried on the design with great assiduity. All that were willing to be converted had here a safe retreat, where they lived in peace, without being subject to servile labour or usury. There were many induced by idleness, and the temptation of being maintained without pain or labour, to come into it; so that the number of the converts multiplied, and the house continued a long time.

The Jews of Norwich were accused, some time after, of taking away a Christian child, of having kept it for a year, and after they had circumcised

him, designing to crucify him at the feast of the passover. But the design being discovered, the crime passed not unpunished.

The same accusation was brought against those of London four years after, with some remarkable circumstances. The child having been sold to them by his parents and crucified, and the facts discovered by some marvellous circumstances not worth mentioning, he was canonized for a martyr, and his relics carefully preserved. However, the murderers could not be found out, only some Jews, having left London about that time, were shrewdly suspected.

All the Jews were alarmed the year following, from the persecutions of the crusaders in Spain, France, and Germany: fearing, therefore, that this storm would fly over the sea, and fall upon them, they prevented it, and purchased an edict of the king, prohibiting any harm to be done them throughout his dominions.

Through misfortune, the king having frequent occasions for money, Galfrid, his prime minister, thought it could not be easier found than among the Jews. Upon their refusal, therefore, to pay the great sums he demanded, they were accused of committing a murder at London; numbers were imprisoned; and, after many vexatious sufferings, obliged to pay a third of all their estates.

Nor did this suffice for their entire security, for four years after this insatiable prince demanded new presents from his subjects. He rejected those which the abbots and priors brought, when they were not deemed considerable enough, and demanded greater. The Jews were not spared in his demands. He received himself the gold that was presented, and made his officers receive the silver. One particular Jew, called Aaron, was obliged to pay him four hundred gold marks, and his officers four thousand marks of silver. This same Aaron was taxed, seven years after, ten thousand marks of gold, and fourteen thousand marks of silver, to gratify the queen, and obtain his release out of prison. The rest of the Jews were not more happy: they were accused of coining, and counterfeiting the prince's seal; and, under these pretences, they loaded them with imposts. They had their exchequer, and particular judge. It is probable they gained over this judge by presents; at least the extortioners were accused of favouring them, to have the power of fleecing them in their turn. John Lunel, though an ecclesiastic, could not secure himself from this accusation. He was charged with receiving great sums from many Jews, for protecting them at the bar, and diminishing their taxes. The king suffered him to be cruelly treated; and his punishment would have been still greater, if one of his first ministers had not procured his pardon. A knight afterwards underwent the same fate: he was impeached of being corrupted by the Jews, whose commissary or overseer he was, and of having forged a false indenture, to which he put the king's seal, entrusted to him for the Jewish affairs. Complaint was brought to the king, and he recriminated upon the Jews who had assisted him. However, he could not rescue himself from the hands of justice, without the loss of his post, and a considerable fine.

The holy war furnished Henry with a new pretence for oppressing his subjects. The pope had written a very cogent letter to him, to oblige him to crusade, and succour the king of France out of hand. He engaged to do it; but at the same time pillaged the Jews of all they had remaining; and after this spoil, deprived the Christians of their jewels, and every thing that was valuable.

Henry afterwards spread a report, that the king of Spain designed to declare war against him. This was advanced as a new motive for his demanding supplies from his people. The peers of the realm being assembled at London, remonstrated, that being drained by former taxes, they could contribute no farther: that if the king of Castile did effectually make war, they would not refuse their assistance; but his design being yet concealed, they could not

At London.

Crusades dangerous. Jews purchase an indemnity.

Heavy taxes imposed on them.

Henry deceives the crusaders.

raise

The Jews obtain privileges at Metz.

Oppressions of king John.

Jews under Henry III.

Jews of Norwich.

Jews dis-
posed to
quit Eng-
land.

raise subsidies upon uncertain rumours. They had the better reason for what they did, because the king's desire was only to satisfy the avarice of foreigners at his court. The weight of this refusal fell upon the Jews, who had less authority, but more wealth. Fresh sums being demanded of them, which they could not pay, Elias of London spoke for them all, and represented to the council, that, since they had resolved to sink them, they had better expel them the kingdom, or grant them the liberty of departing; as, perhaps, they might somewhere else find a prince who had some sentiments of justice or humanity; that the king knew well that, tho' he should denounce the heaviest penalties, they could not furnish the sum demanded of them. However, the council denied them the liberty of departing; but the tax was moderated, and by this means they drew from them the little they had remaining.

They are
sold to
Henry's
brother.

Henry renewed these extortions the year following. He represented that, notwithstanding all the taxes he had raised, he still continued involved in debt. He solemnly declared his debts amounted to two or three hundred thousand marks. He observed, that he must defray the expences of his household; and therefore he demanded eight thousand marks of the Jews. They represented once more to the king, that they were ready to quit the kingdom, and that the pope's usurers had compleated their ruin. The king, enraged with this refusal, sold them to his brother Richard. It was not doubted but that Richard would treat them more harshly than his brother, and demand double the payment of his debt; but he took pity on them, because he was convinced of their poverty and distress.

An accusa-
tion pre-
ferred a-
gainst them
at Lincoln.

Besides these misfortunes which overwhelmed them, the Jews of Lincoln were accused of murdering a child. There were three particular circumstances in this accusation. One was, that the Jews of Lincoln had invited four others from every city in England to assist at this sacrifice. A second, that the murderer confessed, when his life was promised him, that this sacrifice was renewed every year, though it was not always discovered. The third was, that the king refusing to ratify the promise of saving the Jews, they not only put him to death, but arrested ninety-one prisoners at London, and punished many others of them capitally.

A party in
England
withstand
the king's
oppression.

The king, who reigned with such extortion, and exhausted his subjects by his avarice, must of necessity create himself cruel enemies; therefore they combined against him in England. The earls of Leicester and Gloucester heading the leaguers, gave him battle, in which his brother Richard, who was called king of Germany, because he had been elected emperor by the suffrages of some princes, and king Henry, with his son Edward, were made prisoners of war. Edward made his escape, by obtaining the liberty of exercising his horses in a neighbouring meadow. He defeated the earl of Leicester, who was found slain upon the spot; and Henry, having reascended the throne, confiscated the leaguers estates to the use of those who had continued faithful to him. But none of these revolutions were advantageous to the Jews; for the leaguers seized upon their synagogue at Lincoln, and passed from thence into the Isle of Ely, where they still made greater ravages. Thus, however the wheel of fortune turned, this unhappy nation was still oppressed.

The Jews
synagogue
seized.

It is pretended that Henry III. banished them out of England by an irrevocable edict. The motives of this exile are variously reported. A Jewish historian says, they were accused to the king of adulterating the coin. The king easily perceived the innocence of the accused, and that the deponents were guilty of the crime they had charged on others. But, notwithstanding, they went on with their accusation, and produced witnesses. The king seeing them so cruelly bent, was afraid that the people would exterminate that nation, and therefore ordered them to depart his territories.

Most Christian authors agree concerning this edict of banishment, made against the Jews at the end of

the thirteenth century, in king Edward's reign; and manifest proofs are found of it in some chanceries of England. Trivet affirms, that Edward III. banished the Jews out of his kingdom, gave them money for their passage into France, and afterwards confiscated their estates. Polydore Virgil attributes this edict to a council held at London in the year 1291, which designing to separate the sheep from the goats, commanded, by a public edict, all the Jews to depart England in a few days, giving them liberty to carry away their effects. They obeyed the decree: and thus this nation, "Which was prodigiously numerous in England, departed out of it for ever; still wandering from one place to another, till it was entirely lost; and its loss will not be very affecting, provided they leave us their sacred books, without which it would be difficult to preserve our religion in future." Such is the reflection of this historian.

Their ex-
pulsion by
king Ed-
ward.

Edward, the preceding year, had passed such another decree for all the provinces he possessed in France. The motive alledged for this severity, was, that the Jews entering into too strict an intimacy with the Christians, corrupted them. However that might be, it is plain they never appeared in a body in this kingdom from that time till they were recalled to it in the time of Oliver Cromwell, as will be seen in its proper place.

C H A P. XV.

Frequent accusations against the Jews in Germany. They countenance the irruptions of the Persians into the west. Assist the Tartars. Massacred in Bavaria. At Bern, &c. Learned rabbies in Germany. Jews flourish in Lithuania. Decrees of the council of Vienna. Precaution taken at Augsburg against false oaths. Jews again massacred. R. Mordecai hanged. Fresh commotions. Protected by the bishop of Spire. Persecutions caused by the Flagellants. Wells poisoned in Germany. Massacre in Bohemia. Jews finally expelled the empire.

WHETHER the Jews were really more wicked in Germany than in other countries, or the people more superstitiously zealous against them, there is not a kingdom where they have been accused of more enormous crimes, and of a greater variety and number of them, during these two centuries.

Frequent
accusations
against
Jews in
Germany.

One of the principal crimes charged upon the Jews in Germany, was favouring the conquests of the Persians and Tartars, a multitude of whom quitted the east to ravage in the west. Their incursions did not last long; for they returned into Persia; and, astonished at the obstacles they found to their intended conquests, gave up a design which three magicians of the same nation at Cologne had suggested. It is said that the Jews of this country, whose dispersion inclined them to listen to every vague insinuation, flattered themselves that the Persians would become their deliverers. Their hopes and joy were the greater scandal to the Christians, because they did not disguise them, but called the son of him who commanded this army David, imagining that he would be their king.

They re-
mained
in the
west.

Though their hopes were disappointed in this particular, they entertained new ones still more chimerical, when they heard that a prodigious multitude of Tartars had penetrated into Hungary, and, after they had ravaged it, threatened Bohemia, and the neighbouring countries. The emperor was in a consternation, and forced to sue for assistance to all Christian princes; and crusades were strongly recommended against those enemies of the Christian name, but with little success, because Frederic's enemy, the pope, fought his and the empire's ruin. The emperor, however, made head against the barbarians; and Conrade, his son, giving them battle, obliged them to retire. The Jews, elated with the

They
the

transient

transient prosperity they had enjoyed, imagined that the Tartars were of their nation, and that they came to their assistance. They pretended that their ancestors, who were taken to the banks of the Caspian Sea, had brought forth this people, that carried desolation and terror wherever they went, and therefore resolved to join and succour them with supplies of provisions and arms. To do this the more effectually, they promised the princes to poison the wine they carried, and thus to destroy these barbarians. But their fraud being discovered, they were made prisoners, delivered to the executioners, and died by their own swords. The most favourable thing for the Jews in this event was, that the emperor Frederic was also suspected of calling in these barbarians. However, the accusation was false; for the clergy and pope had invented it to render him odious: and so far was he from joining and corresponding with this nation, which came only with designs to ravage the empire, that he expelled them, and restored the king of Hungary to his throne.

They were accused, the same year, of obstructing the conversion of a young man of their nation, who was inclined to be baptized at Frankfort. This accusation seems better grounded than many others; because, as it was common for this people, and particularly amongst their fathers, in order to prevent the desertion of their children, frequently to go beyond the bounds prescribed by reason and the laws, the councils and emperors were often obliged to restrain the violence of the Jews in opposing these conversions. This opposition cost the city of Frankfort and the Jews very dear; for the people being incited that a conquest of this kind should be taken out of their hands, mutinied, and betook themselves to arms. Some Christians were killed in the fray; and 180 Jews were destroyed by the sword, or the fire that had been kindled; but the flames continuing, and raging from house to house, half the city was consumed, which subjected the rest of the Jews to fresh danger. The more prudent, to the number of twenty-four, were baptized, to avoid death, and among them the chief of their synagogue.

The accusation of killing children at the passover was current in Germany, and in all other places of the west. This crime was imputed to them at Haguenau, in the Lower Alsatia. They were accused of taking three children, of seven years old, which were found dead in one of their houses. Complaints of it were brought to the emperor, who dismissed the plaintiffs with an evasive answer, which still more exasperated the people.

A more alarming accusation was preferred in Bavaria, where an old woman confessed that she had delivered a child to the Jews, who had drained his blood for some sacrifice. The people of Munich rose, and, without staying for the sentence of the judge, massacred all the Jews they could meet with. The officers in vain opposing this fury, advised the rest of that nation to take sanctuary in a synagogue, which was a building of stone; but this rendered their misery the more general; for the people pursued them thither, set fire to the place, and burnt all those who thought themselves safe, whilst neither the duke or his officers could stop their rage.

Much such another accusation was brought against the Jews of Wertzburg and Bern, where they were massacred in the same manner; and the two children killed by them canonized for martyrs.

Notwithstanding all these accusations, the nation of the Jews continued to multiply in Germany. Learning flourished in the synagogues, which were governed by learned and illustrious rabbins. The city of Germesheim alone produced two; one of which was Baruch de Germesheim: for then they began to take surnames; and as noblemen took theirs from the fiefs and lands they possessed, men of letters commonly derived theirs from the cities where they were born. We have spoken sufficiently of Baruch. Eliezer de Germeciman was of the same

city, and one of the greatest casuists, who produced a work of great worth and learning.

Isaac of Vienna, author of "The Light sown," took the pains to transcribe books for the synagogues of his country, to render them more correct and exact. He had Meir de Rottembourg for his disciple, who excelled his master, and became the judge and doctor of his nation, which drew upon him a long train of misfortunes; for, as he was thought to be very rich, or to have the management of his disciples purses, the emperor, who loved money, laid a great tax upon him, and imprisoned him for defect of payment. One of his disciples bailed him, but he died before he obtained his liberty. A work is ascribed to him, intitled, Hattisbats; but he is but indirectly the author of it, as it was his disciples, after his death, who made a collection of his decisions, and gave them this title.

The German Jews likewise extol their R. Amnon for his learning, riches, and beauty, as well as his miraculous recovery of all his fingers and toes, which the bishop of Mentz had caused to be cut off for declining a conference with him, which he had promised three days before: but this last circumstance has every semblance of a Jewish legend.

Besides the advantage they enjoyed in the thirteenth century, of having a considerable number of great men, they met with another; for Boleslaus, surnamed the Chaste, gave them liberty of conscience in Lithuania, with the addition of many considerable privileges, which they preserved for many ages. He only imitated other princes, who generally took this nation into their protection. This appears from the council of Vienna held at that time.

The council observed, that the number and power of the Jews were so great, that the revenues of parish priests were considerably lessened by them; and therefore they were obliged to make them amends proportionably to the profits they would have received from Christian families living in their parishes: that they hindered their wives and children from embracing Christianity, and yet circumcised Christians, which was a prejudice to religion: and, lastly, that they multiplied their synagogues, making them larger, higher, and more sumptuous. The council restrained these abuses by new decrees; and, at the same time that it allowed the ancient synagogues, ordered the new ones to be pulled down.

But these decrees were insignificant, whilst princes and great men protected those who refused to obey them, and ordered their officers to defend those who implored their succours. The disorder proceeded to the last extremity, inasmuch that it was declared to the princes and their officers, that they were excommunicated and banished the church, if they continued to protect the Jews, and refused to execute what the ecclesiastics had determined against them.

They were obliged soon after to make fresh regulations at Augsburgh, on account of the improper oaths which were till then administered to them, and which they made no scruple to break; and to oblige them to swear by the laws of Moses, holding their hand on the Pentateuch. The misfortune is, that even this last kind of oath is held by them to be annulled on the grand expiation day; so that at the most they can be of force but one whole year. We may add, that they have their casuists likewise, who allow them to equivocate according to that concession of the Talmud, that it is lawful to dissimble for the sake of peace.

Their disputes with the Caraites were then very violent. The latter were headed by a learned man, who, not content to expose the extravagancies of the Talmud, and compose a treatise on them, under the title of doctor Aaron, explained all the articles of faith, and called his book the Tree of Life, because he did not believe life was to be had without believing these articles. He believed the resurrection

Jews flourish in Lithuania.

Decrees of the council of Vienna.

Precautions taken at Augsburgh against false oaths.

Disputes with the Caraites.

of the dead, but confined it only to the house of Israel. As zealous as he was for his sect, it began then to degenerate from its first precision; for being fond of traditions, Nissi, the son of Noah, who lived at that time, was obliged to explain the Mishnah, because it was earnestly desired of him. Aaron was also forced to pay some deference to his disciples; and, that he might not disgust them, gave an allegorical explication of several scripture passages. The Talmudists were glad to see their enemies make an advance in their favour; but they were not reconciled, for their controversies continued as violent as ever.

Jews massacred.

They soon laboured under a greater misfortune than that of disputes and division. A peasant, named Raind Flaish, rose up during the wars that disturbed Germany, through the competition of Adolphus of Nassau, and Albertus of Austria, who were elected emperors, and taking advantage of this confusion, gave out in the Upper Palatinate, that he had a divine commission to exterminate the Jews. He ran over Franconia, and the neighbouring provinces, proclaiming every where the same thing. To give his pretence the more weight, he asserted, that they had stole a consecrated wafer. The people rose upon this accusation, without examining it farther. The inhabitants of Nuremberg, Nuremberg, Rottembourg, Amberg, and other cities of Bavaria and Franconia, excited by Raind Flaish, seized all the Jews in that country, and committed them to the flames. Some chose rather to burn themselves, with their furniture, wives and children, than be thrown into the fire by the Christians. Ratisbonne more humanely saved its citizens. Duke Albertus of Austria was willing to restrain this violence; but he durst not make a bold experiment at a time that his power tottered; and the least discontent of the people, who looked upon Raind Flaish as a messenger from heaven, would have made them declare for the Count de Nassau. He was forced, therefore, to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which at length occurring, the Jews were restored to their privileges, and Nuremberg amerced in a great fine, which was so much the more burthensome, because part of the city had been reduced to ashes by the fire the oppressed had put to their houses.

R. Mordecai hanged.

The hatred of its inhabitants was not extinguished, for it burst out again ten or twelve years after, and the famous R. Mordecai of Austria lost his life by it. He had composed a commentary upon some books of the Talmud, and some works of Isaac Alphez, which are in great esteem. He collected all he thought worthy of notice from the books of ten rabbies, to which he added his own observations. He left Austria to come and teach at Triers, where Isaac, whose family came from Dijon, was his colleague; but returning to Nuremberg, he was condemned to be hanged there.

Fresh commotions.

The confusion, instead of lessening, increased. One Armleder, in the neighbourhood of Nassau, heading some peasants, and encouraging them with the hopes of plunder, caused them to take up arms against the Jews. They over-ran several places, killing all they met with, to enrich themselves with the spoils. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria, foreseeing the consequences of this commotion, put a stop to it, by taking off Armleder's head, who had occasioned so destructive a sedition.

The Jews protected by the bishop of Spire.

Pope Clement V. having called a council at Vienna against the templars, made a decree against usury, and those that exacted it. He also condemned the approvers of it as heretics. This decree being published, the Jews were exposed to many oppressions, which their exorbitant usuries upon the Christians drew upon them. They were brought before the tribunals, and disputed their principal for having violated the law of the Christians. They especially felt the effects of this law in Germany. But Menicho, bishop of Spire, took upon him their defence; he argued, that the law did not respect them, because the church does not judge those that are without. He was persuaded that it was lawful

for them to demand usury, since they had been dealt with without any design of fraud; and therefore he severely prohibited their being disturbed about usuries for the future.

The zeal of the Flagellants was a fresh source of their calamities. This sect, which had been almost extinct, resumed vigour in the year 1349, and caused new massacres. A company of people, mustered under certain leaders, assembled twice a day, and stripping before the people, scourged themselves with cords. They drew into this fraternity the people of Spire, Straßbourg, and some other places. These people, exasperated by the Flagellants against the Jews, seized them, and burnt them in great numbers at Thuringia. But their greatest calamity happened at Frankfort, where the Flagellants, having committed some disorders, had consented to an accommodation, when a Jew, named Cicogne, whose family was numerous in the place, desiring to avenge his brethren, threw a piece of fire-work into the town-house. The flame reached the church, which was presently reduced to ashes, and burnt as far as Saxenhausen. Such a crime as this could not be suffered to go unpunished: not only the guilty perished, but all the Jews in the city, except a few that escaped into Bohemia.

Persecutions caused by the Flagellants.

The Jews were accused, the same year, of poisoning the wells, fountains, and rivers; though upon no other foundation than that they escaped the common mortality, which, through the prevalence of the plague, happened in most parts of Europe. A suspicion was sufficient to condemn them; and people employed all the remains of strength and life they had to murder their enemies. They burnt the Jews in some places, and massacred them in others. Those of Mentz defended themselves, and surprizing two hundred disarmed Christians, were cruel in their turn, and took an unmerciful revenge of them. The populace, provoked at this barbarity, ran to arms, and fell upon their enemies with such fury, that twelve thousand of them perished on that single occasion. "They set fire to their houses; and the flames spread to that degree, as to melt down the great bell and glass of the church of St. Quintin. This torrent over-run all Germany: the imperial cities pulled down their houses, and made use of the materials to build castles and towers. They were the more violently bent upon the ruin of the houses of the Jews, because they found great riches in the ruins." All the inhabitants of Ulm were burnt, with their families and effects. The princes durst not engage in so critical an affair, and the Jews found no where any place of retreat. There was no place but Lithuania where they enjoyed any quiet, because Casimer the Great, who was in love with a beautiful Jewess, named Esther, had granted them great privileges.

Wells poisoned in Germany.

Those that fled to Bohemia could not find long quiet there. The people of Prague, disgusted at seeing them celebrate the feast of the pass-over, chose that day, above all others, to burn their synagogue, and those that performed their devotions in it. The project was easily executed: none made opposition, or escaped the death that was prepared for them. This was so doleful an event, that the synagogue of Prague preserves the memory of it in a prayer made some time after, to deplore its calamity.

Massacre in Bohemia.

Two years after Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and emperor, with design to please his subjects, to whom his vices had rendered him extremely odious, discharged the nobility from all their debts to the Jews. This decree induced people to believe they might attempt any thing against a nation which the emperor refused to protect. The massacre began at Gotha, and grew terrible when the peasants joined the insurgents. Those of Spire put all to the sword, without regard to age or sex, except some children, whom they carried to the church to be baptized. However, as such sort of executions are odious, and depopulate countries, a stop was put to them, by punishing some the mutineers.

The

The Jews were again accused of poisoning the wells; and this accusation, which drew death after it, and the most cruel tortures, spread itself into Germany, Italy, and Provence; at least the Jewish historians give us this account: but at the same time they add, that the emperor acknowledged their innocence, and represented to his council, that it was impossible to poison a running fountain that constantly supplied fresh waters. But the people maintaining, that they had seen the Jews throw poison into them, and pronouncing some words in a low voice at the same time, the emperor, upon their importunities, resolved to banish them. The notice of this caused great rejoicing among the seditious, as if there was no punishment too cruel for those that had been the destruction of so many Christians: and thus the emperor was obliged to order them, by proclamation, either to fly, or change their religion.

Jews banished the emperor.

C H A P. XVI.

Conference held between the Christians and Jews. Tenor and success of it variously related. The constitution of pope Benedict XIII. against the Talmud. Different notions concerning Vincent Ferrier. His conversions not sincere. An insurrection at Toledo. Conference before Alphonso. Learned rabbies. Jews banished out of Spain by edicts of Ferdinand and Isabella. Illustrious refugees. Miseries of the fugitives. Ferdinand's politics censured. Jews retreat to Portugal. Treachery and cruelty of king Emanuel towards them. Dissimulation of many Jews, and those amongst the eminent for birth and learning.

THE Jews had lived for a long time, and multiplied in Spain, where they had their synagogues, famous doctors, and considerable settlements, when Ferdinand, pretending a zeal for religion, resolved to banish them. The synagogues were pulled down, the people exiled, and the families, who were terrified with this banishment, reduced to dissemble from one generation to another. But as this revolution did not happen till the end of the fifteenth century, and was preceded with many considerable events, we shall give an account of them before we pass on to their final expulsion.

The anti-pope Benedict XIII. was in Arragon, the only place he had remaining, and which was his whole jurisdiction. He was inclined to signalize his zeal by attacking the Jews. He began with conferences. Jerome de Sancta Fide, who had deserted the synagogue, and was his physician, put him upon this design, by assuring him, that he could convince all his adversaries, from passages out of the Talmud, of the rectitude of their tenets. The principal rabbies of the kingdom were summoned, and Don Vidal was chosen for the defendant on the part of the Jews in this controversy.

As Benedict defrayed all the charges, the Jews treated him with singular complaisance and respect; though they expressed themselves with some acrimony against his physician, who, as appears, was the chief promoter, as well as conductor, of this conference. The tenor and success of it are variously related by the Jewish and Christian historians, who have transmitted it to us, though they both were present, and bore a share in it.

The Jews own that they gave many bishops, who were present, money to prevail with the pope to put a speedy end to it; but that the pope remained steady, and would have Jerome de Sancta Fide stand to his promise. They add, that their doctors came off with honour; that they were only ordered to restore part of the excessive usuries they had taken from the Christians; but that, upon application to Mark, pope of Florence, they were discharged, and set at entire liberty.

The Christians assert, that Jerome, having presented a writing the same year to the anti-pope, con-

taining the dangerous errands of the Talmud against the law and the Christians, one of the rabbies present gave the cardinal of St. Angelo a writing, in which he declared, that the passages drawn from this book appeared to him offensive and erroneous: that it was true, another sense might be given them, but that he did not know it; and therefore he confessed, that he does not pretend to defend them, nor justify them, and disowns all the answers he might have made to elude them. And all the rabbies present, except Joseph Albo and Ferrer, subscribed the same declaration.

The Christians add, that three or four thousand persons were converted by Jerome's piece, which rendered it infinitely valuable: and that Joseph Albo, who was afraid all the synagogues would be deserted, composed the Articles of Faith; in which he endeavoured to settle the wavering faith of the people.

It is most certain that Benedict XIII. the year following published a constitution against the Talmud, and the Jewish usuries. But as this anti-pope was deposed some time after, his constitution was concealed with his other ordinances, so that the Jews felt not the effect of it. It is known too, that Joseph Albo endeavoured to confirm the faith of the Jews that was staggered by this conference. He published his Articles of Faith, which he reduced to the existence of God, the law of Moses, and future punishments and rewards. His work is in such esteem, that Gedalia, a Polander, has commented upon it, under the title of the Planted Tree: his notes are the roots of the tree, the references to scripture passages are the branches, and the allegorical explications the leaves. Thus this commentary is a perfect or planted tree.

Benedict's constitution against the Talmud.

Vincent Ferrier, another famous converter, appeared at this time. They call him, "The Splendor of Spain, the Light of Valencia, the Prodigy of the Universe, and the Model of the Dominicans." He was chosen to maintain to the people the validity of Ferdinand's election; who by that means became king of Spain, and who afterwards made him a noble recompence. He was steward of the palace, and confessor to the anti-pope Benedict XIII. In a word, they have not failed to canonize him, and there is hardly a church in Spain but receives his office.

Different notions concerning Vincent Ferrier.

The Jews call him Mummar, that is, apostate, as if he had deserted the synagogue to embrace Christianity. But yet it is said, that he was born a Christian, of an illustrious family, and known at Valencia, which, for a long time, had gone by the name of Ferrier.

Notwithstanding all this eclat, the conversions he made must be still much suspected, because they were but of short duration. There is a writing preserved in the Vatican library, of one Duran, a rabbi, who, after he had embraced Christianity, wrote to his son, that he should not imitate his father. The whole letter was equivocal. It was believed, at first reading, that it was an exhortation to stand fast in the religion he had embraced: but the mystery was easily discovered; and it appeared, from attentive consideration, that this father meant to oblige his son to return to Judaism, which he had left at Vincent Ferrier's instigation, and embraced again four years after. Indeed, most of the new converts, having dissembled for some time, took off the disguise, and made it known, that they had only yielded to force and necessity.

Vincent Ferrier's conversions not sincere.

Such were the conversions of Vincent Ferrier in Spain. The Jews, whom he had drawn by multitudes into the church, were no sooner at home, than they resumed the practice of their ancient ceremonies. They circumcised their children in secret, observed the feast of the passover, and all other Jewish festivals and rites.

As the Jews were brought in for their share in all the miseries that befel the kingdoms where they lived,

An insur-
rection at
Toledo.

The insur-
rection is
in some de-
gree quelled

Conference
before Al-
phonso.

Learned
rabbies.

lived, they had a good part in the insurrection of the city of Toledo, which complained that its privileges had been violated by the imposition of a tax, though a light one, and necessary to the war. The mutineers plundered the houses of the richest citizens, and slew those that resisted. The Jews were not spared; but the violence was carried even to the posterity of the converts, when laws were enacted, excluding all, both Jewish and heathen new converts, from all offices. The clergy protected them; for the dean of the cathedral church of Toledo reprobated this order of the inhabitants; and caused public theses to be held, in which he opposed it. The better to manifest the consequence and injustice of it, or rather to engage a greater number of people in his interest, he mentioned many illustrious families by name, who were allied to those of the converted Jews, and therefore deprived of employments. Pope Nicholas V. then published a bull against this decree, excommunicating all those who offered to exclude the converted Jews and heathens from political and ecclesiastical offices, from the priesthood and government.

All this while the Jews were esteemed and protected by king Alphonso the Great, and his grandees; and it is under his reign that one of their writers places a conference which happened between that monarch and one Thomas, surnamed the Subtle Philosopher, who came opportunely thither; as one of the bishops had preached a severe sermon against them, in which he imprudently affirmed that they could not celebrate their passover without shedding some Christian blood. The king was happy in having so learned a man to confute that absurd notion, which he accordingly did, and with that strength and energy that might be expected from a person of his character.

However, the synagogue was then in possession of great advantages; for, besides the learned of Arragon before-mentioned, many others appeared. Chamaï was famous at that time for his casuistry.

Joel, the son of Sciocu, published sermons. This preacher was prolix and diffuse, the too common error of those who harangue the people: ye he was much esteemed as a learned man; and competent judges have thought his explication of some chapters of the Pentateuch very instructive.

Lastly, the family of Alcadeb produced two famous astronomers, the uncle and nephew, who both compiled astronomical tables. But we shall not insist longer upon this head, as we shall find hereafter many learned men included in the sentence of condemnation and banishment, and involved in the last calamity that swallowed up this nation, and expelled it out of Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella accomplished this work. After they had put an happy end to the war against the Moors, they thought of nothing more than demolishing the synagogues, and getting rid of the Jews. To this end they issued an edict, commanding that nation to depart the kingdom of Spain within the space of four months, or embrace Christianity. Turrecremata, who was the instigator of this persecution, advised shortening the term, and forbade the supplying them with provisions, under great penalties, or lending any assistance to those who should not be gone in April. Some historians are of opinion, that the liberty granted them of carrying off their gold and jewels was revoked, and that they were only permitted to change them for cloth, wine, and other merchandize. But this prohibition was not rigorously executed, since the Jews found means to carry off thirty millions of ducats. Such as had the courage to leave their country, were obliged to pay some ducats per head to the king for their freight; and those that would not, or could not, go for want of money, became slaves, and their goods were confiscated. This last clause was so rigorously executed, that two vessels which were laden, not being able to sail at the fixed time, they unmercifully sold all those that were on board to the Spaniards.

Marianus affirms, that seventy thousand families, or eight hundred thousand persons, left Spain, pursuant to this edict. The Jews reckon an hundred and twenty thousand families, and six hundred thousand individuals. The favour Abravanel so long had with the king and queen, could not preserve him from the same fate. He was obliged to embark, and depart with the rest, for Italy. He must have been accustomed to exiles; for, however glorious his life was, he was often obliged to fly. In the bloom of his youth he appeared at the court of Alphonso in Portugal, and had a great share in his favour; but John II. his son, having different notions, Abravanel stole secretly into the kingdom of Castile. Ferdinand and Isabella appointed him to the superintendence of their finances. They say he amassed great treasure in a short time, and was expelled with the rest of his nation. He retired to Naples, and quickly procured the king's favour, to whom he did great services: but this prince being dead, and Charles VIII. having possessed himself of the kingdom of Naples without any opposition, Abravanel was obliged to fly to Sicily, with Alphonso II. who succeeded his father. He preserved his fidelity to his prince in the midst of distresses which despoiled him of his riches and crown. Alphonso died in Sicily; and Abravanel was obliged again to change his place of refuge. This rabbi is famous, not only for a long series of vicissitudes, but especially for his works. He is the most useful of all the rabbies for the understanding of scripture. He wrote in a pure and intelligible stile; though it be too prolix, and hath more of the strain of a rhetorician than a commentator. He explains the literal sense of scripture, and handles the most important questions that are found in the books he has commented. He was a good-natured man, and lived in familiarity with the Christians.

There was also amongst the famous refugees of that time, Isaac, the son of Arama, a great philosopher, and greater casuist. The Jews highly esteem his Explication of the Law; though some critics think it too diffuse, allegorical, and full of morals altogether Jewish. He brought with him R. Meir, his son, one of the principal rabbies of his time, and author of a commentary upon Job, which Buxtorf has attributed to his father. Another was Joseph Gigatella, who, during his exile, applied himself to the exposition of the divine attributes and names. Isaac Karo was one of these exiles. He retired first into Portugal, and went thence to Jerusalem; but he lost his children and books by the way. He lived a very solitary life, and composed the Generations of the Children of Isaac, to comfort those that had lost them. Abraham Zacuth lived also at that time. Bartolucci confounds him with Abraham the Jew, who has translated a Treatise about the Virtue of Medicines, out of Arabic. These two authors published a perpetual almanack; and both of them were great studiers of astronomy. The latter was of Salamanca, and taught at Saragossa; but he was obliged to quit his country by Ferdinand's edict. He retired to Portugal, where king Emanuel gave him the title of his historiographer. Here it was he composed the Juchassin, the famous book of generations from the creation of the world to the year 1500.

The misery of the exiles was extreme. The fire seized some transport vessels, and consumed all the passengers: many were shipwrecked, and perished in the sea, either through default, or design of the pilots. The pestilence having infected the rest, the pilots set them on shore. Part of those that landed being cured, died of hunger. Others arrived at Fez, where the inhabitants, frightened at such multitudes of fugitives, shut up the gates. They were forced to set up tents in the fields, and to live upon herbs, which the drought and barrenness rendered very scarce. Besides the injuries of the air, they were compelled to submit to the insolence of some inhabitants, who thought all things were permitted them against the miserable. One of them took a virgin by force from her parents face; and afterwards murdered

Jews banished
out of
Spain by an
edict of Fer-
dinand and
Isabella.

Multitude
refugees.

dered her, for fear she had conceived, and would bring forth a Jew. A sailor surprized a company of children, who came to look for their and other fish when the sea retired. He brought them on board his bark, where he gave them bread, which attracted a great number of them. One day he weighed anchor, and carried off all the young children, which he sold to some persons of quality, and made slaves of the rest. Many other and more atrocious cruelties were perpetrated by these barbarians.

People murmured greatly against the politics of the king of Spain, who depopulated his kingdom by so mistaken a persecution. Besides, he ran the risk of a rebellion, since 800,000 people, driven to despair, were capable of making a dangerous insurrection; and Abravanel had reason to extol this exemplary fidelity of his nation, when it might have taken arms against its persecutors, and raised a civil war for so severe a decree. Ferdinand doubtless had taken precautions against an event he had reason to fear. Religion seemed only a veil to cover the conduct of Ferdinand, who was infinitely ambitious. We cannot answer for the motions of the human mind, whose springs are not only hidden, but different, according to the circumstances of times. But it seems that the king and queen sacrificed the prosperity of the kingdom to ambition, their predominant passion.

John II. king of Portugal, lying at the very gates of Spain, was willing to enrich himself with his neighbours spoils. The interest of his kingdom demanded, that he should afford a retreat to the Jews, from whom he had received considerable services. He had sent some of them to the coast of Ormus, and the Red Sea, who brought him a faithful account, and served him in the discovery of the East-Indies; but yet he did not love them. Nevertheless, from motives of policy, he received them, but imposed on them most rigorous conditions. Each was obliged to pay him eight gold crowns for the privilege of refuge. He moreover fixed a time, beyond which it was not lawful for them to continue in his territories without entering into slavery. The two conditions were discharged by many fugitives that retired into this kingdom, and afterwards chose rather to live in slavery, than expose themselves to fresh misfortunes. They complained that he sent a vast number into the Isles of Thieves, newly discovered, where they miserably perished. But at the same time they comfort themselves with a notion, that Heaven took vengeance on him; for he died young; and his son, who, by marrying Isabella, became heir to many kingdoms, fell from his horse into the Tagus, from whence he was carried to a peasant's cottage, where he died; so that the crown devolved to another branch.

Emanuel, John's successor, at first seemed to compassionate these oppressed wretches, and restored them to their liberty. But the alliance he made with Isabella and Ferdinand altered his first notion. Isabella plainly declared, that she would not have a man to her son-in-law that suffered the enemies of their religion in his kingdom. Emanuel, therefore, sacrificed the Jews and Moors to an alliance he thought more advantageous. He allowed both of them to depart out of his dominions. He kept his word with the latter, as fearing reprisals would be made in Africa upon the Christians. But he doubly violated his faith with the Jews, by depriving them of the liberty to carry away their children above fourteen years of age, which reduced them to that despair, that some of them killed themselves; and others, sacrificing nature to their religion, became their own executioners. Besides, after they had assigned them three ports, whither they were to embark, they reduced them to one, so that they were obliged to alter their measures, make a double journey, and exhaust their treasures. In fine, the delays that were given to the embarkation made great numbers miserable.

Amongst those that turned Christians, to avoid such a train of disasters as they saw before them, many were hastily used, from a too just mistrust of their sincerity; and a great number were massacred upon the first slight occasion: all which outrages seem to have been but too much encouraged by the cruelty and treachery with which king Emanuel had used that unfortunate people.

Some historians charge this disaster upon the Jews, affirming, they drew it upon themselves, because some of them, after publicly professing Christianity, and being baptized, were found celebrating the feast of the passover in secret: but Mariana ought to be preferred before all foreign and German authors. Nevertheless, it is true that most of those that remained in Spain and Portugal dissimulated instead of being converted, which is the natural effect of persecution in matters of religion. The most surprising thing is, that this religion spreads from generation to generation, and still subsists in the persons of dissimulators to a remote posterity. In vain the great men of Spain make alliances, change their names, and take ancient escutcheons; they are still known to be of a Jewish race, and Jews themselves. The convents of monks and nuns are full of them. Most of the canons, inquisitors, and bishops, proceed from this nation. Moreover, he brings proof of his assertion, in maintaining, that there are, in the synagogue of Amsterdam, brothers and sisters, and near relations to good families of Spain and Portugal; and even Franciscan monks, Dominicans, and Jesuits, who come to do penance, and atone for the crime they have committed in dissimulating.

Dissimulation of many Jews, and those amongst the eminent for birth and learning.

Among those who, being at length tired with such impious dissimulation, returned to Judaism, divers were men of great learning, and appear by their works to have been well versed in the Jewish laws. Joseph, the son of Joshua, who continued his chronology till the year 1554, was a Spaniard, and the best historian this nation has had since Josephus. Ben Virgæ was another Spaniard, who has collected several necessary rules for the understanding the Gemara, which are the more useful, because they were forgotten by other interpreters. Isaac Cordofa, a descendant also from the Portuguese dissimulators, became one of the principal physicians of Castile; where he wrote his Spanish tract concerning the usefulness of water and snow, and cold or hot drink. But at length, being tired with his disguise, he quitted Spain and the Catholic religion with his name of Ferdinand, which he had received at his baptism, and retired to Verona about the middle of the last century. He printed his treatise, in which he expatiates on the particular prerogatives of the Jewish people, which ought to make them honoured, notwithstanding their miseries and dispersions, which God only sends for the punishment of their sins. He observes, that this nation was chosen by God; that it alone is separated from all other nations; that it received the sabbath and circumcision from heaven; and that the divinity instructed it by inspired men. For these reasons the inquisition is watchful over these new Christians; and they are still suspected by the cruel ministers of this tribunal, who enrich themselves with their spoils. The least suspicion suffices to make them guilty. For, indeed, whenever any accident happens in the kingdom, the people accuse them of judaizing in secret, and bringing down the Divine vengeance. An instance of it was seen at the beginning of the last century, when a Dominican put himself at the head of these mutineers, and they plundered, ravaged, and killed, four or five thousand of these converts.

The Jewish authors bitterly complain that these severities are still continued in full vigour against them at Cordova, Lisbon, Conosbra, and even in the East and West Indies.

C H A P. XVII.

Jews under Tamerlane. Establishment of the empire of the Great Mogul. Arguments proving that there were Jews at Cachemire. Conquests of Ishmael Sophi. Succession of Sophi. Contrast between the Jews and Mussulmen. Amurath IV. favours the Jews. Execution of the treaty. Horrid massacre of the Jews. Jews disgraced and distinguished by dress in Persia. Jews at Schiras. At Goa. In Armenia and Media.

Jews under
Tamerlane.

THE Jews suffered much by the rapid conquests of Tamerlane; for this conqueror, having fixed his capital at Samarcand, passed on to Chorazan, where they were numerous. He seized upon Bagdad, and all the Irak; and passed into Syria, where he plundered Damascus. He defeated Bajazet, who reigned in Anatolia, where this nation had considerable settlements; and, as he laid waste all places where his armies marched, it is no wonder that the Jews were ruined and dispersed by his invasions. Tamerlane followed Gingizkan's religion, which consisted in seven or eight precepts, dictated by the law of nature. Though he has been represented as a barbarian and illiterate, because he had followed no other profession than arms, yet he was a lover of men of letters, and maintained a great number of them, with whom he often conversed. Physicians and astronomers were very well received at his court. Hence we have reason to believe that many Jews were in it, since they excelled in these two sciences.

Establishment of the
empire of
the Great
Mogul.

The conquests of Tamerlane were divided betwixt his sons and grandsons, who could not agree about sharing the succession, and weakened themselves by their division. Nevertheless, they supported themselves an hundred years, till a commander of the Uzbeks entered Chorazan, and, by conquest, took it from them. Arbek, a descendant of Tamerlane, was obliged to fly to the Indies, where he set up the empire of the Great Mogul. We are told there was a province of Cachemire full of Jews, that came thither in Solomon or Salamanazar's time, who have left traces of their establishment, by which they are discovered at this day. Mr. Thevenot desired one of his friends to examine whether the inhabitants of this country had the Holy Scripture, and whether their Old Testament was like ours? But he answered, that though there were formerly Jews there, there were none at present. "All are (said he) either heathens or Mahometans. Perhaps some of them might be found in China; for I have lately seen in the hands of our R. P. jesuit of Delhi, letters of a German jesuit, written from Pekin, signifying that he had seen such as had preferred Judaism and the Old Testament; and that they would even have made the jesuit their *kakan*, provided he would abstain from swines flesh. However, we may still find here some traces of Judaism. The first is, that, as you enter this kingdom, after the passage of the Pire-Penjabe mountain, all the inhabitants I saw in the first villages seemed to me to be Jews, by their make and looks, and, in fine, by something particular which ever distinguishes this nation. This notion is not peculiar to me; for our Father Jesuit, and many of our Europeans, had it before me. The second is, that I observed the name of Mousa, which signifies Moses, to be much used among the people of this city, though Mahometans. The third, that they say commonly that Solomon came into their country; and that it was he who cut the mountain Baramoule, to give current to the waters. The fourth, that Moses died at Cachemire, and that his tomb is a league from this city. And the fifth, that they pretend this little and very ancient edifice, which appears here upon an high mountain, was built by Solomon; for which reason it is still called Solomon's throne. Thus I should not be willing to deny that some

Arguments
proving that
there were
Jews at Ca-
chemire.

"of them have penetrated as far as this place. But in the course of time, these people might have lost the purity of their law, turned idolaters, and at last Mahometans."

The writer, who gives this account, is in the right; for it is not to be doubted but that there were some Jews in the dominions of the Great Mogul. The miseries they were reduced to in the east, by frequent wars, obliged some of them to follow Arbek, with his other fugitive subjects; and as they go into all places where they can make their fortunes, the prosperity of these princes might, in their turn, draw over merchants, astronomers, and physicians.

The body of the nation remained in Persia and Media: but as their academies had been destroyed, and the sciences could not flourish amidst the confusions of war, their learned men, and heads of the captivity, have for a long time disappeared; and even the private persons, dispersed in the provinces and cities, made a sad figure, because they had been ruined. It is said they raised their heads under Ishmael Sophi, founder of the family that reigned in Persia. This prince, who reckoned himself a descendant from Ali, gathered all those who were devoted to this sect, and all the unfortunate that would follow him. He found but seven or eight thousand men in Caramania, which is the ancient Cilicia; but with this small number he threw himself into one of the provinces of Media, and slew Ferokhead, the king of it. This first victory, obtained at fourteen years of age, put him in a capacity to take Tauris, which some geographers confound with Ecabatana, and make himself master not only of the rest of Media, but also of Persia.

Conquest
of Ishmael
Sophi.

Ishmael Sophi died in the year 1520, being thirty-eight years old, and left the empire to his son Thahamasb, who, being engaged in a long war with Soliman, was at last obliged to ruin his own country, that he might not be pursued, nor taken in his retreat. The sultaness poisoned him, to set a son she had by him on the throne. But as this son was visiting his father's treasures, his sister caused him to be slain by the officers she had suborned to execute her design. She presently released Ishmael II. her other brother, out of prison, to place him upon the throne: but he ungratefully slew her a little time after. His subjects, unable to bear him, poisoned him after a reign of two years; and established a third son of Thahamasb, who was blind, and called Ishmael. From this blind prince proceeded the famous Shah Abbas, who undertook to persecute the Jews, which gave occasion to a general massacre a long time after his death. The matter is thus related:

Succession
of Sophi.

Shah Abbas's council representing to him that Persia was very thinly peopled, he resolved to grant great privileges to all that would come and settle there. Multitudes of people arrived from all the neighbouring parts, and particularly a great number of Jews, who, by monopolizing the trade, amassed great riches. They soon excited the jealousy of the other inhabitants, who brought their complaints against them to the sophi. There was no expedient to punish them without giving umbrage to other strangers, whom the violation of privileges, granted for some years, would oblige to retire. But it was found in the Alcoran, that this nation was to embrace the Mussulman religion six hundred years after its publication, or be entirely destroyed. Abbas, who was naturally cruel, would have executed Mahomet's orders, and have cut off all the Jews, if the musti had not stopped him. It was resolved, however, to cite the *kacams*, or sages, of the nation, before the sophi's tribunal, to answer his demands.

Shah Abbas questioned them particularly about the abolition of the sacrifices, and the other ceremonies, the use of which had ceased for some time. After a variety of arguments and interrogatories, Abbas insisted that they should fix a time for the appearance of their expected Messiah, promising that till then they should be tolerated; and that if he came

Con-
fession
of the
Jews.

came accordingly, he and his successors would embrace their religion; but if, on the contrary, he did not appear, the Jews should either turn Mussulmen, or suffer the loss of their lives, children, and effects. After mature deliberation, they fixed the period at seventy years. Abbas made them pay dear for their toleration, caused the agreement to be registered and signed on both sides, and taxed the Jews at two millions of gold.

An hundred and fifteen years elapsed after Abbas's reign, and yet none thought of the contract he had made with the Jews. Indeed, the empire of the Persians was disturbed with almost continual wars with the Turks, who seized upon Bagdad, whilst their forces were employed against the Great Mogul. Amurath IV. found many Jews there, who had remained in this country ever since their first dispersion: but though this prince, violating his promise, put the Persians to the sword, that he might weaken his enemy by this massacre, yet he spared this nation, because he thought it was very useful to him.

The war caused so great a distraction at the Persian court, that the treaty Shah Abbas had made with the Jews was not executed. But we are told that Abbas II. who began his reign in 1642, and was a little more at peace, turning over one day the registers of the palace, found, in his father's journal, the contract between the Jews and Shah Abbas I. This surprised him the more, as Zabathai Tzevi made a great noise at that time, and most of the Jews looked upon him as the person who was come to disengage them from their obligation. He assembled a great council, to deliberate about so important an affair; and it was therein unanimously resolved to destroy, without delay, this nation, abounding with cheats and impostors, that laboured only to oppress the rest of mankind. Orders were given to all the inhabitants, both strangers and natives of the sopher's dominions, to fall upon the Jews, and to spare neither age or sex, except such as should turn Mussulmen. This massacre began at Ispahan, the capital of his kingdom. It was exercised with the same barbarity in the provinces of Seyra, Gheren, Humadan, Ardan, and Tauris, where the Jews were settled. The execution lasted three years, without any glimpse of humanity or compassion from the Persians; insomuch, that there remained not one single Jew in all that vast extent of provinces, where they had heaped up immense riches. Some escaped the barbarity, by going into the Turkish territories and the Indies, and abjuring Judaism.

But as Shah Abbas observed that most of these conversions were feigned and forced, it is not improbable that they might disgust him from proceeding farther, and induce him to restore to them the full liberty of their religion, in which it was the custom of the Persians to indulge all strangers. We read accordingly, that they enjoyed it a long time, till a minister of state, who hated them, or designed to enrich himself by the persecution, engaged his master to oblige them to turn Mahometans. He employed his utmost efforts, sparing neither violence or lenity to succeed in his design. There was also an order of the prince, forbidding the exercise of the Jewish religion in his dominions: but, notwithstanding all this, he could not effect it; for, upon diligent observation, it was found, that whatever pretences they made to Mahometism, they practised Judaism still; so that there was a necessity of permitting them to turn bad Jews again, since they could not be made good Mussulmen. In the mean time all those that are at Ispahan are poor and miserable, and in small numbers. They pay annually a sequin per head to the king, and are obliged to wear a little square piece of stuff, of two or three fingers breadth, sewed to their cap or robe, in the middle of their breast, about two inches above their girdle. It signifies nothing of what stuff this patch is made, provided the colour be different from that of the habit it is sewed to.

It is plain, moreover, from Thevenot, who travelled in this country from the year 1663 to 1665,

that is some years before the time of the Jewish massacre, that, upon his going thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conscience, since he adds, that the Persians thought it strange that Eatemad Doulet should have undertaken, some time before, to constrain the Jews to turn Mahometans.

The tribe of Levi pretend to have maintained themselves at Schiras, where the Persians have a fine academy, a great number of scholars, and professors to teach philosophy, physic, and divinity. It is certain there are many more Jews there than at Ispahan; but we cannot conjecture upon what foundation they pretend to be of the tribe of Levi; nor how this tribe, which returned from Chaldea with Ezra and Nehemiah, has been able to get together in this city to trade in glasses and wine, which is their main occupation. They are still more numerous at Lar, the capital of a province, where they have a quarter assigned them to eat at the foot of the mountain, between the city and the castle. They are also diffused into the country, on the coast of Ormus and Bander Abassi, in order to glean up some little part of the trade that is carried on from thence to the Indies, where they had formerly many brethren. Indeed, they were distinguished there into two kinds; one that were born Indians, who turned Jews; and the others were descended from the race of Abraham. The king of Portugal, though he had expelled them out of his kingdom, tolerated them still at Goa and other places, where they had their public worship.

Bagdad, which was so long the seat of the princes of the captivity, has for a long time been an inconsiderable city. They do not reckon above fifteen thousand inhabitants, since its being taken by Amurath IV. Nevertheless, the Jews maintain themselves here; where they have a synagogue, and at present make a part of its inhabitants: but their number increases considerably every year, by the pilgrimages made to Ezekiel's tomb. This continues among the Jews as well as the Persians; and a multitude of pilgrims arrive annually at Bagdad, and remain there. However, they are mortally hated: and the Rasedis, which make a particular sect among the Mussulmen, and are very powerful at Bagdad, will hold no correspondence with them.

They are said to live more peaceably in Armenia; though their own writers tell us, that the Armenian inhabitants of Melea, having accused them of killing a Christian, because he was seen to go into a Jewish house, and not come out of it again, an information was immediately lodged against them, and the murder being confessed by the accused, they crucified some, and burnt others, not even sparing Abiob, a celebrated physician, whom they cast into the flames. Three days after these executions the Christian appeared, the accusation was found to have been laid out of hatred to them, and the confession to have been wrested by torture. Complaint being made of it to Solyman II. the Armenian magistrates were forbidden from thenceforth to take cognizance of such criminal cases, and ordered to bring them before the sultans. This story, if true, which is taken from an anonymous writer who lived in Egypt, and is entitled, "The Sufferings of the Jews," shews plainly, that if they live quietly among the Armenians, it is rather owing to the protection of the Porte, than to any conformity between them.

We also find some of them in Media, where they were carried at the time of the captivity, and where they have still continued, though declining very much. Chasbin is a great city in Media, which some geographers think to be the same with that which Tobit calls Rages of Media. It is also a place very much enriched by its advantageous situation. Tahamast made it his capital, and commonly spent the winter in it; and so did his successors, till Abbas I. removed his court to Ispahan. It serves to unite the trade of Hyrcania, Iberia, and Media, with the other provinces of the kingdom. The Jews were carried thither in Sennacherib's time; and there lived Gabael, to whom Tobit entrusted ten talents.

They

Jews at Schiras, Lar, &c.

At Goa.

At Bagdad.

Jews in Armenia.

In Media, &c.

Amurath IV. favours the Jews.

Execution of the treaty.

Horrid massacre of the Jews.

Jews distinguished, and distinguished by dress, in Persia.

They are not suffered at Scamachia, seated upon the Caspian Sea, a place of great trade; but the Tartars, who bring thither girls and boys, and horses, to be sold, tolerate them out of necessity, and mingle with them for the sake of commerce. We find some of them as far as at the foot of mount Caucasus, which the Arabians thought encompassed the whole earth, so that the sun rose upon one of its points, and set behind the other. It is related, that the prince of Mingrelia pretends to be descended from David. The king of Imaretta asserts the same thing. The ancient kings of Georgia believed it likewise; and the cham of Georgia puts it among his titles, that he issued from this great king by Solomon, his son. But these pretensions indeed are supported by no solid proofs. It is true that there is a synagogue at Ascalzike, a little city situated at the foot of mount Caucasus, which the Georgians had built to defend themselves against the invasions of the enemy, and which the Turks have taken from them.

This is the state of the Jews in all this part of the east; by which it appears, that the tribes, which were dispersed there, still remain in Persia, Armenia, and Media, where they have their synagogues, and are still numerous, since they are in all the trading cities from Bassora and the Indies to Mingrelia. But the tribes are too much confounded to be any longer distinguished: they are ignorant, poor, miserable, and reduced to the vilest offices to get their bread. In fine, they have so little correspondence with their western brethren, as hardly to know any thing of them. About this time shone the famous impostor, named Zabathai Tzevi, who, after practising a variety of the most distinguished artifices, in order to delude the public, was at length detected in his iniquitous designs, and received that punishment he justly merited.

C H A P. XVIII.

Sapheta peopled with Jews. An academy there. Learned men. Moses Cordoverus. Dominic of Jerusalem. Moses of Trani, and Joseph de Karo. Moses Alscheb. Samuel Ozida. A printing-press set up at Sapheta. Few Jews at Jerusalem.

IT might naturally be expected that Judea should have a greater number of Jews than either Syria or Egypt; but as all its noble streams of milk and honey have been long since dried up, their love for it hath cooled in proportion. Indeed, it is frequently visited by their devotees, who go thither in pilgrimages, as well as the Christians; but few of either sort care to settle in it, since they find it so difficult even to get a tolerable subsistence in that quarter.

Sapheta, or, as the Jews commonly call it, Sapliet, or rather T'zephtheth, in Galilee, is the most populous and noted city that the Jews have in this province. They enjoy many privileges there. This city, situate nine miles from Bethsaida, upon a mountain with three tops, is of most difficult access; and therefore it is sheltered from the incursions of the Arabians, who plunder and lay waste the cities where they can enter. It is also certain they are more numerous and kindly treated at Sapheta, than in all the rest of the Ottoman empire. It has an academy in it, which is grown very famous: and though for many years the oriental Jews have much neglected study and sciences, yet they still keep up professors and doctors here, that are men of repute. Hither they send their children to study, as believing the Hebrew tongue is here taught in its purity; as if that language was annexed to the Holy Land, and that the doctors who teach it, and are often strangers, spoke it better than other rabbies. But it is the common prejudice; and the academy of Sapheta has been, for some ages, what that of Tiberias was before, to which it has succeeded.

In this academy taught the most famous casuist that has appeared since Simon Jochaides. He was born at Corduba, which gave him the name of

Moses Cordoverus; but quitting Spain, towards the end of the thirteenth century, he was one of the pillars, and, perhaps, one of the first founders, of this academy.

Dominic of Jerusalem taught in the same academy for some time. He became doctor after he had finished his course of studies, and read lectures upon the Talmud. His profession of physic, he practised at the same time, made him better known than the titles of Rau and judge that were given him. The sultan invited him to Constantinople, to be his physician. He lived to the beginning of the last century, and turned Christian; translated the New Testament into Hebrew; and, at the same time, answered some objections of the rabbies against St. Stephen's martyrdom.

Few have done more honour to this academy than Moses of Trani, and Joseph de Karo, who had the conduct of it about the middle of the sixteenth century. The one was born in a city of Apulia, and taught with so much success at Sapheta, that the Jews called him the "Light of Israel, the Sinaitic of Sinai, the Doctor that plucks up Mountains," because he resolves the difficulties that are raised upon the law. The title of his book manifests, that it is an abstract of the Jewish civil law; in which he goes to the fountain head of the laws, and distinguishes betwixt those that proceeded from Moses, and others that had been handed down by oral tradition; and a third sort, which are founded only upon the decisions of the rabbies.

Joseph de Karo was a Spaniard, and went into Galilee, where he died in 1575. He also explained the law of the nation with so much applause, that he was called the Prodigy of the Universe.

This academy has not always been governed by strangers, but had doctors of its own growth. Moses Alscheb was born in this city, and distinguished himself in the seventeenth century, not only by the eloquence of his sermons, but the commentaries he composed upon a part of the law. All the titles of his works are metaphorical; one is called the Eye of Moses; another, the Rose of Sharon; the third, the Lily of the Vallies. He is much praised for attempting, in his explication of scripture, to produce something new; and, being more devoted to the old interpreters than the modern, has exactly related their sentiments, even when they favoured the Christians.

Samuel Ozida was another teacher at Sapheta, the place of his birth. He explained Jeremy's Lamentations, and intitled his commentary, the Bread of Tears.

Moses de Nagiara was also a Galilean, though some make him a Portuguese, because of the family of Noghera, which was, and still is, in this country. He taught at Sapheta, and has left a commentary upon the Pentateuch, which the Jews greatly esteem. The Jews had a press there, in which they printed the Ritual, which Moses Gallant, head of this academy, composed in 1560.

Judas Jona, who, after his conversion, became the learned Bartolucci's master, and put him upon the design of his rabbinical library, was born at Sapheta, and took the degree of doctor, or rabbi, in this academy. He was descended of a Spanish family, which, after Ferdinand's expulsion, retired into Tuscany. Pius V. having expelled it from thence, it passed into the east, where Judas Jona was born. Having gone through his course of studies, he came into the west, and determined at Amsterdam the validity of a will, on which depended some points of importance. The sentence which he gave was approved by eighty-seven rabbies of Germany and Theffalonica. The Jews of Hamburg made him afterwards their judge, and assigned him a salary; but he went from thence to Poland, where he turned Christian. He afterwards settled at Rome, and taught Bartolucci Hebrew; who vindicated him from the errors imputed to him. He had so strong a memory, that, if the Talmud had been lost, he could have restored it.

Sapheta
peopled
with Jews.

An academy
there.

Learned
men.

Moses Co-
doverus.

Dominic of
Jerusalem.

Moses of
Trani, and
Joseph de
Karo.

Moses Als-
cheb.

Samuel O-
zida.

A printing
press set up
at Sapheta.

Few Jews
at Jerusa-
lem.

Of all the cities of Judea, there is none where the Jews have subsisted longer, and still continue with greater lustre and security, than at Sapheta. They are more numerous here than at Jerusalem, where they reckon but about an hundred families, who have their chief habitations upon mount Sion. Some of them have employs in the custom-house, and others are secretaries to the governor; but the greatest part is made up of mendicants, who live upon alms. They send in quest of them even to the west, where wealth and learning are retired. It was upon this errand that Jacob Tomerita took a journey to Frankfort and Holland in the year 1684. His father had retired from Portugal to a little town in the Holy Land, bordering on Sapheta, called Tomer. His brethren deputed him to seek something for their subsistence; and, at his return, he undertook to carry Mr. Ludolf's letters to the Samaritans of Gerizim, by whom he was known. Four years after appeared another deputy from the Jews of Jerusalem, who came begging for them, which sufficiently proves their poverty.

2. Jacob.

When Selim took Jerusalem, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was a famous rabbi, who composed a book, intitled, the Eye of Israel. This work is a collection of the explications of the law contained in the Talmud. Many doctors had compiled before what related to the questions concerning right and rites, but rabbi Jacob collected the explications of the law that were dispersed in this great book. He could not finish his design; but Levi, his son, who was at least as learned as the father, put the last hand to it.

It was this work that occasioned the commotion of the Sapheta professors. As they were contemplative doctors, they mightily despised these doctrines. They found, in the work of Jacob and Levi, doctors at Jerusalem, things that displeased them. The dispute was violent, and the division great, as long as Levi lived; but the jealousy of the Sapheta professors died with him. His memory was honoured; and his work, which saved the reading of many large volumes, was received with wonderful applause. Leo de Modena endeavoured, in the last century, to perfect it, by adding the opinions of many doctors that were wanting. He gave an index of the passages, that they might be the easier found. He intitled his additions, the House of Juda; and the table, or index, the House of the Bread of Juda.

CHAP. XIX.

Jews in Ethiopia. They obtain the title of "The People of the Book." Their high situation. Fidelity to king Claude. Live independent of him. Great deliverance in Egypt. Rich and powerful there, and in other parts of Africa. Betray Oran to the Spaniards. Banished from it. Synagogues rebuilt.

from
Ethiopia.

1. from
Ethiopia.

ETHIOPIA is one of the places where the Jews have been least disturbed. They agree more easily with the Christians of this country, because these latter conform to many of their rites. They eat no swines flesh, and rigorously observe the sabbath. Even their kings fancy themselves descendants from the ancient Jews, and have a lion in their escutcheons, holding a cross, with these words, "The Lion of Judah hath prevailed." In the letters king David wrote to Clement VII. he took these titles; "I David, beloved of God, the Pillar of Faith, sprung from the tribe of Judah, the Son of David, the Son of Solomon, the Son of the Pillar of Sion, and of the Seed of Jacob." A modern traveller, who was well acquainted with the genius and stile of these remote nations, says, that these were not the common titles of the kings of Ethiopia, but that they swelled them upon that occasion, to give greater lustre to their embassy to the pope. The conjecture is probable; nevertheless, it is certain, that the kings of Ethiopia believe themselves the posterity of the Jews, which must render them more favourable to this nation. On the other

No. 51.

hand, the Jews in this country have not received the Talmud, nor all that heap of traditions which cloud their religion in other places.

When the Saracens made themselves masters of Ethiopia, the Jews, fearing their persecution, retired and took sanctuary in Abyssinia. They were treated with more humanity than the natives of the country, since an Arabian author asserts, that a general massacre of the inhabitants being resolved upon, they begged, as a bounty of the king, that they might be treated like the People of the Scripture. These scripture people, in the Arabian stile, are Jews. This name is given them in the Alcoran; for Mahomet, speaking of them, calls them the People of the Book, because of the book of the law and the prophets. The Ethiopians therefore desired the same fate as the Jews; and the king of the Arabians granted their request, on condition that they should give themselves a mark on the face, by which they might be known and distinguished.

"The People of the Book," a title given to the Jews.

It is not easy to determine how early the Jews were settled in Ethiopia; but if we may credit a modern traveller, who has been in those parts, there were not any to be found, except upon an high and spacious mountain, inaccessible on all sides but one, and that very rocky, difficult, and dangerous. Here it was that our author tells us they were seated, the top of it having a most delicious plain, of vast extent, full of small brooks, fine fruits, and excellent pasturage, where they live in plenty of all things, without ever coming down, or having any communication with the inhabitants of Abyssinia. Here it was that Claude, the son of David, being driven by his brother Goranha, king of Adel, took refuge, and was received by the Jews with open arms, and defended by them with such bravery and faithfulness against the forces of the latter, that they obliged them to retire; for which brave action they enjoyed his protection and friendship, after he had ascended the throne, during his whole reign.

Their fidelity to king Claude.

Oviedo, whom Julius III. had made patriarch of Ethiopia, with hopes to re-unite this kingdom to his see, and was sent into this country to no purpose, says, that the Jews possessed great inaccessible mountains; that they had dispossessed the Christians of many lands which they were masters of; and that the kings of Ethiopia could not subdue them, because they had but small forces, and it was very difficult to penetrate into the fastnesses of their rocks.

They still preserved that independency at the beginning of the last century, which sometimes rendered them formidable to the kings of the Abyssinians. For, indeed, they possessed at that time near three provinces: but Sulneus, who then reigned, and was a bold prince, having defeated some idolatrous nations, called Gallas, among whom he had been educated, carried the war even into the rocks of the Jews with so much vigour as to drive them out. They were obliged to abandon the provinces they had possessed, and to disperse themselves over the kingdom. Some retired towards the springs of the Nile, near the Cafrees, where they still subsist. Others remain in the province of Denobe, where they apply themselves to the woollen and iron manufactures, which being odious to the Abyssinians, they leave it to the Jews, who undertake to furnish them with all warlike instruments. They have there their synagogues, and public worship, in which they use the Talmudic Hebrew, though they have not received that collection of traditions. Lastly, great numbers follow the court of the king of the Abyssinians. An Arabian, who had travelled in that country at the end of the last century, assured Mr. Ludolf, that sixty thousand of them were at court. They correspond with the Christians, and live very familiarly with them in that country.

Live independent of him.

Egypt, bordering upon Ethiopia, has served them for a sanctuary. They were very near the brink of destruction in the year 1524, but Providence delivered them by an unexpected revolution. Achmed, to whom Solymán II. had entrusted the government of Egypt, revolted against him, and resolved, at the same time, to make himself master of his new sub-

jects

jects estates. The soldiers had already begun to plunder the Jews houses, as being persuaded they might do all things safely at the beginning of the rebellion. Achmed, resolving to enrich himself, taxed this nation two hundred talents. They represented their inability, and only brought fifteen talents to the treasury. Achmed, enraged at this refusal, ordered all to be committed prisoners that had not paid the tax. The very moment that Sodus, one of his officers, was executing his orders, news came of a conspiracy against Achmed, who having been surprized in the bath by a plot, was obliged to fly with nine men with him; that he was pursued by an army of Circassians; and that it was impossible for him to escape his enemies. He was actually taken; and peace and tranquillity were restored to the city of Cairo. The Jews being delivered, made a great entertainment, and called the feast they celebrated in memory of this event, Neffim; because this word signifies a *miracle*, and the stake to which Achmed's head was affixed.

Moses Alefcar, or the Red, appeared a little after. From his name it is thought that he was of the family of the Rubeis, that was famous in this nation. He declared for Moses the Egyptian, or Haramban, that is, Maimonides, and confuted those who had written against that learned rabbi.

Jews rule
powerful in
Egypt.

The liberty which they have enjoyed in Egypt rendered them considerable. Their mechanics were dispersed over the country, and in all the cities: but their richest and most creditable dwelt at Cairo. In fine, they pretended to be more numerous in this country than when Moses led them out of it: but this number is of late lessened; for travellers affirm, that they have no settlement except at Cairo, and the maritime cities of Egypt; and that they are so far from being in other places, that if their business obliges them sometimes to go thither, they are forced to disguise and conceal themselves, because the country people abuse as soon as ever they discover them.

In other
parts of
Africa.

There are some in other parts of Africa. It was a Jew of this country that enabled Muley Archey, king of Taflet, to make war against the prince of Quiveane, to whom he fled for sanctuary. For going to the castle of Dar Michal, upon pretence of visiting the governor, he seized the citadel, and began to manifest his revolt: but he must have miscarried, had he not found a Jew immensely rich, whom he stripped of all his treasures, by means whereof he assembled the inhabitants of the province, was elected king, and dispossessed his brother, then king of Fez and Morocco. He acknowledged the service the Jew had done him, by granting the nation the same liberty it had enjoyed, and making Joshua Ben Amossech prince of it. Muley Ishmael, brother to the king of Taflet, and his successor, had still greater obligations to them; for, in recompence for Don Joseph de Toledo's services during his disgrace at Miquenez, he not only made him one of the first officers of his household, but sent him to the courts of several princes to negotiate with them: and it was he who concluded the peace with the United Provinces in the year 1684. This prince continued the offices to the son, who enjoyed the same honours as his father.

Betray Oran
to the Spaniards.

They had likewise been a long time settled at Oran, and were entrusted with some of the most important offices in that city; yet such was their fidelity to the Spaniards, notwithstanding the treatment they had received, that they were the very people who betrayed it to them; if it was not rather their avarice, and the great sums with which Cardinal Ximenes bought their perfidy. However that be, they have continued very faithful to them ever since. When the town was in great danger, from their neighbours, of being retaken, the Jews resolved to lose their lives in its defence; and when the garrison threatened to revolt, at another time, for want of pay and provisions, they suppressed it by a timely supply of both. All these services, however, did not prevent their being banished from the place in the year 1669; but on what account it is not easy to determine.

Banished
from it.

They had likewise been very numerous and flourishing in the province of Suz, which formerly depended on the kingdom of Morocco, but has since been dismembered from it. They had, in the capital of that principality, a very rich and sumptuous synagogue, served by several priests and officers. They had their judges and interpreters of the law, that were maintained at the charge of the people, who live by traffic and labour. There are great numbers of them in the mountains of Morocco, who are employed in the iron manufacture, building, and other laborious employments, to which the inhabitants are averse: but this employment does not hinder others from trying their fortunes at court, and raising themselves to eminent posts. One of that nation, named Pacheco, was sent ambassador to the United Provinces at the beginning of the last century. Some time after their synagogues having been demolished in the kingdom of Fez, Muley Mahomet not only caused them to be rebuilt as soon as he came to the throne, but made one of that nation his high treasurer and prime minister.

Synagogue
rebuilt.

C H A P. XX.

State of the Jews in Turkey and Constantinople. Trade and privileges. Bajazet poisoned. Cyprus taken by Selim II. who greatly favours the Jews. A press at Constantinople for Hebrew books. The Jews expelled out of Salome. Numerous in the cities of Greece. Flourish in Thessalonica. Subsist at Gallipoli. Potent at Proufia. State at Rhodes and Smyrna.

THE Jews have, for many ages, preserved their liberty and great privileges in the territories of the grand seignior, not excepting Constantinople itself. They inhabit a considerable suburb, which was called Jewry in the crusading days, because they had been settled there a long time. The ambassadors of foreign princes reside amongst them. They have at present thirty synagogues; and an hundred and five thousand families in this city and the neighbouring villages. They are allowed the privilege of selling wine; which is the more considerable, as theirs has the preference to that of the Christians; because the law of Moses, condemning mixtures, it is imagined that the Jews dare not adulterate it, and that they sell their wine in its purity.

State of the
Jews in
Turkey and
Constantinople.

Trade and
privileges.

They are here, as every where else, much addicted to trading and usury. Nevertheless, it often happens that poverty makes them turn Mussulmen. It has been said that they are required to espouse Christianity first, as a preliminary to Mahometism; but this is without foundation. They are not circumcised, because they already wear that mark of the covenant; nor are they baptized to make them Christians. Having enquired into the motives of their change, they are made to pronounce these sacred words, which it is not lawful, upon pain of being burnt, to utter without becoming Mussulmen: "La Illah Illalah Mehomet Resoul Allah: There is *but one God, and Mahomet the prophet.*"

The Christians charge the Jews with the murder of Bajazet II. They say that Selim, his son, apprehensive of being excluded the empire by his father's preference of Achmed, rebelled against him. He lost the battle, but failed not, after his defeat, to gain the janisaries to his interest; so that Bajazet was obliged to quit Constantinople, and retire to Demoticha, the place of his birth: but he died by the way, because a Jewish physician, suborned by Selim, gave him poison in the bath, and he expired.

Bajazet
poisoned.

Another of this nation, called Michsez, is accused of having put Selim II. upon the conquest of the isle of Cyprus, and occasioning the ruin of this fine kingdom. It is said that this man, being enraged at the refusal of the Venetians to receive a great number of refugee-mariners, who were desirous to leave Portugal and Spain, or else at the punishment he had received for some crimes, retired to Constantinople. His riches obtained him admittance to court; and being resolved to take vengeance of his old

old

old masters, he extolled to Selim II. the beauty of the island, called, The Country of the Blessed. He also cried up the excellency of the wines, of which Selim II. was a great lover, notwithstanding the law forbade their use. He represented, that the Venetians, who were masters of it, made incursions into Syria, and disturbed the passage of the caravans to Mecca. At length the unfortunate blowing up of the magazines of powder at Venice contributed to Selim's determination. One day, in his cups, he promised Michles, or Michlez, the crown of Cyprus, as a reward for putting this design into his head. Nicosia, one of its principal cities, was taken. Famagusta submitted the next year; and the island was hereby reduced. Michles was not made king, as was promised; but his nation had greater privileges granted them in the island [which they still preserve] than the Christians. Selim did more; for he sent a Jew, called Salomon Rophe, to Venice, when the Christians had won the battle of Lepanto, to negotiate with the republic, and conclude a peace.

Cyprus taken by Selim II. who favours the Jews.

A press at Constantinople for Hebrew books.

The Jews obtained, a short time after, the liberty of having a press at Constantinople. It was a new sight for the Mahometans to see books printed, and they were alarmed at it. The Mufti was afraid lest the Alcoran should be printed; and lest the love of the sciences, which would hereby grow easier, should be propagated from the Jews to the Arabians. This was a great advantage to the whole nation; for the copies of the law, which were grown very scarce in the east, were universally dispersed; and people applied more earnestly to the study of the law, because the reading was more easy, and they had greater assistances to understand it.

Samuel ben Solomon Japhet.

This produced many learned men, and illustrious heads of synagogues. Solomon Japhet, who had left his native Germany, came thither soon after. He explained the Talmud of Jerusalem, and rendered it more compleat, by adding some necessary illustrations. He published two other works, which he call Fair in the Eyes; and, Fair in the Look; alluding to his name, which signifies Fair. The one contained sermons; and the other the explication of Middruth Rabba upon the Pentateuch.

Gedaliah.

Gedaliah, who pretended to be of the race of David, chose also to leave his father, and his birth-place, Lisbon, to come and practise physic at Constantinople. But as most of the Jewish physicians are also doctors, he taught the rites and laws of his nation. He was made head of the synagogue, and laboured to reconcile the Caraites and the Rabbinites. He says, that the Caraites desired him to instruct, and bring them over to the synagogue: but whether the Rabbinites were too prejudiced, that they thought the affair too nice, or that the Caraites returned to their former opinions, the reconciliation was not effected; and the latter only reaped the advantage enjoyed at Constantinople, of printing books; for they published some of their works, which nevertheless are very scarce.

Mardochai.

The last we shall mention is Mardochai: he was son of Eliezar, and took the title of Constantinopolitan, though he commonly resided at Adrianople. He explained the grammar which Aben Ezra published, with the title of Jesod Mora, the Foundation of Fear.

Jews settled at Salome.

There are some cities of Greece where the Jews have not the privilege to settle themselves; such is the city of Salome. The inhabitants, who are at present Turks and Greeks, hate the Jews so much, that they will not suffer them in their territories. They have the same usage at Athens, where they settled in St. Paul's time. Perhaps, as the number of Christians is there greater than that of Turks, who are more inclined to toleration, the Christians have obtained an order that excludes the Jews from this city.

Jews settled at Patras.

But if they are denied access in some places, there are many others where they have still considerable establishments. They have four synagogues at Patras, and their own judges here, which they chuse from among themselves. They have also their particular burying-place upon a neighbouring moun-

tain, which looks like a great city, because it consists of several little stone houses, in which each family is buried; and a marble stone, on which the name of the family the tomb belongs to is engraved, serves as a door. But as there are but few inhabitants in this city, the Jews, which are not above a fourth part, amount only to about a thousand persons. They are settled at Lepanto, Livadia, Corinth, and other cities, where they live by commerce. But Greece is so depopulated by the revolutions it has undergone, by the tribute it pays, and still more by the oppressions of the grand seignior's officers, that their condition is become very miserable.

Flourish in Thessalonica.

They fare much better at Thessalonica, where we find them settled ever since the time of St. Paul, and where they have had a considerable academy for some centuries, as well as a printing-house, which last was since taken from them. Here flourished several eminent rabbies; and hither the Jews send their children from Constantinople to be taught the Hebrew tongue.

Subsist at Gallipoli.

They have continued and still subsist at Gallipoli, a city seated in the Thracian Chersonesus, at the mouth of the Propontis; and at this day they make one fourth of its inhabitants, which consist of six thousand Jews, as many Greeks, and twelve thousand Turks. They are more considerable at Proussia, built upon an hill of Mysia, near mount Olympus. This city was the capital of the Ottoman empire before the taking of Constantinople; and as they could not mailer it but by the destruction of an hundred thousand Christians, who vigorously resisted the Mahometans, they are not permitted to live in it, but confined to the suburbs, whilst they number twelve thousand Jews within its walls. There has been found here an ancient medal, struck in honour of Marcus Aurelius, having on the reverse a man forcing himself upon his sword; and it is said to be the figure of Ajax, who killed himself in this city.

Potent at Proussia.

At Rhodes.

The Jews have also their habitations at Rhodes. They had formerly a district assigned them near the wall, called, "The Wall and Quarter of the Jews:" and when Mahomet II. besieged the place, the Basha, who could not carry either St. Stephen's Mount, or St. Nicholas's Tower, erected a battery of his heaviest cannon against this wall. It was a violent assault, and the quarter was taken. Some nations were already caballing to oblige the grand master to surrender; but he sustained the assault, and repulsed the enemy, though he had received five wounds. The Turks raised the siege; and, to preserve the memory of this event, the grand master, d'Aubusson, erected a church near the wall where he had beaten the Turks. Some time after he resolved to expel all the Jews, not only from their quarter, but the whole island, and from all the estates of the order. The better to authorize his violence, he represented to the council, that the commerce between Jews and Christians was dangerous; that, according to the opinions of divines and canonists, the Jews were all slaves of Christian princes; from whence he inferred, they had lost the natural power of fathers over their children, and that they might be baptized whether they would or not. The Jews were allowed to sell their effects in forty days time; but when that term was expired they were obliged to depart. They were prohibited going and settling in the Levant, for fear they should become spies to the grand seignior; as if they still preserved any authority over those they had banished. In fine, they detained all the children, which they caused to be baptized, and kept at the expence of the church, lest leaving the island, they should resume their old religion.

Rhodes, however, having been taken by the Turks, the Jews settled there again; and they are even treated more favourably than the Christians; for the latter, who have their warehouses and shops in the city, are not allowed to lodge in it; whereas the Jews are not obliged to quit their houses to seek beds in the neighbouring villages. But they reckon but two hundred of them to thirteen hundred Turks.

They

They are more numerous at Smyrna, where they reckon six thousand of their nation; and they have many synagogues. In fine, there are few cities or great towns in the Ottoman empire but have some Jews. They suffer much by the avarice of the sultan's officers; but this misfortune is common to them with most of the subjects of this great and extensive empire.

CHAPTER XXI.

Jews persecuted by pope John XXIII. Protected by pope Nicholas II. A new storm against them. Decree of the senate of Venice in their favour. Protected by pope Alexander VI. Some Jews come to Naples, and are persecuted. Powerful under Paul III. The Talmud burnt by Julius III. Learned men, and learned works, at Rome. Two edicts of Paul IV. against the Jews. Council of Milan's acts against them. Banished by pope Pius V. out of the ecclesiastical states. Grants of Sextus V. to R. Meir. Bull of Clement VIII. against them. Jews at Venice. Hebrew bible printed. R. David de Pomis. Jews protected by the republic of Venice. Famous rabbies there. Printing at Soncino. R. Gedaliah. R. Samuel at Modena. Rabbies at Padua. A dissention at Mantua. R. Jechiel of Pesaro. Leo of Modena, his works. R. Mardochai Korkos. Jacob Tzaphalm. Judas Azael. Jehoshuah Menahem. Synagogues at Rome frequented by Christians, but afterwards forbidden to them. Innocent XI. favourable to the Jews. Means used to promote their conversion. Prove ineffectual. Synagogues taxed. Numerous in Italy.

Jews persecuted by pope John XXIII.

THE Jewish writers complain that they had a terrible enemy in John XXIII. and affirm, that this pope, who was fitter to make a general, and to head an army, than to be head of the church, was their violent persecutor. He issued many edicts to force them to turn Christians: and not content to persecute them in his own dominions, wrote to the queen of Spain, who was regent in the minority of John II. that this princess, acting in conjunction with him, might make the greater number of profelytes; and this she did with such severity, that she forced sixteen thousand Jews to abandon their religion. Part of those that persevered perished by the fire, and part by other punishments to which they were sentenced; while others, that fled, fell into the peasants hands, who murdered them. A very small number of them ransomed their liberty and lives by money. Not long after, they had the pleasure of hearing that their persecutor was reduced to a more desperate state than themselves.

Protected by pope Nicholas II.

Nicholas II. consoled the Jews of his territories for the afflictions they had undergone, and granted them his protection. He suppressed the inquisitors, who continued to torment them unreasonably. He wrote likewise in his turn to Spain, to prevent, by his remonstrances, the forcing of their consciences; and maintained the voluntary converts in the privilege of entering into offices, which the inhabitants of Toledo had taken from them by a solemn edict.

A new storm against them

They had not enjoyed the fruits of that pontiff's patronage many years, before a new storm arose from another quarter. Sextus IV. had been prevailed upon to canonize the little Simon, supposed to have been murdered by the Jews in the city of Trent, in a most cruel manner. They still shew in that city a knife, a pair of pincers, and four large needles, with which they had let out his blood; and two silver tumblers, out of which they had drank it. The whole tragical story is painted at full length in a corner of one of the churches dedicated to the little saint.

This canonization drew great calamities upon the Jews, not only in the bishopric of Trent, where

they pretended the crime was committed; but also in all the territories of the republic of Venice. The preachers inflamed the people, who, wrought on by the notion of a false miracle, plundered and murdered all the Jews they met with. So great was the disorder, that the doge and senate were obliged to suppress it, and order the magistrates of Padua to treat the Jews like their other subjects, and prevent their being abused; because the report spread at Trent to them appeared a falsehood, contrived by art, for a certain end the senate would not examine into. They were all banished out of the city of Trent, where the magistrates were less equitable. But some time after they obtained the liberty of tarrying three days, because they carried on a considerable commerce. We are told that, some time after, the three days liberty were reduced to three hours, as a punishment for their obstinate defence of Buda against the Christians, in the last war with the Turks.

Alexander VI. instead of persecuting, received them with abundant cordiality. Being expelled Spain by Ferdinand the Catholic, and becoming fugitives, all those that came to Rome were ill-treated by their cruel brethren, who would have suffered them to die with hunger, if he had not succoured them.

In effect that pontiff, though a Spaniard by birth, and head of the church, understanding that the Jews, who had long been settled at Rome, left the exiles in misery, without attempting to succour them, threatened to expel them, unless they altered their conduct, and gave their miserable brethren opportunities of settling in the ecclesiastical state. He thought it expedient to profit by Ferdinand's error, and to enlarge his revenues at the cost of others. There have been many who would not persecute the Jews, nor yet suffer their numbers to multiply in their states, by the conjunction of strangers. But the pope attended not to the reasons dictated by his religion, but would have the new comers have the same privileges at Rome with the old inhabitants.

Amongst those whom that pontiff's kindness had invited to Rome, was the learned R. Jochanan, a German, who came from Constantinople, and was taken into the service of Picus, count of Mirandola, as his preceptor. This prince, for many years, had been fond of the writings of the rabbies, and even of the casuists. He is reported to have said, that those who read the Hebrew books drew at the Fountain-Head; that the rivulets had flowed from thence to the Greeks; and that nothing but marishes and stagnate water were found among the Latins. He maintained that Esdras had caused certain casuistical books to be written, which he had purchased at a great price; and that Sextus IV. had ordered them to be translated into Latin.

Another part of the Spanish and Portugal refugees thought to find a retreat at Naples; but the inquisitors pursued them there with such rancour, and exercised such terrible oppressions under this pretence, that the people rebelled. The viceroy resolved to expel the Jews, that he might at once get rid of the inquisitors. He alledged, that the contagion having ceased, and the faith of the old inhabitants being pure and well known, there was no need of these cruel physicians, who made wounds, and laid them open, instead of closing them. His conduct was authorized afterwards by Charles V. who would not tolerate the Jews in his kingdom, nor in Sicily. The truth is, this prince hated them; and the impostures he had discovered seem to justify him in it.

This aversion, however, did not discourage one Ricci, a converted Jew, from dedicating to that monarch his celebrated treatise on what he stiled Celestial Agriculture. He was a physician in Germany, and produced fifty theorems and expositions of some points in theology; but it will be apparent to those who read them, that they deserve not those encomiums which some learned men have made on them; on the contrary, that they are far beneath the dignity of a sound and reasoning diviner.

The

Jews powerful under Paul III.

The Jews were become so powerful under the pontificate of Paul III. as to provoke the rage of cardinal Sadolet. He was bishop of Carpentras, in the diocese of Avignon, where the Jews had ever been tolerated, since Joan, queen of Sicily, made a present of this city to the pope. They had their synagogues there, as they have at this day; though the city is in the midst of France, from whence they were banished. The prelate, not able to bear it, wrote to cardinal Farnese, representing, that the pope had never been such a benefactor to the Christians as he was to the Jews: that he had granted them titles, new privileges and honours, which rendered them haughty and insolent; insomuch that the Christians were but like sheep in the midst of wolves: that they were driven from their houses, and even commonly from the cities where they ought to live at rest: that it was unaccountable, how a pope could so rigorously persecute the Lutherans, and grant, at the same time, so partial a protection, and such singular favours, to the Jews, who seemed more worthy of his indignation. He observed, that the true method for a man to make his court, and to rise to ecclesiastical dignities, was to countenance this nation. He laid open the real source of this protection, and pointed out that this favour proceeded from the pope's treasurers, and the intendants of his finances, to whom the Jews were necessary men. However, some regard was paid to the cardinal's remonstrances; and, in this case, they did what is commonly done at Rome, when any abuse is discovered that tends to pecuniary purposes, they palliate it, and retrench its too manifest and glaring enormity.

The Talmud burnt.

Some time after Julius III. being persuaded the allegorical interpretations of the Gemara were dangerous, caused the Talmud to be burnt; so that all the books of the Gemara, which were in Italy, according to the Jewish writers, were destroyed.

Learned men and works at Rome.

It was in this pontificate that Joseph Tzarphati, a famous rabbi, who had taught a long time at Rome, embraced Christianity. He was born in France, but retired into Italy, where he explained the Talmud in the synagogue and the academy of Rome; and, to do more honour to pope Julius, took the name of Monte.

There were, moreover, at this time, other famous Jews at Rome. Elias, the Levite, was born at Padua; but having lost all, when this city was taken, he was received by some cardinals, whom he taught Hebrew. Being an unfortunate man, he once more suffered, when the constable de Bourbon plundered Rome. He retired to Venice, and from thence to Germany; but being unaccustomed to the cold air of that country, he returned to Italy, where he died at eighty years of age. He was suspected to have great inclination for Christianity, and this suspicion was a ground sufficient for his nation to hate him; but he did not abjure the faith of his ancestors, though some have believed and affirmed it.

There was a woman at Rome, called Deborah, who then began to distinguish herself by her poems and other works. She died in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Paul IV. two years at the

Paul IV. declared himself an enemy to this nation, and the first year of his pontificate issued two bulls, of which the Jewish writers vehemently complain. By the first he ordered each synagogue in his territories to pay ten ducats annually for the instruction of the catechumens who should abjure Judaism; and by the second, which was more rigorous, obliged the men to wear a yellow hat, and the women a veil of the same colour. He compelled them all to live in the same quarter of the city, the gates whereof were to be shut at night. They were deprived of all societies, offices, or professions among the Christians, without excepting physic and merchandize; for their commerce was confined to small wares; and they were forbid having more than one synagogue in each city. They were commanded to sell all their lands within six months, a circumstance which so lowered the price of them, that they could not get the fifth part of their value.

No. 52.

The cardinal Charles de Boromes, bishop of Milan, not only enacted several canons against them in the first council he held in that metropolis, much of the same kind with those of Paul IV. before-mentioned, but desired all the Christian princes to do the same, and all this to promote, as much as possible, their conversion. But that edict shews, at the same time, they were become so numerous and powerful, that there was some reason to fear them, not only at Milan, but in other places of Italy, unless they were confined to their own separate quarters, and interdicted, as much as possible, from all kind of converse with the Christians.

Council of Milan acts against them

Pius V. was still severer towards the Jews; and the Constitution he published against them was sufficient to render them odious to all the world; for he accused them of hating the Christians; of ruining the ecclesiastical state by the exorbitant usuries they drew from it; of sheltering robbers, and thereby promoting theft; together with a train of various other vices. They were also charged with dealing in magic, and foretelling things to come; and for these reasons were expelled all the cities of the ecclesiastical state, except Rome and Ancona.

Banished by pope Pius V. out of the ecclesiastical state.

Sixtus V. acted more frankly towards them, and candidly owned that the advantage he reaped from them was the chief motive of his tolerating them. A rabbi, called Meir, or Magin, of French origin, who resided at Venice, came to Rome, and being a man of address, was very agreeable to the pope. He dedicated a book to him, and wrote verses in his commendation, which were translated into Italian. He at length presented a petition to have the sole privilege of a silk manufacture, pretending to have an admirable secret for multiplying the worms. The pope granted him several privileges, and revoked all the contrary declarations and bulls of his predecessors, though they had been made with an oath and menace of excommunication. The hope of enriching himself, by laying a great duty upon every pound of silk, was the motive that induced Sixtus V. to distinguish this Jew from all others, and give him a patent which ruined the rest.

Grants of Sixtus V. to R. Meir.

Clement VIII. shewed them but little favour; for he renewed the bull of Pius V. who banished them out of the ecclesiastical state. Two things are observable in this bull; one, that he added the city of Avignon to those of Ancona and Rome, where they still preserved their liberty of conscience; the other, that this pope founded the privilege of tolerating them at Rome upon this reason, that the Jews ought not to be removed far from Rome, that they might be always at hand to be converted, as if conversions were more frequent at Rome than other places. According to this principle he should have given liberty of conscience to all heretics at Rome, and have filled the city with them, that they might always be at hand to be converted.

Bull of Clement VIII. against the Jews.

This nation had then other considerable settlements in the cities of Italy; but one of the most noted was that of Venice. That republic received them into all its territories, and gave them very hospitable entertainment. They also boast to have in part deserved this kindness by their fidelity, and the great services they had rendered in the war with the Turks, and particularly at the siege of Candia. Here it was that Daniel Bombergue printed their Hebrew bible the first time. This printer came from Antwerp to Venice, and chiefly dealt in Hebrew books. To print them the more correct, he employed the most learned Jews, whom he kept in pay, to the number of above an hundred. Felix Pratensis had the care of an edition of the bible with the Chaldee paraphrases, and the commentaries of many rabbies, which he dedicated to pope Leo X. But this edition is not the best, because he could not regularly dispose the different readings of the Massoreths.

Jews at Venice.

Hebrew bible printed.

Bombergue was likewise desirous of printing a good Hebrew grammar, and R. Abraham de Balmis was ordered to compile one accordingly; but he dying before it was finished, it was afterwards completed by R. Calonymas, a learned Jew then

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at Venice. Besides these books, he printed a great number of other works of the Jewish rabbies, for which his memory is still dear to the learned world, especially to the Jews.

R. David de Pomis.

It was to Venice that David (the son of Isaac) de Pomis retired; who, by way of acknowledgment, wrote a treatise to prove, that the laws of that republic are of divine original. This learned rabbi asserted, that his family descended from one of the heads of the captives whom Titus carried from Jerusalem to Rome. He was a prodigy of learning in his tenderest years. His father lived at Spoleto; but the Germans having pillaged Rome, he was afraid of being ruined by the like fate, and therefore carried off all his effects, and went to seek a retreat somewhere else. He fell into the misfortune he sought to avoid; for Colonna's troops meeting the mules that carried his treasure, seized it, and reduced him to extreme poverty. He settled at Bevagna, where his son, who was born in the year 1525, intently applied himself to study. The manuscript of one of his ancestors, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, and who had then composed an Hebrew dictionary, accidentally fell into his hands. He not only studied it, but resolved to make another larger, in which he inserted the terms that the rabbies often make use of, though they are not Hebrew. He inserted into his work all that was valuable from those of Rabbin Nathan, Elias the Levite, and Kimki's roots. In it we find the Hebrew words, and the foreign terms, with the Latin and Italian.

Protected by the Republic of Venice.

The republic maintained its rights in the war with the Uscoques. These robbers often pillaged the merchants of this nation; and the house of Austria pretended to dispute with the Venetians their privilege to protect them, because they were not Christians. But no regard was had to a pretension that deprived sovereigns of the right of defending their subjects; and the Jew, Henriques, was chosen by the senate to go into Dalmatia, to endeavour to accommodate this affair, which caused an unhappy war.

Famous rabbies at Venice.

R. Sichma, since named Simon Luzati, at this time published here his *Socrates*, in which he shews that the greatest geniuses are weak and wandering when they are guided by prejudice. He composed another treatise concerning the state of the nation. It was at Venice also that Samuel Nachmias lived, though he was of a Thessalonian family. Here he abjured judaism, with David, his son, and part of his family, which took the name Morosini. To shew that his conversion was sincere, he published an Italian treatise, intitled, *Via della Fide*, or the Way to the Faith; in which he explains the ceremonies of his nation, and shews the usefulness of them; proves that the six hundred and thirteen precepts, which they distinguish in the law, are observed by no body, and confutes all the Jewish superstitions and sects. He died in the year 1687, at Rome, whither he retired. Mardochai Korkos, who taught in the year 1672, performed a task that was no less bold and odious to the doctors of his nation; for he composed a treatise against the cabala; and their prejudices for that science are so great, that all seem to shake the foundations of their religion who attack it; and therefore the doctors have had the precaution not to print it.

Printing at Soncino.

At the same time that Bombergue had his press at Venice, some Jews, from Spire, in Germany, were employed in the same manner at Soncino, a small town in the duchy of Milan, near the river Oglio, where they began to print Hebrew books about the end of the fifteenth century. They quitted the name of their family, to take that of the city of Soncino. Their principal business was to print Hebrew books; and as they were almost the first that did this service to the nation, they grew famous and considerable. By this means they rescued from oblivion a great number of rabbinical writings, which would have been buried in the dust, and were not easily read. The doctors, that hereby found it much easier to read the works of their predecessors, gave great encomiums to the Soncini, which a long time conti-

nued in this post, and from thence dispersed themselves into other cities of Italy. There have been also very famous doctors of this name, and R. Ascer was of this family.

There was also a synagogue at Imola, where the famous Gedaliah was born, who was of Portuguese descent. He boasted to be of the family of the Jachia; and maintained that his family, proceeding in a right line from Jesse, father of David, had maintained itself in Portugal, where Athanaric, son to the great Athanaric, first of the name, had given three cities in fief to one of his grandfathers, and made him intendant of his household, and his whole kingdom.

R. Gedaliah.

This rabbi had composed 21 volumes; but the principal, and almost only, one which was printed, is, the Chain of the Cabala, or Schialschelet Hakkabala. He wrote it at Imola, in the year 1549. And though the author stole a great many things from a work like his own, and is very frequently mistaken in chronology, yet he has been serviceable to Bartolucci, in his rabbinical Bibliothek, as he owns himself; and it is one of the most necessary books to those that are fond of the chain of tradition, and the personal succession of the doctors.

At Modena was another synagogue, with R. Samuel at the head of it, who, in the year 1550, published the Judgments of Solomon. We have already observed what pompous titles these writers give their books. This is a course of canon law. Solomon is renowned for the wisdom and equity of his judgments; and the author fears not to give the same idea of himself and his decisions, which are in reality much esteemed.

R. Samuel at Modena.

There was an academy at Padua, which also brought up a considerable number of doctors. R. Meir was its president. Joseph of Padua, who took the name of his native place, likewise taught there. Isaac Phea published there, at the same time, his *Way of Faith*, which acquired him great reputation. They had their great preacher Menachem Rabba, whose sermons upon the four seasons of the year have been since printed by his son. He was living in the beginning of the last century. The Jews were here admitted doctors of physic, and they might afterwards practise in the territories of the republic. They have moreover three synagogues, eight hundred persons of their nation, and a considerable ghetto. This is the name in Italy they give the streets and quarters of the Jews, in which they are shut up at night.

Rabbis at Padua.

The synagogue and academy of Mantua have been famous for a long time. Two rabbies, Meier Leone di Mantua and Kolon, who governed it at the end of the fifteenth century, were divided. Jealousy perhaps was the true cause of their enmity; but they concealed this shameful passion under the cloak of religion, and difference of opinions about faith. Not only the Jews of Mantua divided, but the Christians engaged so far in this division as to come to blows. Lewis Gonza, who was then Marquis of Mantua, tried in vain all ways to reconcile them; but at length he took the resolution which is always most effectual, that is, to expel the leaders of the faction, and, by their exile, restore tranquillity to synagogue and academy.

A dissent at Mantua.

Other doctors succeeded the expelled; and Moses Vecchio, or Moses the Old, made a great figure in the following century. Alphes, whom we have already mentioned, had written a course of law so conformable to the Talmud, that sometimes one is mistaken for the other. His commentators, instead of censuring several things he had inserted in his book, approved them, or endeavoured to soften them by a favourable interpretation. But Moses the Old, setting himself above Alphes and all his commentators, published at Mantua his corrections upon their works, which did him great honour.

The Jews were settled at Pesaro, a very ancient little city, mentioned by Catullus. It belongs at present to the church, and is situate in the duchy of Urbino, upon the Adriatic Sea. Here was born R. Jechiel

R. Jechiel
of Pefaro

R. Jechiel, who, having for some time heard the sermons of an inquisitor at Florence, went to Rome, to desire leave to abjure Judaism. Pope Gregory XIII. was present at the speech he made before a numerous assembly, and received him, as he descended from the chair, with the highest marks of satisfaction. The pope baptized him some days after. He became a preacher; and some of his Italian sermons have been printed, which he preached at Florence.

They have, generally speaking, upheld themselves in most cities of Italy, and have had many learned rabbies during the foregoing century, the most celebrated among whom were the following:

Leo of Mo-
dena; his
works.

R. Jehudah Arie, commonly known by the name of Leo de Modena, the place of his nativity, as that of Leo (Lion) answered to his Hebrew name of Arie. He was a very learned man, and hath given the world a treatise on the ceremonies of the Jews, which is highly esteemed by the learned of all nations. His book, intitled, "the Mouth of the Lion," is another useful work, wherein he hath judiciously collected and explained all the words used by the rabbies, which are neither quite Hebrew or altogether Chaldee, and hath endeavoured to fix the pronunciation of them so as to be understood by Jews of all nations. He was for a considerable time chief of the synagogue, and reckoned a good poet both in Hebrew and Italian. He wrote several other treatises; and formed the design of translating the Old Testament into Italian, but was forbidden to proceed by the inquisitors; instead of which, therefore, he wrote his Lexicon. He died at Venice in the year 1654, at the age of almost 80 years.

Mardochai
Korkos.

Here flourished, in the year 1674, Mardochai Korkos, who having a better judgment than most doctors of his nation, instead of giving into the tenets of the cabala, has endeavoured to make others dislike it. He even had the courage to write against the famous Sephiroths, which shews his good taste for theology.

Jacob Tza-
phalon.

Jacob Tzaphalon taught at Ferrara. He was born at Rome in 1630, and had also taken his degree of doctor of physick in the university of this city; but bent his studies to the law, and became one of the principal doctors of the last century. Being rendered uneasy in his native country, he forsook it, and retired to Ferrara, where he governed the synagogue of that place. This situation was the more convenient to him, because he came near Venice, where he printed several books. He published a collection of devout thoughts, to which he prefixed several prayers. He wrote other books. The title of one is taken from the prophet Micah, "Thou wilt perform the Truth to Jacob." The second is, "The Light of the Preachers." A third, which turns upon physick, is called, "The Theatre of Life;" in which he treats of fevers, poisons, simples, and diseases peculiar to each part of the human body.

Judas Azael

Judas Azael was eminent also for his preaching in the last century. His reputation was so great, that the Christians went out of curiosity to hear him. He published a book, called The Thrones of the House of David. He died at Ferrara in the year 1677.

Jehoshuah
Menahem.

Jehoshuah Menahem was president of the academy at Rome at the end of the last century; and there was another doctor at the same time called Jacob Dattilo delli Piatelli. He came of a distinguished family of his nation at Rome, and was considered as one of the best qualified masters to instruct youth. The R. Tribotti appeared also in the middle of the same century. In a tract which he published, he advanced some propositions that occasioned the doctors of Italy to oppose him. The synagogue and academy of Rome, to prevent the multiplication of books, and the course of the division pronounced upon all these questions, declared for Tribotti, and the other doctors submitting to its decision, peace was restored.

They reckon twelve or fifteen thousand Jews in Rome, who are governed by triumvirs, whom they call Memmonim. These three determine all the differences that arise betwixt man and man, and take care to preserve the privileges the popes have granted them. They are changed every year, in order to prevent the abuse of their authority. The Jews lived so familiarly with the Christians, that the latter made no scruple to go frequently to their synagogues; and they did it in such numbers, that Innocent XI. was obliged to threaten them with excommunication, and a fine of twenty-five crowns upon all who entered them. They have an academy here, and their professors also, among whom was the famous Joseph Kimki. They have nine synagogues; and it seems they preserve a kind of superiority over the rest of those in Italy, since they are consulted upon doubtful cases, and their determinations singularly regarded.

Synagogues
at Rome
frequented
by Christi-
ans, but af-
terwards
forbidden to
them.

Innocent XI. gave them, some years since, a particular token of his protection. This pontiff, who conjured the king of France to persecute his Protestant subjects, to oblige them to change their religion, induced the Venetians to give liberty to some Jews whom they oppressed. Morosini, general of this republic, returning victorious from the Morea, brought with him from this country many Christians and Jews he had found under the power of the grand seignior. The first were set at liberty, and the latter kept in slavery. They represented the injustice that was done them, since they offered to dwell in the territories of the republic, where they are allowed full liberty of conscience. They have their cemetery at Venice, which has produced some epitaphs. They have also their synagogues, and reckon near two thousand persons of their nation in that city. But yet they could not obtain their desire; and their fate would have been miserable, if the pope, whose protection they implored, had not interposed in their behalf. Not satisfied with acting at Venice, he appointed a congregation at Rome to take cognizance of this affair, and to regulate it; whereupon the republic granted what was demanded, and the Jews were set at liberty.

Pope Inno-
cent XI. fa-
vourable to
the Jews.

This pontiff also strove much to promote their conversion. Gregory XIII. had ordered a sermon to be preached weekly to instruct them. An ingenious man was to be chosen for the purpose, who was to prove that the introduction of the gospel had abolished the law; and to enlarge upon the long misery this nation had suffered for a prodigious course of years. He obliged one third of the Jews of Rome to be present, in their turns, at this sermon; and the children who had reached twelve years were registered among the auditors. He built seminaries for the maintenance of the new converts, and hospitals for their sick. But, after all, the greater part remained in unbelief; and cardinal Barberini, who was at a great expence to forward the work, acknowledged, before his death, that such conversions were only feigned and insignificant.

Means used
to promote
their con-
version.

Prove inef-
fectual.

We have now brought the history of the Jews in Italy to the end of the seventeenth century. Those who desire a more exact knowledge of the number and present state of their synagogues, may consult the tax on those in the ecclesiastical state. They reckon nine at Rome, and nineteen in Campania; thirty-six in the marquisate of Ancona, twelve in the patrimony of St. Peter, eleven at Bologna, and thirteen in Romandiola. These are taxed somewhat above seven hundred crowns, which they pay every year.

Tax on the
synagogues.

We may farther observe the will of Zachary a Porto, who died at Florence towards the end of the last century. This merchant had composed a kind of concordance upon the commentators of the Talmud. When he died he entrusted his work with the doctors of Rome, and bequeathed his library to the school. Moreover, he gave twenty-four thousand piasters to his nation; one fourth part to be divided among the universities of Leghorn, Venice, and the Land of Israel; and eighteen thousand piasters to be distributed into portions for Jewish maids, of the synagogues of Rome, Ferrara, Ancona, Urbino, (which was his birth place,) Pesaro, Cefano,

Synagogues
numerous
in Italy.

Cefano, Venice, Padua, Verona, Rovigo, Florence, Sienna, Pisa, Leghorn, Mantua, Modena, and Reggio. This enumeration shews there is still a considerable number of synagogues in that part of the world, where the church of Rome reigns with the greatest authority.

CHAP. XXII.

History of the Jews in Germany, from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century.

Jews in Germany oppressed. Hebrew concordances. Creation of doctors, and origin of the title. Ordinance of the council of Basil against the Jews. Banished Bavaria. Burnt at Mecklenburgh. Banished Nuremberg and Cologne. Vittora Carbe's book against them. Simeon a learned Rabbi. Pfeffercorn's advice against the Jews. Reuchlin's opposition. Continuation of the dispute. Pfeffercorn's dissimulation punished. State of the Jews under the reformation. Enmity betwixt Martin Luther and the Jews. They become more wary and learned. R. Isaac's Buttress of Faith. Other Jewish traits in vindication of their religion. Jewish sectaries. Banished from Mersbourg. Protected by Ferdinand and Salomon Lawria. Simon de Guntzbourg a good geometrician. Other learned rabbies. Condition of the Jews in Bohemia. Expelled and restored. Learned men in Bohemia. Jews in Hungary and Moravia. Settled in the territories of Brunswick.

Jews in Germany oppressed.

THE fifteenth century began unhappily in Germany for the Jewish nation. A great many were settled in Thuringia and Milnia. But the landgraves made them pay dear for their quiet and liberty. Whether it was that necessity required it, or they were driven to it by avarice, which prevails in the minds of princes, as well as private persons, but they often demanded considerable sums; and it had not been long, perhaps, that they had paid one great tax, when a new one was demanded of them; and, upon their refusing to pay it, they were all committed to prison, and not set at liberty till they paid a considerable ransom.

Hebrew Concordance.

Jacob Movilin at that time made himself famous by the great number of his disciples, as well as by his judicious answers to the questions that were proposed to him. An Hebrew concordance was composed by Nathan, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Reuchlin printed it, because he found it very useful. There have been several editions of it since; but the best of all is the Roman, the work of a monk, called Marius Calasio; for he not only added the concordance of Esther and Daniel, which were wanting, but we find illustrations upon the Chaldee notes, and upon all that relates to the description of the places mentioned in holy writ.

Creation of doctors, and origin of the title.

There was at that time a dispute among the rabbies of Germany about letters of divorce. Young people were frequently desirous of procuring them; and as they were not perfectly acquainted with the ancient rites, were guilty of errors. In order to prevent this abuse, it was enacted that none but the received doctors should be privileged to draw up these letters, and that all the rest should be void and null; and it is said that this was the origin of the title of doctor, which Movilin assumed. But it was probably pride which gave birth to this new degree of honour. The Christians presented the doctors cap with great pomp in their universities; and to imitate them, the Jews took this title, and began to confer it with some ceremony; whilst the antique one of rabbies was despised. The title don was only used in Spain; but the doctors were distinguished amongst all the Christians. Abravanel, who saw that the Germans ordained their disciples by saying, "Morenu," (*you are our doctor,*) was sur-

prized at this custom; but he found afterwards, that the same thing was done in Italy, where this title soon came into vogue.

The council of Basil, which extended its jurisdiction far and near, thought it ought not to neglect the Jews, who were numerous in this city and in Germany. It commanded, by a decree, the prelates to chuse, in all places where there were Jews, some persons skilled in the languages to preach to them. The prelates were obliged to send all the Jews of their dioceses to this sermon; and heavy punishments were decreed against those who concealed them, or hindered them from receiving instruction. People at the same time were forbid to have any commerce with them at table, or in civil society. It was not allowed to have servants, nurses, physicians, or farmers of this nation; nor to let them houses near churches, or in the bodies of cities; and to discover them the more easily, they were obliged to wear a different habit from the Christians. The council also condemned those who pledged church books, utensils, and ornaments, to lose their money.

Ordinance of the council of Basil against the Jews.

Regulations were made about those who were converted. The new converts by baptism obtained the privilege of enjoying their estates, except what they had acquired by usuries; for they obliged them to restore their excessive interests, if the persons were living; and in case of death, as the church was impropriate of the confiscation of these goods, she made a present of them to the new converts.

The council declared farther, by an edict, the new converts capable of all offices in cities where they were baptized. It could not, indeed, be assured of the sincerity of these conversions; and it appears that it doubted of them; for it forbid that the new converts should have frequent intercourse together; as finding, by experience, that they corrupted one another, and weakened their faith. They were forbid also burying their dead after the Jewish way, keeping the sabbath, and other rites of that nation; which is a sufficient proof that they had not totally renounced them. The parish-priests were ordered to prevent the mischief, by procuring them good matches among the Christians. As the council gave great privileges to new converts, it appointed likewise terrible punishments for hypocrites; for it authorized the priests to keep a strict eye over their conduct, to impeach them to the inquisitors, and to call in the secular arm to punish them with greater rigour; declaring, that all who protected these dissemblers should be treated as abettors of heretics: and carrying its authority farther, it annulled all the privileges which might have been given to the Jews, either by popes or emperors. The council, upon the whole, was right in ordering the Jews to be instructed, and the new converts to be maintained by contribution; but it exceeded the bounds of its power, in setting itself above emperors, and pretending to abolish their laws.

The decrees of the council of Basil caused no great alteration in Germany. It is true Lewis X. duke of Bavaria, expelled the Jews out of his dominions; but it was twenty years after: and the council laid not this injunction upon sovereigns, so that this prince consulted not his own interests. It was vain to represent to him, that the banishment of so many opulent people would lessen his revenues; he ordered them to depart the same day, and the very same hour, from forty cities, and all the towns in his territories: he confiscated their estates, and built prisons, and other public edifices, in the places which had belonged to them.

Banished Bavaria.

The princes of Mecklenburgh also made a dreadful execution of them in their capital city. Thirty Jews were condemned to the fire. One of them threw himself into the river, to avoid the barbarity of this punishment; and, as the women and children were included in this execution, a mother, driven to despair, killed, with her own hand, two of her daughters; and the third would have undergone the same fate, if the Christians had not taken her away. Two years after they were accused, in Hungary, of murdering a Christian, and drinking his blood.

Burnt at Mecklenburgh.

blood. They were put to the rack, to force them to confess that they were not only guilty of the crime, but that their nation partook in it.

About five years after the Jews of Nuremberg, who were both numerous and wealthy, were all banished out of that city, and settled in a small town in its neighbourhood, where they built a synagogue. The citizens had several crimes laid to their charge, in order to justify the severity of their expulsion; but the true motive seems to have been their wealth, which made them insolent; their numbers, which made them formidable; and their usuries, which served to debauch their youth, and rendered them at length universally odious.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century they were expelled out of the diocese of Cologne; and Victor a Carbe, who renounced Judaism to turn priest, expatiated on the praises of the bishop, congratulating him on having purged his bishopric from the people of his nation. At the same time that he uttered invectives against his nation, he counselled the Christians never to dispute with them, because they were accustomed to controversy from their infancy, and that to conquer them, a man had need of a quiver full of arrows. However, he wrote against the Jews; and at this day we read these words upon the gates of the church of St. Ursula at Cologne; "Victor, formerly a Jew, in the year 1509, wrote four books against the errors of the Jews." He was near fifty years old when he was baptized; and it was probably the fear of being banished that produced his conversion. We learn, from his testimony, that the Jews had suffered in the diocese of Cologne in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

About the same time flourished, in the neighbourhood of that city, the great R. Simeon, an eloquent preacher, and author of the famed book Jalkut, (Pouch,) which is a judicious collection of such interpretations of the ancient Jewish doctors on the sacred books, as were best and easiest to be understood. This work was printed at Thessalonica, and afterwards in Italy. A rabbi, of the family of Gedaliah, who had retired to Jerusalem, composed a long commentary upon it. He thought his labour was lost, because he was not able to print it; when Dias Mokato, a rich Spaniard, undertook to defray the expence; and therefore it was printed, with Abraham's notes, at Leghorn. The corrector dedicated it to the great duke Ferdinand II. A new Jalkut was afterwards printed at Amsterdam, wherein are collected the literal and mystical interpretation in alphabetical order; whereas Simeon followed the order of the sacred books, and confined himself to the allegorical sense. There is a third, which is that of R. Reuben, and is only a collection of notes upon the Pentateuch.

Some years after this transaction, a proselyte, called Pfeffercorn, kindled a terrible war among the learned of this century. Whether it was to acquire a reputation with the party whose profession he had newly embraced, or rather that he had a mind to enrich himself at the cost of his deserted brethren, he persuaded the emperor Maximilian, that all the Jewish books ought to be burnt, because they were full of fables, lies, and blasphemies. He associated with him two Cologne divines, and, amongst others, the famous Hochstraten, who afterwards wrote against Luther. He was charged with designing to seize all the books he condemned, and afterwards oblige the Jews to ransom them at an exorbitant rate. All the devotees engaged in this faction; and the emperor himself, prevailed on by the authority of the divines, gave a favourable answer to the request presented to him. However, as this affair made a noise, he was willing to know the opinion of some doctors, and particularly of Capnion, or Reuchlin. This professor had studied the languages under Vesselus. Some say he was under the tuition of John de la Pierre, a German, who was afterwards professor at Paris, and became a Carthusian. But it is certain he was indebted for his first erudition to the professor of Groningen,

who was called the Light of the World. The duke of Bavaria, who had a great esteem for Reuchlin, having a very nice affair to manage with Alexander VI. chose him for one of his ministers. He continued a year at Rome, where he perfected his knowledge of the Hebrew under a famous Jew, who flourished at that time, called Abdi Ben Jacob Spuon. The emperor had nominated him to be a triumvir of the league of Suadia, made in the year 1489, to investigate the power of the dukes of Bavaria, and he had executed the office for eleven years. It is no wonder, therefore, that this person, celebrated for his learning, and of importance in the empire, was consulted about the fate of the Talmud, and other Hebrew books.

Reuchlin went not into the opposite extreme of his enemies. He alledged, that such books only ought to be burnt, as contained any blasphemies against the Christian religion. But he declared against destroying those which only treated of the tenets, morals, and rites of the Jews. He alledged farther, that the decrees of Germany not being executed wherever the Jews subsisted, it was impossible entirely to suppress the books dispersed all over the world, whereof one single copy was sufficient for the product of new editions. Good sense required that he should argue in this manner, and extend the argument to all the books that were printed and published. Nevertheless, Reuchlin was highly censured for speaking after this manner, and the divines began to persecute the author of this opinion. The understanding a little Greek was not only sufficient at that time to make a man suspected, and the understanding Hebrew to convict him of heresy, but the design of studying this language was sufficient to incur the resentment of inveterate enemies. Cologne espoused the cause of its divines; and the university of Paris also declared for them. The affair was brought before the elector of Mentz; but Reuchlin appearing only by proxy, Hochstraten obtained a sentence, which he caused to be published before the term. Reuchlin appealed from it to the pope, who commissioned the bishop of Spire to judge of the proceeding. Hochstraten, in consequence, was condemned by default, with costs; and inhibitions were given against his continuing his process. The declaration of the divines of Cologne was declared null. However, they caused Reuchlin's book to be burnt.

Not satisfied with these judicial proceedings, Hutten published the Letters of Obscure Men. Paul Jove, who ascribes them to Reuchlin, is mistaken. These letters contained a poignant satire against the monks. The public was well pleased to see them lashed in a sprightly and vigorous manner; and Reuchlin hereby was revenged for the abuses that had been circulated against him. The revenge would have been more compleat, if Hochstraten had died with grief, (as Paul Jove assures us;) but this inquisitor lived ten years after the publication of these satirical letters. Ortuinus Gratius, to whom they were dedicated, endeavoured to repel the attack, by opposing to them the Lamentations of Obscure Men, and the Letters of Famous Men. But this satire prevailed over the apology; at least men of sense ceased to look upon Reuchlin as a Jew, or as an asserter of their tenets.

The affair was judged at Rome; whither Hochstraten went, fortified with letters from princes, and considerable sums of money, wherewith he purchased protectors. He omitted nothing that could contribute to carrying on his cause. He threatened the pope to appeal from his judgment to the council, to reject him as a pseudo pontiff, and to separate from the church, unless Reuchlin, and the Jews he defended, were condemned. Nevertheless, he was forced to be content to have the cause superseded; a favour which the pope granted him when he was going to be condemned: for the judges favoured Reuchlin, and would have pronounced against Hochstraten, if a stop had not been put to it by the pope's order. The inquisitor was obliged to return with disgrace. Reuchlin's friends waited for him near Nuremberg, where his enemies would have used him ill, if he had not had notice of their designs. We

are told that Hutten, meeting him one day, would have killed him, to punish his violent persecutions of the Lutherans, who began to spread in Germany: but the monk being humbled, represented, that it was scandalous to kill a naked man; and Hutten being wrought upon, desisted from his purpose.

Pfeffercorn's dissimulation punished.

Pfeffercorn, a little after, bore the punishment of his iniquity; for being arrested upon some suspicion, he confessed he had acted as priest for twenty years, without having received orders; that he had had a design to kill the elector of Brandenburg, and his brother, the archbishop of Mentz; and that he had voluntarily poisoned many Christians, by pretending to be a physician. In consequence of these accusations, he is said to have died amidst the most cruel tortures, to which he was condemned.

State of the Jews under the reformation.

Reuchlin had reason to say, that the monks had found such an enemy in Luther, as would give them business enough to oblige them to let him die in peace, and so it actually happened. Reuchlin ended his days quietly: Not only the Jewish books were spared, but the study of the languages was cultivated. The world began to be sensible of the barbarity and gross ignorance of the persecuting monks; and the Jews were no longer accused of those massacres of children, which had drawn upon them so many miseries, and spilt so much of their blood. Idolatry at that time received a terrible blow, and the worship of God alone began to be restored. On the other hand, the Protestants were better skilled in the languages than the monks and divines of past ages had been, and surmounting vulgar prejudices, studied the writings of the rabbies, discovered the mysteries of them, and confuted them upon their own principles. Their example roused the Roman divines, who taking the same method, discovered the system of the Jewish religion. We must not here enter into party considerations, nor over-strain the praise that is due to our divines: they led the way, and the others have followed: they have drawn the people out of barbarity, and the others have rejoiced in this light: they have had their profound doctors in this matter, as well as we; so that we cannot determine whether the Jews have gained or lost by the reformation that ensued.

Enmity between Martin Luther and the Jews

Luther could not agree with their divinity, and has often censured them with that impetuosity of temper that carried him beyond the bounds of moderation. He charged them especially with being cheats; because he had heard the duke of Saxony say, that a Jew had promised to make him invulnerable; but having obliged the impostor to make trial of his art upon himself, the fraud was discovered, and the Jew died of the wound, that was given him. The great cause of their spleen against Luther proceeded from his having hindered some Christian princes from receiving them into their dominions. Moreover the reformation produced abundance of doctors in Germany, who, having thoroughly studied the languages, frequently dispute against the Jews, and prove to them the truth of the Christian religion.

Jews become more wary and learned.

On the other hand, the Jews, being more closely pressed by the Christians, were obliged to exert themselves in extraordinary efforts for their own defence: and it must be confessed that they have produced some learned champions, at the head of whom we may rank R. Isaac, the son of Abraham. He declares that he spent his life in the courts of Germany, near princes, who often favoured him with marks of distinction. His disciple, who has collected his disputes, compares him to the patriarch Isaac, because he bore his name; and like Isaac had two children. This produced a book in two parts; one of which may be compared to Esau, and the other to Jacob. But this does not inform us who the author was, or in what time he lived. He had frequent conferences with Luther's disciples, and it was against them he composed his *Buttreis of Faith*. This is a most virulent composition, wherein the author affects to examine particular passages of sacred history, and, envious to explode the proofs of it, raises all the difficulties he can against it, and

R. Isaac's *Buttreis of Faith*.

presses them with all possible vigour and bitterness: and with the same heat he confutes, or attempts to confute, the objections of Christians against the Jews. The book referred to, intitled, by the author, *Chasuk Emmah*, and, by the Latin translator, *Munimen Fidei*, shews the author to have lived about the beginning of the 17th century. Its editor Joseph, the son of Mordecai, published it after it had remained a long time in manuscript, and was become very scarce. The Portuguese Jews, indeed, got it translated into Spanish, and dispersed it throughout all the neighbouring kingdoms. It was also in high esteem among the African Jews; and it is from thence that the learned Wagenheil brought it into Germany, and having translated it into Latin, inserted it in his *Tela Ignea Satanae*; or, "Fiery Darts of Satan."

At the same time was produced a work, intitled, the *Nizzachon*, or *Victory against the Christians*. The Jews often give lofty titles to the books they publish against the Christian religion, as pretending they are so many triumphs over it. Wagenheil published one of these works, which he thought was composed about the twelfth century, because no later rabbi was quoted, which conjecture is very probable. Schickard had determined to translate and confute another of them, which went by the same title, and was composed by Matathias, but death prevented him. A third treatise of the *Victory* is attributed to Lipman, who lived in Germany at the end of the fifteenth century; for the author informs us, that he wrote about the year 1499. He thought that a long treatise against the Christians would not make so strong an impression on the people's minds, and therefore made an abridgment in verse, which might be easily learned. That abridgment Wagenheil has published, with a judicious confutation. Bartolucci speaks of a fourth *Victory*, in which the Jewish religion is defended with thirty-five arguments, and Christianity attacked with forty-two objections, very artfully stated. It is said to be the work of many authors, who all wrote, notwithstanding, in the purity of their language; but they lived since the reformation, as they quote the works of Luther and Calvin.

Other in its title in various countries.

Besides the Jews who set up in Germany against the reformation, new doctors appeared in Transylvania, called Judaizers, or half Jews, by way of stigma. The case was this: Seidelus, one of the heads of this sect, maintained, that the great prophet did not respect the Gentiles, but only the Jews, to whom he had been promised by the same title as the land of Canaan; that is, as a particular privilege to be enjoyed by them alone. He reckoned also sacrifices and ceremonies as rites peculiar to this nation, contributing to the worship of God. But he was persuaded that all religion consisted in the decalogue, which was naturally engraven on the hearts of all men. He made vain attempts to gain proselytes in Silesia, where he was born; but finding it impossible to retrieve his countrymen from their idolatry, he went into Poland, where he had some followers.

Jews for times.

Another, named Francis David, was called a Judaizer, or half Jew, because he affected some peculiar modes and forms in offering up prayer and solemn invocations.

Amongst them was likewise reckoned George de Novara, who was burned at Bologna for espousing some peculiar tenets: and such were also esteemed some other sectaries, who observed the Jewish sabbath, abstained from blood and things strangled, several of whom suffered, as half Jews, in England and other parts.

The Jews pretended to have been settled at Mefbourg ever since the taking of Jerusalem; but so venerable an antiquity did not secure them from bishop Adolphus's persecutions, who expelled them all from thence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. But they consoled themselves in the safe retreat which they found in other places; for the emperor Ferdinand I. not only protected them, but granted them the privilege of having a prince of the captivity in Germany; and ordered that the chief rabbi

Jews settled at Mefbourg.

Prince of the captivity by Ferdinand.

rabbi de Wormes should have this preference before all the rest of his nation. They reckon in the catalogue of these princes the famous R. Jakock, of German origin, born at Wormes, esteemed by his nation for his learning, and who left four ingenious sons, who were all presidents of academies, princes of the dispersion, and the admiration of the age. One of them taught chiefly at Fribourg, where there was a school and a synagogue, as in most cities of the empire, and particularly at Vienna, where they had erected a magnificent building.

They had in Austria a more famous man than Jakock, which was Salomon Lawria. He composed the Sea of Salomon, alluding to his name, and called his book a sea because it founded the depth of the Talmud; and he examined particularly the stile and phrases of it. He died in the year 1573.

Simfon, a native of Guntzbourg, which gave him his surname, was a geometrician of repute, and a skilful architect, who, after he had acquired immense wealth, distributed it with a very bountiful hand. Eliezer, a German, had also a boundless reputation. He left Germany for Poland, where he became head of the academy, and of the house of judgment at Posnania. He published two books; one whereof was called the Work of the Lord; and the other, the Addition of Doctrine.

Poland abounded also with learned doctors. Herdes taught at Cracow, and gathered a vast number of disciples, who came from all parts to hear his lectures. He was devout, perfect, and gave rest to the law in Israel twenty years; that is, he was professor so long. Joseph Letts, born in the same city, wore four crowns; that of priesthood, of the law, of dignity or empire, and of a great reputation. At Cracow there was a synagogue, an academy, a house of judgment, and a great assembly of the Jews. They were dispersed in most of the cities of Poland, where they had extensive privileges. Nevertheless, they sometimes suffered by popular commotions: for instance, their houses were once set on fire at Posnania, and they saw them burnt without being able to extinguish the flames, because they were afraid that the enraged multitude would fall upon them. The populace, indeed, pretended, that a kind of supernatural terror had seized on them, which would not suffer them so much as to draw water, so that all their houses, effects, and books, even that of the law, were reduced to ashes. But, excepting these popular disasters, learning, as well as traffic, flourished among them; and their academies were governed by men of great reputation.

Cardinal Commendon, in his way to Russia, found likewise, in the province of Ukraina, a number of Jews in great credit, who did not enrich themselves, as they do in general, by usury, but by a fair and honest commerce. They cultivated their lands, and applied themselves to the study of physic and astrology; and others farmed the customs and carriage of merchandize. They are not only exempt from wearing marks of distinction, but are even allowed to wear swords, and to enjoy the same posts and employments as the natives of the country.

Bohemia cherished many of this nation. We have already observed, that the Jews were settled there in the tenth century, since they rendered service to the inhabitants against the robbers, and built at that time a synagogue at Prague; this liberty being given them by way of acknowledgment for the victories that had been obtained by their means. In process of time they also erected a college. R. Falk was the president, and the first that began to exercise his scholars in controversies like the Christians: but this method was not acceptable to the sages, nor relished by the people in general. The Jews, whose system of divinity is rather mystical and abstruse, cannot be reconciled to arguments and syllogisms.

They had also their enemies and persecutors here. An almost general conflagration having destroyed one part of Bohemia, the Jews were accused of be-

ing the incendiaries, and condemned. Those that escaped the flames were all expelled by Ferdinand, who could no otherwise appease the popular commotion: ten persons only found favour, being allowed the liberty of remaining at Prague: but the incendiaries having been discovered before the end of the year, the Jews were recalled, and settled again in their country.

Another storm fell upon them soon after; for they were suspected of having made prayers at Prague against the Christians. Upon this suspicion they seized all their books, and carried them to Vienna. This loss was an affliction to them, not only on account of their value, which was very considerable, but especially because they were obliged to perform the service *viva voce*, and by heart, without reading, which subjected them to many inconveniencies. The storm was but short; the books that were taken were restored; and, perhaps, it was only done to oblige them to redeem them. Ferdinand banished them the same year from all Bohemia, only leaving ten families in Prague; but at the same time he permitted them to live in other parts of his dominions, and also restored them a little after. Weidnerus, who was one of their rabbies, had deserted them during this disgrace. He also preached against them in the synagogue at Prague; and he affirms, that he converted many of his brethren.

They had in Bohemia their doctors, who raised the glory of their academies; for Isaac Mehelung taught at the end of the sixteenth century. When he died, he left his son, R. Charam, president of his school. Here it was that the famous Liwa Bitsleer appeared, with whom the emperor Rhodolphus conversed. He founded a famous academy, called Klaus, whither he drew a vast concourse of disciples; and afterwards was made superintendant over all the synagogues of Poland.

Judas Betsaleel, otherwise Leo of Prague, was born in Bohemia, and flourished in the year 1553. He at first governed the academies of Moravia, and was judge of his nation in that country. He came to Prague in the year 1573, where he founded a new academy, in which he taught eleven years with great reputation. However, he left it to go into Great Poland, where he died at the end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the last, century. He left many books, amongst which there is one concerning the redemption of Israel, wherein he assures his nation of the coming of the great prophet, and doubts not but that he will render the prosperity of his people perpetual. Some time before appeared, in the same city, one Abraham of Prague, who composed a commentary upon the commentaries of Jarki, and who died in the year 1540.

Mardochai Jophi, or the Fair, was also born at Prague. He retired to Poland, where he died in the year 1611, with the reputation of one of the most learned men of his country and nation. It will not be amiss, in order to know his method, to observe the plan of one of his works. He intitled his book, the Royal Garment; which title is borrowed from the holy story, which says, that Mordecai went out from the presence of the king, in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple. It is the disposition of the rabbies not only to delight in metaphors, even in their titles, but to seek some passage relating to the name of the author. He has divided his work into ten royal habits, though there were but five that contained an accurate commentary upon another work. The first tract is an habit of purple, in which he treats of blessings and prayers. The second is a white habit, which relates to feasts and the sabbath. The third is a crown of gold, where he discourses of things lawful and forbidden. The fourth is a robe of fine linen and purple, in which he explains the ceremonies of marriage; and the last is the habit of the city of Susan, which rejoiced in the prosperity of the Jews.

Ganz, the Jewish historian, was born at Prague, where he composed his Stem of David, or his chronology from the creation till the year 1592 of the Christian

Salomon
Lawria.

Simfon de
Guntz-
bourg a
good geo-
metrician.

Other
learned
rabbies.

They are
expelled and
restored.

Learne
men in
Bohemia.

Condition
of the Jews
in Bohemia.

Christian church. We must not confound this work with another Stem of David we have already spoken of; for the one is a dictionary, and this a chronicle. The author gives it this title because it was the first of his works; for he published afterwards the Buckler and Tower of David; one of which treats of arithmetic, and the other of geometry. Besides, as his history displays the misery of the Jews, and the power of the Christians, he would hereby oblige his readers to remember the branch of David, and to pray for his manifestation. There are three things peculiar in his work: 1. That he begins with the creation of the world, and ascends to the first temple and the patriarchs; whereas the Jews generally begin with the epocha of the Greeks. 2. Though he has often copied the rabbies of his nation that preceded him, yet he hath been more exact, and corrected their errors. 3. He has introduced into his second book several Christian authors; but he is not happy in his choice; and as he departed from the custom of the Jewish doctors, who slight foreign historians, he ought at the same time to have preferred more exact authors, and men of a greater name.

They built, at that time, at Prague, a synagogue equal to those of Poland and Jerusalem: and as Mordechai Meusel had liberally contributed to this great edifice, as well as to the relief of the poor of Bohemia and Polesia, Ganz calls him, "the Wall and Basis of the School, the Head of liberal Souls, the Father of the Poor, the Oak of his People, and the Love of his Brethren;" and with this commendation he ends his chronicle.

State of the
Jews in
Hungary.

Those in Hungary were greatly diminished towards the end of the 16th century, when the emperor Rodolphus laid a double tax on them, in order to oblige them to quit that country the sooner. He at length compelled them to pay a monthly fine of fifty denarii per head, which it was imagined must have ruined them quite: nevertheless, a great number of them made shift to maintain themselves in it, though a much greater was forced to seek their fortune elsewhere.

In Moravia.

Moravia had also its synagogues. But the Jews suffered a cruel persecution here in the year 1574; for all the professors of their religion were sentenced to the flames; and many were dispatched before complaints could be brought to the emperor Maximilian, who at length took compassion on these poor wretches. They also suffered greatly in Franconia; for some houses of the city of Bamberg being burnt, the Jews were accused of setting them on fire; and at the same time the people entered their houses, plundered their goods, and indemnified themselves at their cost. But, however, there was no one put to death.

Some time after they had the same misfortune at Bonn. Schenk, the Dutch general, and founder of the fort of his name, marching secretly at the head of some troops, had planted a petard at the gate of this city, and, by means of the noise which some swine in the neighbourhood made, approached the gate, blew it up, and made himself master of the city for the Hollanders. He gave the plunder to his soldiers; and the Jews complain that they were partially distinguished in that pillage. However, this misery was common to them with the rest of the inhabitants; but none were killed.

The Jews were afterwards recompensed for these misfortunes, since, at the end of the century, they obtained liberty to settle in the duke of Brunswick's territories. The princes of this house had ever before been persuaded that such an establishment would be disadvantageous; so that the Jewish merchants were not so much as suffered to cross their lands; and when any one was taken, they plundered him with impunity. But their complaints being brought to Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick, he not only granted the Jews liberty of conscience in his territories, but gave them a place in the Lower Saxony, to carry on their commerce; so that there were but few places in all Germany in which they did not traffic at the end of the sixteenth

century. The present age, however, seems to be the most happy æra they have enjoyed since their dispersion.

C H A P. XXIII.

Authority of the Jews in Poland. R. Solomon's conversion, and theological works. Jews at Hamburgh. Favoured by Ferdinand III. of Bohemia. Enmity between the Christians and Jews of Prague. Jews stripped of their privileges in Hungary. In high credit at Vienna. Banished. Recalled. Settled in other parts of the empire. Synagogues pulled down by the French. Numerous and dispersed at Frankfort. Learned men.

THERE is hardly any country in Europe where the Jews enjoy greater liberty, and more invaluable privileges, than in Poland. They have their stately synagogues and academies; and their court of judicature is endowed with singular authority, since it is allowed to determine in civil as well as religious cases. We are told they have had the singular privilege of coining money, because shekels have been found there with an Hebrew inscription; but as the tomb in which they are said to have been found is rather suspicious, we cannot ground upon it a prerogative usually vested in sovereigns alone.

Poland is looked upon as a nursery of learned rabbies, and the country to which the Jews send their youth to study the Talmud, and the rites of their religion. In speaking of the preceding century, we mentioned some rabbies who were an honour to their nation. This kingdom hath produced one man, who not only renounced Judaism, but wrote and published thirty-seven demonstrations against it. His name was Solomon. He had been bound for one of his brethren, and committed to prison, whence nothing could have redeemed him but his conversion to Christianity; so that this circumstance, together with the affected swoln stile in which he wrote, has afforded reason to many for suspecting his sincerity. However that be, he was an excellent casuist, well versed in theological matters, and an able assertor of the religion he professed.

Hamburgh is called a Little Jerusalem. The Jews are observed to have been more tractable in that city than elsewhere; for a great number of them were converted, in this century, by one Edzas, or Edras, who made it his business to instruct and conform them in the Christian faith. A divine of that city once asserted, that if those instructions were armed with some violence, they would become more effectual. But the senate suppressed his immoderate zeal, which tended only to lessen the number of their citizens, and had already caused some popular commotions.

The emperor Ferdinand III. granted them great privileges, because, when the city of Prague was besieged by Carolus Gustavus, who was lately declared generalissimo of the armies of Sweden and Germany, they defended themselves with a surprising fidelity and vigour. The city was already taken, and the garrison called upon to capitulate; but the conqueror having refused honourable conditions, they sustained many assaults with unshaken fortitude. The Jews distinguished themselves in these assaults, and defended their post with a resolution that merited praises and extraordinary privileges.

Rabbi Chagim, or Joachim, deceived the Christians of this place by a piece of profound dissimulation. After committing a considerable robbery, he embraced Christianity to wipe off the scandal of his crime; and composed a very virulent book against his ancient brethren. He went to Vienna, and introduced himself into the court of Ferdinand, who afforded him his protection. Some time after, perceiving his fortune on the decline, with the help of two other Jews, as accomplices, he robbed the imperial treasury. The criminals were quickly apprehended, and condemned to death. Ferdinand

Francis

Authority
of the Jew
in Poland.

Jews at
Hamburgh.

Favoured
Ferdinand
III. of Bo-
hemia.

Dissem-
ination of
Chagim.

Francis Angleberg (for this was the name which the convert had taken in his baptism) dissembled till he had lost all hopes of saving his life; but upon the scaffold declared that he never had been a Christian, and that he lived and died a Jew.

In the same place was exhibited an instance of their hatred for the Christians; for one Lazarus, an inhabitant of Prague, understanding his son desired baptism, fell upon him and killed him. He was committed to prison, where, animated by despair, he strangled himself with the assistance of another Jew, who was in the same place. This latter was condemned to be broke upon the wheel.

It appears, from various circumstances, that no considerations have been capable of creating a tolerable good understanding between the Christians of Prague and the Jews. On the contrary, they hate one another; and as it must be confessed, the Jews have occasionally been guilty of such enormous deeds as must render them not only suspected, but odious to the Christians, so likewise it must be granted, that the Christians have subjected them to conformity to some practices that were incompatible with their profession, and of course productive of dangerous commotions. Nevertheless, they are so numerous in this country, as to fill, of themselves, the third part of the city of Prague; but they are poor and miserable, flock about strangers, and submit to the meanest services to obtain a living.

They had enjoyed in Hungary the privilege of farming the revenue, till Ferdinand II. took it from them by an edict, notwithstanding which they found means to preserve the advantages of it, since Ferdinand III. was afterwards obliged to deprive them of it by a new edict, which condemned those to the loss of their places, who admitted the Jews into any of them, alledging, as the cause, "That they have neither conscience or honesty, and are therefore unworthy to enjoy the privileges of Hungary." However, they continued there still; not only under the protection of the grand seignior in those parts under his dominions, but in those of the empire.

About ten years after, they were in such credit in Vienna, that the rabbi Zachary obtained them liberty to build a stately synagogue there, and to add an academy, to revive the study of the sciences, which seemed extinct in this country. He had settled a pension for twenty-four persons, who were to read the Talmud every hour, day and night. One relieved the other; so that the school was always open, and never found without a doctor. But this building, however, was scarce finished, when the emperor drove all the Jews from his capital, seized the synagogue, and turned it into a church. They complain, that the superstitious empress, imagining the toleration the court gave the Jews occasioned her barrenness, pressed the emperor to banish them; but after the death of this princess they were restored to Vienna. The emperor had a new subject of discontent against them in the Turkish war, because they assisted the infidels to maintain the siege of Buda, and distinguished themselves by their valour. But this was in reality an act of fidelity they owed their sovereign; and though this resistance rendered them odious, not only to the people of Germany, but Italy, where they rose against them, yet we cannot condemn them, since they were then subject to the Ottoman empire. Upon the whole, the emperor favours them at Vienna, admits them into affairs of state, and gives honourable titles to those who are employed, or purchase them. The people, indeed, jealous of the riches they heap together, endeavour sometimes to strip them by violent tumults and commotions.

They are numerous and flourishing in Servia, Croatia, Moldavia, Valachia, and in the rich cities of Germany. If they have been expelled Nuremberg, they are spread abroad in the country towns, and have their synagogue at Ffurt, which is in the neighbourhood.

In the city of Augsburg they had formerly a synagogue and academy, and their doctors and dis-

ciples were maintained by the rich merchants of the place. But they have since been banished from it, and must buy the liberty of coming into it, at the price of a florin for every hour they stay in it.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the cities where they still subsist without any considerable change in their condition; we shall therefore only attend to those that deserve most notice.

A modern traveller reckons thirty thousand Jews at Frankfort, where they are often plundered, and reduced to the slavery of being water-carriers, to extinguish the flames when any house is on fire. They paint the Jews in several places in all manner of ridiculous forms, to render them despicable and odious, notwithstanding some learned men have been produced among them.

Jews numerous and dispersed at Frankfort.

They had a famous casuist at Spire, in the middle of the last century, named, from his birth-place, Nathan de Spira. He published the Good of the Land, in which he celebrated the Holy Land. He composed a volume of profundities, (Megillath Hamucoth,) which is a commentary upon some verses of Deuteronomy, wherein he pretends to sound the depths of mysteries, and to resolve the difficulties he finds in them.

But one of the most famous doctors that Germany produced in the last century, was Isaac Loria, author of the Metaphysical Introduction to the Jewish Cabala. He was a native of Jerusalem; and his appellation of German was only given him on account of his long abode in that country; for he retired again into Palestine, towards the latter end of his life, and was buried at Sapheta, in Upper Galilee.

Learned men.

CHAPTER XXIV.

State of the Jews in Holland. Their first synagogue in Amsterdam. A second synagogue. A division occasions a third to be built. Union of the three synagogues. R. Menasses, his works. Accusations against him. He comes to England. R. Zacuth, his character. R. Albias, his works. Isaac Aboab. Musaphia. Comment on the Talmud. Spinoza's life. Orobio opponent of Spinoza. Other eminent rabbies.

OF all the states of Europe, according to one of their writers, there is not one where the Jews live more quietly than in Holland. They enrich themselves by trade, and, through the lenity of the government, possess their acquisitions without fear. There are two sorts of Jews in Holland; some are Germans, and others come from Portugal and Spain. They are divided about some ceremonies, and hate one another, as if the essentials of religion were concerned. But the real cause of this extreme hatred between those two sorts of Jews, if we may credit the Germans, is the dissimulation and remissness of those of Portugal and Spain, who live in those countries, and conform in all things with the popish religion, for the sake of enriching themselves, and then retire to Holland, to enjoy, with more safety, the fruits of their hypocrisy.

State of the Jews in Holland.

The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who make another part of this nation, retired into Holland to avoid the cruelties of the inquisition. Strada accuses one of their leaders with having intrigued in the war of the Low Countries, and kindled the fire of enmity by promising a potent supply. His name was Michez. He was a Spaniard born; but the fear of punishment had obliged him to seek sanctuary at Antwerp, where he grew into the knowledge and affection not only of the magistrates of this city, but of Mary, queen of Hungary, who reigned at that time. Going from Antwerp to Venice, and from thence to Constantinople, he wrote to the malecontents he knew, and to the Protestants of Antwerp, intimating, "that it was their best way to adhere constantly to the league they had made against the Catholics, because the grand seignior was meditating designs against the Christians; and

Settlement of the Portuguese Jews.

in a short time would so embarrass king Philip, as not to give him leisure to think of the affairs of the Netherlands." His letters were read in the senate of Antwerp, and gave great encouragement to the allies; but Michez did not make good his promise. He followed his master's views, who turned his arms against the kingdom of Cyprus. It only appears that the Jews were more secure in the Netherlands than in Spain, since Michez sought a retreat there; but it was but forty years after that the refugees of Spain and Portugal began to settle in Holland. Their first assembly at Amsterdam occasioned some jealousy in the city, where all things were suspected during the war, which continued with great vigour. They were taken for Roman Catholics, who shut themselves up, and concealed their images. They say they were pursued into the place of their religious worship; but as they found nothing but Hebrew books, and the law of Moses, they laid no other condition on them, than to pray for the prosperity of the city, which they promised to do; and at the same time they erected their first synagogue, which they called the House of Ben Jacob, because that was the name of a rich Jew by whom it was founded.

First syna-
gogue at
Amsterdam

A second
synagogue.

A division
occasions a
third to be
built.

They raised another synagogue, which they called Neve Schalom, that is, the House of Peace. These synagogues conjointly laboured upon a collection of prayers, but they could not agree about it. The last was headed by a famous rabbi, named Judah Vega, that came from Africa, which he left, and retired to Constantinople, where he published the history of his nation down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Uziel, who succeeded him, censured the faults of his nation so severely, as to incur its hatred. A third synagogue was formed, in which the schismatics assembled under the conduct of David Pardo. It was called the House of Israel.

As is the inevitable effect of all ecclesiastical separations, as well as civil wars, these dissensions were accompanied with feuds. The synagogue of Ben Jacob espoused the separatists. But the schism ceased, after it had continued somewhat about twenty years, and the three synagogues united in one, to which they gave, as to many others, the title of Talmud Thora, that is, the Study or Science of the Law.

They have been careful to found schools as well as synagogues, one whereof is called the Crown of the Law, and has been governed by learned men. But that which most displays the prosperity of this nation, is the great and stately edifice they consecrated in the year 1675, which has been so deservedly admired by all judges of architecture, and so much celebrated by their own preachers, that there has been a collection printed of the sermons delivered on that occasion.

These preachers are not perhaps the only men that have done honour to the synagogue. It has had also many poets in the last century, and has produced celebrated doctors.

R. Menasses
his works.

R. Menasses was one of the most learned and able theologists that has appeared among the Jews for many ages. He was of Spanish origin, of the family of the Abravancels. At eighteen years of age he was chosen at Amsterdam to explain the Talmud, in which employ he acquired a reputation which drew upon him the jealousy and enmity of the rabbies; but he despised their calumnies, and continued his application to study. He was not eight and twenty when he published the 1st part of his Conciliator on the Pentateuch, wherein he endeavoured to reconcile the seeming contradictions of Scripture, by the explications of ancient and modern doctors, and his own conjectures. This work, which he finished afterwards, gained him universal reputation; and, indeed, no rabbi has written upon this subject with such solid erudition. He composed some time after, his problems upon the creation. He also wrote a treatise on the resurrection, in which he undertook to prove the immortality of the soul, and its operations, not only whilst united to the body, but after its separation. As he was head of

the synagogue at Amsterdam, he was obliged to study the rites and laws, so that he wrote two tracts upon them; one of which was an abridgment of the Mishnah, with this title, "The Treasure of Judgments." The other particularly related to questions concerning marriage, the condition of children, and the division of estates. He also wrote a defence of the Babylonian Talmud; and composed a treatise concerning the Science of the Talmudists, and of Rabbinical Philosophy. He translated Phocylides into Spanish verse; made queen Christina's panegyric, and a prayer for the prince of Orange. He also formed a design of writing the history of his nation, from Josephus to his own time. It seems that he began this work, but could not finish it. Another author formed the same design afterwards.

Bartolocci accused him of having taken the advantage of the civil wars in England, to prevail upon Oliver Cromwell to permit the Jews to settle there. On the other hand, a Jewish historian affirms, that Cromwell and his parliament invited him over to treat about that affair. But, without entering farther into the matter of fact, it appears natural for him to endeavour to procure such an advantageous settlement to his nation as that of England. However, whether invited or not, it is plain he came over to England with that design, and was well received by Cromwell and the parliament, as was his Apology for the Jews, in which he exploded all the calumnies raised against his nation, and pleaded their cause so well, that, if we may believe some authors of those times, he obtained a much better settlement, and greater privileges, for them, than ever they had enjoyed before in England.

Bartolocci charges him with other frivolous matters, which he represents as crimes; such as his taking part with the remonstrants, in order to obtain their friendship and protection, and printing his works without the approbation of the Christian divines; but he has been sufficiently cleared from these imputations. He died at Amsterdam, in the year 1652, and left a son, who inherited his press, and employed it in printing some of his father's works.

Menasses had a panegyrist and friend in a famous physician, called Zacuth, who was born at Lisbon in the year 1575. His parents, who dissembled their Judaism, and made outward profession of popery, sent him to study at Salamanca and Coimbra. From thence he returned and settled in his native place, where he was much esteemed, because he was very charitable to his poor patients, and performed considerable cures at court. He wrote many books, and amongst others an History of the Principal Physicians, which he dedicated to a canon of the cathedral of Lisbon, and residentiary in that metropolis. After having dissembled thirty years, he retired to Amsterdam, where he was circumcised, and died a Jew, leaving several works unfinished, which he designed to print. Those he published were of the physical kind.

Athias, a native of Spain, taught at first at Hamburg; but he came from thence to Amsterdam. He printed a bible, which was greatly esteemed. Mr. Vander Hoogt has given a new edition of this bible, much more exact. The preface of this learned man explains his design and manner of executing it.

Athias's Treasure of Precepts and Judgments was printed first at Venice, with the approbation of all the sages of that country. The author thought himself obliged to treat on this subject, because the most useful of all books are those that teach the fear of God. The preceding doctors had composed many of them, but the Spanish dispersion had destroyed great part of these works. Besides, these ancient writers composed them in Arabic, which was then better understood. He proves that this treatise was necessary, because the law without a commentary, is a torch without light; and to render it more useful, he joined tradition to the law, and practical rules to speculative truths. He explains also the knowledge of those rites which are not at present in use;

use; that the Jews, who know them, being convinced of their excellency, may ardently desire their restoration. The commentary upon each precept is short, and well adapted to explain the Jewish laws.

Isaac Aboab, who came from Brasil, was not only a reputable preacher, but a great casuist. He translated a work, called *Ira's Gate of Heaven*, from Spanish into Hebrew, from whose version it has since been rendered into Latin. He published a paraphrase upon the Pentateuch, and sung Moses's Triumph in heroic verse.

Musaphia was another learned man, who commented on the Jerusalem Talmud. He studied a subject that was still more obscure and intricate, as he undertook to explain the flux and reflux of the sea. He was so perfect a master of the Hebrew tongue, that he composed a dictionary, in which he took a more easy method than had been hitherto adopted.

We ought not to forget Spinoza, who made himself famous by the singularity of his tenets. He was born at Amsterdam in 1632. His parents were Portuguese Jews, in good circumstances; but he received nothing but a bed from his father's possessions, and always lived in poverty. He did not aspire to follow the law, and imitate the rabbies, but learnt the trade of polishing glasses, and making spectacles. He compared himself to a serpent that bites his tail, because he had nothing left at the year's end, though he lived upon milk and gruel. He had learnt Latin of Vanden Ende, who taught then at Amsterdam; and who, retiring to Rikpus, embarked in the Chevalier de Rohan's conspiracy, and was executed. It is pretended it was this pedant that sowed the first seeds of atheism in Spinoza's mind. But it was Descartes's philosophy which gave him a dislike to the principles of the rabbies. He did not find in their writings those evident truths built upon demonstrations, which Descartes recommends to his disciples. When he was perceived to neglect the sabbath and synagogue, they attempted, in vain, to retain him by a pension of a thousand livres. By this refusal he incurred so violent an hatred, that it was resolved to stab him. As he came from the old Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam, he saw a man with a dagger in his hand, and endeavoured to shun him; and, indeed, the blow only reached his coat, which he kept in memory of this event. Not thinking himself safe in his native country, where the Jews were numerous and potent, he sought a retreat near Leyden, and afterwards at the Hague. He had the great excommunication thundered against him; but he protested against this sentence given in his absence, and signified his protestation by a writing in Spanish, addressed to the rabbies in the synagogue. He published first a geometrical demonstration of Descartes's Principles; afterwards his Meditations; and at last produced the *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*, in which he formed a new system, that makes him much esteemed by those who are called Freethinkers in Holland, Germany, and France, from whom he received several invitations, and large encouragements; but he refused them all, and died at the Hague in 1677, aged forty-four years. He left behind him a sect that has espoused his principles. We cannot tell whether it be numerous, since it is constituted of persons dispersed in different places, who form no body or society.

As Spinoza had many followers and disciples, so also had he many opposers of his own nation, particularly the learned Balthazar Orobio, a Spaniard by birth, and a physician by profession. His parents, who professed the Roman religion, taught him betimes to dissemble like themselves. He studied philosophy, and became metaphysical reader in the university of Salamanca, being a lover of this science, which was then much cultivated. He afterwards became a physician at Seville, where he was seized by the inquisition, because he did not sufficiently conceal his religion to remove all suspicion. At length, tired with dissembling, he came to Amster-

dam, was circumcised, and made open profession of Judaism. He practised physic there with great reputation; and assures us, that his pressing occupations did not permit him to apply himself to study as he could wish. When Spinoza's book appeared, he at first despised it on account of its author; but when he received Bredenburg's answer to it, in which that author agreed with Spinoza in two dangerous positions, he seemed to hesitate about them. Orobio undertook to confute them both, and in the execution of this task proved himself an able metaphysician.

There have been eminent rabbies in other cities. David Cohen de Lara, Hoziel's disciple, is compared to Hercules, the conqueror of monsters. He composed the *City of David*, in which he proves the analogy of the Hebrew with the Greek, and many other languages. He wrote also the *Crown of the Priesthood*, which a dictionary much larger than Nathan's, since he has added two thousand words to it. He translated the *Beginning of Wisdom* out of Hebrew into Spanish, a title borrowed from these words of Solomon, "The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom." Bartolucci has not mentioned this last work; but yet it is evidently his, since a Spanish poet, who has written his encomium, and must have known him, attributes it to him.

The last we shall mention is Juda Leon, so well known for his description of Solomon's temple, which fine piece he composed at Middleburgh. The Spaniards claim his birth, because he was originally of that country; but he left it in pursuit of a liberty which he wanted in his native soil. That he might have a clearer idea of the temple of Jerusalem, he built one of wood, upon the plans he had drawn from several authors of his nation. He afterwards formed the description of his edifice, which he published first in French, and printed at Amsterdam. He likewise enlarged this work, and translated it into Hebrew. The learned admired so exact a picture of this ancient edifice; and the duke of Brunswick ordered it to be translated into Latin, that he might judge of it himself. Juda added to this first work, a Description of the Tabernacle, a Treatise on Cherubims, and an Explication of the Psalms. He undertook also to expound all the metaphorical passages of the Talmud. He says himself, that this work cost him a great deal of labour and pains. He wrote a narrative of some conferences he had maintained against some Christian doctors. But these two last tracts were never printed; nor that of the Manner of offering the Morning and Evening Sacrifice.

The Jews are no less numerous and flourishing at the Hague, where they have also a noble synagogue, and where those who are become wealthy seek a peaceable and delightful retirement. Here they enjoy the greatest prosperity, live in the greatest luxury, and in the most sumptuous edifices. Yet such is their happiness under that government, that they enjoy their wealth and grandeur without raising the jealousy, zeal, and envy of the populace; whilst the rest carry on a considerable traffic both at home and abroad, without being liable to those heavy impositions, vexations, prosecutions, prescriptions, and other disasters, under which we have seen them groan in other parts of Europe.

In England they are allowed full liberty of their religion, a full freedom of trade, and the quiet enjoyment of their property. They are like those of Holland, commonly distinguished into German and Portuguese, or more properly into northern and southern, and have each their respective synagogues, chiefs, schools, &c. but no academy; so that they are obliged to send their youth to be educated in Germany, or at Amsterdam. The former are by far the more indigent, as well as zealous for their religion, and careful to instruct their meanest children in it; whereas the latter, being rich, and some of them opulent, are more remiss in all these respects, insomuch that many of them cannot so much as understand the liturgy of their synagogues, but have it translated into Portuguese. The character of the lower

Isaac Aboab.

Musaphia.

Spinoza's life.

Orobio's opposition of him.

Jews powerful and opulent at the Hague.

lower rank, especially such as deal in the peddling mercantile way, is but indifferent.

C H A P. XXV.

Present state of the Jews in all parts of the world.

R. Luzati's account of them. That of R. Menasses. A Jewish inscription at one of the Azores. Ten tribes, where. Whether the ten tribes are in China. Alvarez's account of them. Present state of the Jews in the east. In the Ottoman empire. Division of the west into two parts. Great freedom in Poland. Complaints against the Protestants obviated. Jews highly value themselves.

Present
state of the
Jews in all
parts of the
world.

WE have now brought the history of the eastern and western Jews down to the close of the 17th century. It remains only that we give our readers an account of their present state in all parts of the world. Several eminent writers, both of their nation, and among the Christians, have endeavoured to ascertain their number, among whom we shall only select some few, who seem to have been the most successful in their enquiries.

R. Luzati's
account of
them.

R. Simon Luzati, who taught at Venice, owns it to be very difficult to give an exact account of the Jews at present, dispersed into so many places. "We cannot (says he) give any certain intelligence of the ten tribes Salmanazar carried away; nor is it known where they are, though the whole world be sufficiently known. To begin with the east. We know there are abundance of Jews in the kingdom of Persia, though they have but little liberty. The Turkish empire is their chief retreat; not only because they have been settled there a long time, but because many of those banished out of Spain retired thither. There are more of them at Constantinople and Salonichi, than in any other place. They reckon above fourscore thousand in these two cities; and above a million in the empire of the grand seignior. A great number of pilgrims come from all corners of the world to Jerusalem; and considerable sums are sent there for the benefit of the poor, and to keep up the academies. There are many of them in the dominions of the emperor of Germany; but they are more numerous in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. Here we have academies and disciples in great numbers, who study our civil and canon laws, because we are allowed the privilege of judging in all civil and criminal cases which happen in the nation. There are not so many Jews in the Protestant states which separate from the Roman church; yet they treat them with great charity and indulgence in the Low Countries, particularly at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh, because these merchandizing cities are open to foreigners. All the Italian princes receive the Jews, countenance, protect them, and inviolably maintain their privileges without alteration; and I believe there are not less than twenty-five thousand in this country. Fez and Morocco, and the other neighbouring cities, which are not subject to the Turks, contain greater numbers, because they are not remote from Spain or Portugal, from whence they may retire thither. There are other places upon the coast of Africa which are also peopled with Jews; but as we know but little of them, it is hard to fix their number." Thus this Italian rabbi, who not only since taught at Venice, described the state of his nation; to which let us add the account which Menasses has left us.

Menasses observes, that this oracle cannot be applied to the return from the Babylonish captivity, because God did not then recall all the dispersed tribes, nor all the Israelites that were scattered among the nations. The deliverance promised is called the second, because that general one from Egypt was before it; whereas the return from Ba-

bylon only respected two tribes; and when the Israelites left Assyria, to pass into the Holy Land, they did not cross the Nile, nor any river of Egypt or Ethiopia, as it was promised they shall at the general redemption; or the waters of the Nile and Euphrates shall be divided to leave a free passage to the tribes, like the waters of the Red Sea, when Israel came out of Egypt.

Hence he concludes, that Isaiah intimates the general return of the nation, and the different places it shall come from. The prophet speaks, 1. "Of Assyria and Egypt, because in these two provinces the twelve tribes shall be re-united. 2. He mentions Pathros, by which we must not understand either Pelusium or Petra, but the Parthians lying near the Caspian Sea, where many doctors place the river Sabbathan, beyond which dwell a great number of Jews. 3. Cush is Ethiopia. And in reality, there are many tribes in Abyssinia. 4. Elam is a province of Persia, on the other side of the Euphrates, where we find hideous deserts, not inhabited, in which one part of the nation is concealed. 5. Shinar is another province near Babylon; for Moses has situated Babel in the land of Shinar; and Daniel relates, that Nebuchadnezzar carried the vessels of the temple into the land of Shinar. 6. The scripture speaks often of Hamath; and the Chaldee paraphrast, who is followed by many interpreters, affirms, that this is Antioch. They reckon twelve cities of this name, which have been built in divers places by different princes; but this is the city of Antioch in Asia, in Tartary. 7. The Septuagint interpreters have translated the word Hamath by the east, and they had reason for it, because Hamath is, perhaps, the same thing with Hamah, the sun, or the east. So that the prophet speaks there of the Jews, who are, at present, dispersed in the east of the Holy Land, that is, in the Great Asia, the East-Indies, and China. 8. Isaiah declares, that the Israelites should come from the isles of the sea, for so many interpreters have translated it. But it ought to be translated the isles of the west; because, in all the places where the scripture speaks of the four parts of the world, it means the west, by the word *yam*; and the prophet, under this expression, includes all that are towards the sun-setting, westward of the Holy Land; that is, the Jews who, at present, people a certain part of America.

"Lastly, the prophet affirms, that God shall bring back the out-casts of Israel; and he uses a word which signifies *separated*, (excommunicated,) because, in reality, the ten tribes, separated from the rest, not only inhabit places very remote from the Holy Land, but are concealed in the extremities of the earth, and in the provinces peopled by the Gentiles; but for the Jews, they are dispersed, and God shall gather them together from the four corners of the earth. Because, indeed, the tribe of Judah is dispersed in different places, and it has synagogues in America, it shall return from all the corners of the earth; but there shall be no more division or jealousy betwixt these two parts of the nation, betwixt Ephraim and Judah, as says the prophet Ezekiel. There shall be but one king, and they shall be no more two nations; neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms."

We pretend not to reconcile these two rabbies, nor to follow them step by step; yet the general account they give us of the present condition of the Jews deserves to be considered. They do not agree about the fate of the ten tribes; for one says, they have been destroyed long ago: and the other maintains, that they are concealed in America, and in several places where Divine Providence has conveyed, and miraculously preserves them, till they appear again at the general deliverance, when they shall come from all the places they inhabit, and rendezvous in Assyria and Egypt, from whence they shall all fly to Jerusalem like birds to their nest.

Menasses

Menaffes supports his opinion upon the people of America's being unknown, and not appearing to have any communication with the rest of the inhabitants. The Spaniards affirm, that, when they came into Peru, they found there a stately edifice, dedicated to the Creator of the Universe; so that as the Indians were idolaters, and as yet had no knowledge of iron tools used in building houses, this structure must be considered as a synagogue erected by the Jews. The Indians also approved this conjecture, since their tradition signified, that this palace had been built by a bearded nation, more ancient than the Incas.

A Jewish inscription at one of the Azores.

R. Menaffes likewise quotes an inscription found in the island of St. Michael, one of the Azores, mentioned by Genebrard, which, though somewhat difficult to be decyphered, unless it be by a transposition of letters, yet, by the character and words, appears plainly enough to have been made by some Jews who arrived in this island.

It appears to us that the ten tribes subsist still in the east, and in most of the places where Salmanassar carried them. We have already observed, that Salmanassar had placed them upon the banks of the Chaboras, which falls into the Euphrates, which is the same river the Greeks call Abboras. Procopius says, it was a great river. Indeed, Julian's army passed over it upon a bridge of boats. Strabo says, it run near Anthemusia, which some have thought a city, and others a province depending on the Persians; because Ammianus Marcellinus places a citadel, called Barne, in it. This river emptied itself into the Euphrates; and at its mouth stood Carchemis, since called Cercusium. On the west was Ptolemy's Chalcitis, and the city Carra. On the east was the province of Ganzan, betwixt the two rivers Chaboras and Saocoras. This was the first situation of the tribes. But they spread into the neighbouring provinces, and upon the banks of the Euphrates. The ten tribes were still in being in this country when Jerusalem was destroyed, since they came in multitudes to bring their oblations to the temple. They subsisted there from that time to the eleventh century of the Christian church, since they had their chiefs of the captivity, and most flourishing academies. Though they were considerably weakened by persecutions, yet travellers of that nation discovered many of their brethren and synagogues in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. No new colony has been sent into the east, nor have those that were there been driven out. At this day a great number of Jews are to be found in Persia. We have also deduced our history from age to age, without observing any other change than what was caused by the different revolutions of that empire, the various tempers of the governors, or the inevitable decay of a nation which only subsists by toleration. We have therefore reason to conclude, that the ten tribes are still in the east, and that they are neither destroyed, or gone from thence into some remote quarter of the world. They are so blended one tribe with another, that they cannot now possibly be distinguished; and it could hardly, without a miracle, have happened otherwise during so long a series of ages, and such vicissitudes as they have undergone.

Ten tribes, here.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that the ten tribes are at present dispersed in Persia, and all the east; and that those in America constitute no body; so far are they from having kings, and possessing a great extent of land unknown to the most exploring travellers.

Neither ten tribes as China.

Several authors, both Jews and Christians, have likewise affirmed, that the ten tribes were still preserved in China. One of the former tells us that there was a synagogue at Pekin, which had cost them 10,000 crowns to repair. He asserted, that they had been settled in this province above five hundred years, and that they religiously preserved one of the five books of Moses, which he called Sepher Thora. He could not read Hebrew, having neglected the study of it in his youth; so that he was excluded from the offices and government of

the synagogue, which his brother exercised, because he understood the language; but he repeated the historical parts of the Old Testament, particularly those of Abraham, Judith, and Esther. He added, that there were, in the capital of the province of Chequiam, many synagogues, and Israelitish families; for they give themselves that name, because, being the posterity of the ten tribes, they knew not that of the Jews.

Alvarez, who had lived in China a considerable time, affirms, that they had been settled there above 600 years, and had obtained several privileges on account of their services and fidelity to king Hun; that they were very numerous in some provinces, and had synagogues in most of their great cities, but more especially in that of Honan, and in Kai-tong-fu, where they have a repository for the sacred volume, adorned with rich curtains, and in which they preserve an ancient bible in Hebrew characters. These Jews, however, we are told, know nothing of Hebrew, and only mention the names of Abraham, Isaac, and David; are very ignorant, and remiss in their law, even to the neglecting of circumcision, because the Chinese upbraid them with the cruelty of performing the ceremony on innocent babes.

Alvarez's account of them.

We are still more at a loss what to think of a letter which the Jews of Cochin are said to have sent some time ago to the synagogue of Amsterdam, importing, "That they withdrew into the Indies at the time that the Romans conquered the Holy Land. They affirm, they have had seventy-two kings there, succeeding one another for a thousand years; and that then a division arising thro' the jealousy of two brothers, who disputed the crown, the neighbouring princes subdued them. From that time they continued subject to the Indian kings. However, they had given so many testimonies of their loyalty to these princes, that Samuel Castoel, who died in 1640, was governor of Cochin, and left his government to a man of the same name and religion with himself." But this succession of seventy-two kings, founded upon the retreat of the Jews to Cochin in Titus's time, seems only an invention to support the dignity of the nation. They refer us to remote times and unknown histories, because there is nothing to be found in this present worth our admiration.

All that we can infer from these various accounts is, that there are now some Jews dispersed in the East-Indies. There are some of them at Cochin, Gora, Malabar, in China, and even in the isles of America; but they are not the ten tribes that passed into these countries. They are merchants, drawn thither by commerce from all the families of the dispersion, which can only be distinguished by an uncertain, not to say entirely false, tradition. Besides, there is no place where the nation have kings, and a supreme government. They live in the east, and in America, as in Europe, under the dominion of Christian or Infidel princes. In fine, if we would seek out the remains of the ten tribes, we must do it only on the banks of the Euphrates, in Persia, and the neighbouring provinces, as we have sufficiently proved.

Present state of the Jews in the east.

In Turkey, Fez, Barbary, and Egypt, indeed, they are somewhat more tolerated, and sometimes admitted into public functions, especially in Egypt. The Ottoman princes even send them upon some embassies, in which they value themselves on making a figure for the credit of their nation; and their flourishing condition under that government makes them so numerous, that they are reckoned to amount to a million; so that, upon the whole, we may allow them to be about one million, three hundred thousand, dispersed over the east.

In the Ottoman empire.

The Jewish writers divide the west between two sovereigns, or rather between two prevailing religions, the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. 1. They highly praise the popes; for popish Rome (say they) has always protected them, since its

Division of the west into two parts.

general, Titus, took Jerusalem. He was not general of papist but of heathen Rome. But the popes sometimes have persecuted instead of protecting them. Nevertheless, they have great reason to glory in the papal protection; for the good they have received from it by far outweighs the evils. If the pope honours the Jews with his protection, the kings under his obedience treat them in an harsh and barbarous manner. The Spanish and Portuguese inquisitions reduce them to the dilemma of being either hypocrites, or submitting to the flames.

The number of dissemblers is very considerable; and it ought not to be inferred that there are no Jews in Spain or Portugal, because they are not known; they are so much the more dangerous, for not only being very numerous, but confounded with ecclesiastics, and entering into ecclesiastical dignities. They are tolerated no where but at Metz, where the number of dissemblers is not so great: but there are some of them in trading towns, and they have a sanctuary in the cities of the empire. Poland and Lithuania are a far more safe retreat for them, and here they are most flourishing.

Great freedom in Poland and Lithuania.

Complaint against the Protestants obviated.

Their writers complain often of the Protestants, as not having sufficient humanity. However, they find not among them the barbarous court of inquisition. They live peaceably in many cities where the reformation is established; and Holland, of all places in the world, is that where they make the greatest figure.

Jews highly value themselves.

It must be confessed that they are excessive proud of their origin, and think it injurious to be suspected either of baseness or treachery. On these accounts they highly resent every restraint that is laid on them, and are uneasy and impatient under their present state of servitude and subjection to other nations, whom they look upon as their inferiors, in point of antiquity, religion, and national pre-eminence.

CHAP. XXVI.

Recall of the Jews foretold by Hosea. Also by St. Paul. Endeavours taken to effect their conversion. Their dissimulation. Ordinances of the council of Nice rejected. Instances of false conversion. Forms of abjurations prosecuted by the Greek church. Extract of some of the forms. Estates of proselytes sequestered. General remarks by way of conclusion.

WE have now finished the history of the Jews, and seen this nation, dispersed into all parts of the world, preserve itself in being, though destitute of all the ordinary bonds and ties of society. We find among them neither prince or high-priest, who might re-unite his subjects and people by an authority duly respected. Indeed, the prophet Hosea has foretold, that "the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim: afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king." By this the prophet designs to represent the remarkable state of the nation. 1. It shall have no king or prince. Sovereign authority is the foundation of states; it is impossible to subsist without a centre of union, and a government that checks the insolence of the people, and punishes their crimes. The Jews preferred monarchical government before the liberty they enjoyed under their judges. At present they have neither king or governor. Ask them where are the kings of the nation, or the judges, those deliverers and leaders that God sent them instead of kings, they cannot produce one. 2. The sacrifices made up the most essential part of their religion; and the ephod, composed of precious stones, in which was the Urim and Thummin, ennobled the high-priest that wore it. The sacrifices and the priest have been abolished for above seventeen hundred years. 3. It was natural for this people, who had lost all that was ex-

Recall of the Jews foretold by Hosea.

terior in its religion, to borrow the images and teraphim from other nations. The Jews' inclination for statues, and sensible objects of religion, was so violent, that it could not be repressed but by continual and singular chastisements. It is, indeed, the general inclination of mankind; for, upon examination, you will find that almost all religions had their sacrifices or idols, and commonly both. However, the Jews have neither sacrifices or teraphim, tho' they are passionately fond both of the one and the other. They can no longer sacrifice at Jerusalem; and they never fall into idolatry, though they are encompassed with idolatrous nations. 4. They are to remain in this condition many days; that is to say, a long time. Indeed, seventeen centuries have already passed since they have been without king or governor, without image or sacrifice. They are not without God, but without the worship they are obliged to pay him; for they have neither sacrifices or ephod. 5. The last circumstance is very remarkable; for Hosea declares, they shall seek David their king. David has been long since dead; and his posterity is so extinct or confounded, that even the Jews cannot distinguish it. David, therefore, who shall be their king, can be no other than the deliverer promised by the prophets, and the Messiah, to whom they shall return. But since the time of his coming is past, and the prophet effectively speaks of a king who existed before they sought for him, we have reason to believe that the Jews, by returning to God, shall acknowledge this David, this anointed of the Lord, this Messiah whom he hath sent.

St. Paul hath also foretold that all Israel shall be saved, and that the deliverer shall come out of Zion. Perhaps it should be translated to Zion; for this better agrees with the apostle's idea, who affirms, that the Goel, the Deliverer, by way of excellence, shall address himself to the Jewish nation: that is what Zachary says, "Rejoice, O daughter of Zion, behold thy king cometh unto thee." Moreover, it was upon this hope of God's recalling his people, that the fathers, and many divines, have maintained, that they were to be more kindly treated than the rest of the erroneous.

Also by St. Paul.

Many attempts have been made to accomplish this great work, and those who have laboured in it have sometimes brought over considerable numbers; but these conversions have ever been suspected. In the beginning of the sixth century the council of Agde in vain endeavoured to secure the fidelity of the Jews that turned Christians. "They return very often to their vomit," said the council. "They are faithless in their promises, and therefore they must be obliged to a six months instruction among the Catechumens; and after that experiment be baptized, upon assurance of their sincerity." Which law was not to be violated, except for those that were in danger of death; for then they hastened their baptism.

General remark on the Jews.

A second council of Nice observed, that the new converts wavered in their private opinion concerning Christianity, when they had embraced it; and therefore they were ordered to maintain their religion, and to profess it publicly: and at the same time it was forbidden to baptize their children, or to appropriate their slaves, unless a man was fully assured of the sincerity of their faith.

But these ordinances were neither received or constantly observed: for Florus, who lived a little after the Nicene council, has preserved the letter of a bishop to the emperor, in which he implores the secular arm against the Jews and their children. The emperor, to whom the letter is addressed, was Charles the Bald. The prelate represents to the prince, that he ordered preaching every Saturday in the synagogue, and that many people having embraced Christianity, he had employed them to bring over the children, who were much easier won than those who were grown obstinate in error; but that the fathers, disgusted with this artifice, had sent most of their children into the cities of Mascon, Vienna, and Arles, where they were more powerful and numerous, which had displeased him. He added,

added, that he had summoned all the Jews before him, and upon asking whether any would embrace Christianity? immediately six children threw themselves at his feet, and desired baptism; and that this example had been followed by forty-seven others. He concluded from thence, that, if the emperor gave his orders to the bishop of Arles, and forced him to do the same thing, many of them might be gained: and the motive was the more forcible, because, if it be an act of charity to rescue a man from the jaws of wild beasts that would devour him, it is much greater to deliver a soul out of the hands of those who would destroy it.

Ordinances of the council of Nice rejected in France.

It appears that this bishop made no scruple to baptize Jewish children, by forcing them from their fathers; and that the authority of the second Nicene council was not respected in France, which condemned these baptisms, that contradicted the laws of nature. St. Remi affirms, indeed, that he sent back many children, without doing them any violence; but yet he baptized all he could get, tho' void of knowledge. The complaint he made of those fathers, who took precautions against his solicitations, and the petition he presented to the emperor, to force the bishop of Arles to follow his example, are arguments sufficient to prove that this bishop neither regarded the law of nature, or that of the council of Nice.

It was still more openly violated, by maintaining, that all Jews were the slaves of Christians; for hereby they appropriated their children, and had power to appropriate their persons, and to subject them to the severest slavery; whereas the council would not so much as have their slaves appropriated, unless they were assured of the sincerity of their conversion.

It cannot be matter of wonder that the Christians of these times have been so often deluded by conversions, since they took so little pains to render them valid. Amongst the many instances, we shall only cite the following.

Instances of false conversions.

Conrad Otton, after his baptism, wrote violently against the synagogue. He charged it "with having very few persons that read Hebrew, and understood the Talmud, and other books necessary to the becoming learned; that they lived there like beasts, without thinking of futurity; that, in their prayers, they knew not, for the most part, what they said, and gave no attention; that great part of them knew not what they professed to believe, or understood so much as the means of salvation." Nevertheless, this devotee, so scandalized by the ignorance of his brethren, quitted this profession in the university of Altorf, and returned to Judaism.

Some years ago a rabbinical professor at Vienna, who was thought zealous for Christianity, for the sake of which he translated the epistle of the Hebrews into Hebrew, and rendered Abravanel's commentaries upon the prophets into Latin, disappeared, to return to the synagogue he had left.

In Spain and Portugal we find such as seem to be converts commonly ridiculing the converters. A Portuguese, known by the name of Rodriguez Castell Albi, or White Cattle, but more by the books he published, which gave him the reputation of one of the most ingenious men of his age, left his country to seek a sanctuary at Rome. But fearing his apostacy would be severely chastised, he went to many other cities of Italy under the same apprehensions. Having dissembled in divers places, he retreated to Thessalonica, where seeing himself secure, he professed the religion he had always believed, and disguised under the mask of Christianity.

The Grecian church thought it could not be too precautions in admitting into its pale those of a suspected faith; for we find some marks of its severity in their forms of abjuration, which the Jewish proselytes were obliged to make. There are two. One is inserted in the Greek ritual; and the other found by Mr. Cotelier, in a manuscript of the king of France's library. This last is much newer and

Forms of abjuration prescribed by the Greek church.

larger than the other, because they add to such sort of pieces at pleasure. We prefer this last formulary to the first, because it is more ample, and we would wish to avoid controversy.

First, the priest obliges the converted Jew to own that he does it voluntarily, and that neither fear or hope has any influence on his conversion; that he has been led to it neither by poverty, or the desire of riches, or honours, or violence, or any human motives. He was obliged also to make a protestation of his innocence, lest the change of his religion should be undertaken to avoid the punishments he had deserved. This first article is not found in the ritual of the Greeks. 2. He was made to abjure very precisely all the Jewish worship, the unleavened bread, circumcision, the passover, fests, sabbaths, &c. 3. He was obliged to anathematize all the heresies and sects that have been among the Jews. The sectaries are here considered as the defenders of traditions, whereof rabbi Akiba made the first collection; Annas composed the second; and Judas, one of the Almonians, who violated the sabbath, is looked upon as the author of the third. Those also were anathematized that kept the feast of Mordecai and Haman, and the institutors of another feast, called Monopodana, because, at its celebration, they danced upon one foot. They anathematized Elias Benjamin Zebedee, Abram and Simbatus, who are looked upon as infidels. The proselyte was obliged to make a confession of faith; to which they have subjoined several additions, according to the exigencies of the times. Lastly, he was enjoined to declare, that, if he made not this profession with his whole heart, without any design to return to Judaism, if he had ever any commerce with the Jews, either by entering into their synagogues, or eating with them, he imprecated upon himself the severest vengeance.

Extract of one of the forms.

Attempts have been made to win them over by promises of a temporal prosperity, which was a great temptation; but through an unaccountable capriciousness, they took away the estates of the proselytes in France; and Charles VI. was obliged to prevent the confiscation of the goods of those that were baptized. This prince's ordinance is still extant, by which we see, 1. That they seized the estate of a Jew who embraced Christianity, and, instead of recompensing his faith, reduced him to a state of necessity. 2. The king had a share in this oppression with the princes of the realm. 3. Tho' he issued a declaration to prevent this abuse, yet Joseph de Vala, who had been baptized by the name of Lewis de Harcourt, desiring this prince to restore his estate which they had confiscated, he only gave him part of it, and assigned the rest to some of his courtiers.

Estate of proselytes sequestered.

Gregory the Great, reversing the practices above-mentioned, made a point of reclaiming the erroneous, by soothing them as it were into a love of Christianity. He discharged the Jews from oppressive exactions and burthened taxes, candidly judging that thereby either the fathers or the children might be brought over, and that, if the former were not truly converted, the latter might be baptized, and trained up in the Christian faith. But this lenient method proved as ineffectual as the former rigorous efforts; for, in matters of conscience, where the principle is actuated by motives merely interested, there can be no sincerity. The emperor Afadius therefore, perceiving that the Jews came over to the church only to screen themselves from prosecution for crimes or debts, prohibited any from being admitted that were charged with accusations, or had not satisfied the demands of their creditors.

Lenity of Gregory the Great.

Sometimes they have attempted to prevail with them by introducing superstitions, rites, and the adoration of creatures of human formation; tho' nothing could be more repugnant to the end proposed. Upon the whole, all the human means that have been used to effect the conversion of this people, have been rendered abortive by a kind of impenetrable obduracy, and unconquerable prejudice, which seems, as it were, congenial with their very nature;

nature; a subject that may afford scope for some instructive remarks by way of conclusion.

General
remarks.

We find, then, from the corresponding testimonies of history, both sacred and profane, that, from the earliest ages to the present day, unbelief has been the grand source of all the calamities that have befallen the Jews. Indeed, a disregard of divine revelation has proved, and ever will prove, most destructive to the human race in general. Disobedience to the Divine command given to our first parents, was the fatal source of all the woes entailed upon their wretched posterity, who partook of their degeneracy, and, at the earliest period, evinced a natural aversion to good, and a propensity to evil. Notwithstanding the signal interposition of Divine Providence, and the evident marks of the Divine displeasure, the ancient Hebrews were almost perpetually lapsing into idolatry, and falling into the commission of the most atrocious enormities. Nay, the crying abominations of a degenerate world gave occasion for the Divine vengeance to involve them in an universal deluge.

When it pleased the Almighty to restrain the impetuous torrent, and permit the remaining few, whom his mercy had spared, to revisit the earth, Noah, indeed, gave most demonstrative proof of his pious gratitude to an all-gracious deliverer; but his descendants soon discovered an innate obduracy, in peremptorily denying obedience to God's especial command, and perpetuating their frantic folly in their impious and impracticable attempt of the tower of Babel.

Yet in each succeeding age there appears to have been reserved a monument of Divine grace and favour, and a grand example of piety and virtue to cotemporaries; as we find after Noah, there was an Abraham, an Isaac, a Jacob, a Joseph, and at length a Moses, who was honoured with the appellation of the Friend of God, and being the peculiar instrument of conveying the immediate revelation of the Divine will to the people.

A curious view of the most signal events which occurred in the early ages of the Hebrew nation, will afford us a most striking display of the Divine attributes, mercy, and justice, as well as certain effects of human unbelief and impenitence. Disobedience succeeded calamity, and calamity deliverance. Obedience was almost instantaneously rewarded, and disobedience almost as instantaneously punished. The power of Omnipotence was exerted, and wonders of

mercy and of vengeance were wrought; yet frail, sinful mortals were no sooner freed from the woes they deprecated, than they doubted the cause of such mighty effects, and presumptuously dared to set Omnipotence at defiance.

In succeeding times the same unbelief, the same impenitence, too generally prevailed; whilst the same tokens of the Divine approbation, and the Divine displeasure, respectively attended them. They had line upon line, and precept upon precept; were never without a shining example for imitation; yet a similarity of traits marked their character: they persisted in a faithless, desponding conduct, till their kingdom and city were reduced to a most desolate condition, and they could no longer be considered as a nation, but a people dispersed throughout all quarters of the earth, and subject to the vilest ignominy and contempt.

The History of the Jews affords a most important lesson to those who call themselves Christians, and a tremendous example to those who are too wise, or rather too wicked, to submit to the Divine will, as revealed in the Sacred Oracles. Our first parent aspired to an equality with his Creator: his presumption was checked by expulsion from the seat of bliss consummate, and consignment to mortality, with its attendant ills. The pride of the human heart has since too frequently presumed to explore the hidden purposes of Omniscience, and fallible beings have dared to attempt to scan the traces of unerring wisdom. Mature experience, and sober reflection, will demonstrate that infidelity is the most egregious folly. True wisdom will recur to its fountain, nor aspire to limits eccentric, and beyond its sphere. The Divine attributes are displayed with all lustre in the works of creation and Providence: we cannot turn our eyes, or our thoughts, on an object, but it impresses us with an idea of the Deity; or, in other words, "all Nature cries aloud through all her works there is a God."

To conclude, if the above remarks are admitted, it follows that, as the supreme and ultimate felicity of man consists in a conformity to the Divine will, and as that will is only communicated by Divine revelation, which holds forth competent instructions throughout the whole, it is his highest wisdom and happiness to receive the same with all the deference due to its origin, and to confirm himself and others in the belief and practice of it, by every means which his benevolent Creator hath put in his power.



ILLUSTRATION

OF THE

PREDICTIONS

OF THE

PRINCIPAL PROPHETS

WHOSE NAMES ARE MENTIONED

IN THE WORKS OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

INTRODUCTION.

AS, in the course of the work we now offer to the public, prophecies occur, which not only coincide with, but corroborate the evidences for, the truth of what is called, by way of eminence, Sacred History in particular, as well as revealed religion in general, we presume that an illustration of the passages peculiarly alluded to, may be introduced with equal utility and propriety. Many eminent divines, and other learned men, unite in opinion, that nothing tends more effectually to confirm serious Christians in their most holy faith, or obviate the gainsayings of infidels, than a display of the time and manner in which events foretold by holy men, in ancient days, have been as remarkably as completely fulfilled.

Those who admit that the all-pervading mind not only comprehends whatever is present and past, but, with one intuitive view, discerns whatever is to happen in future, must readily acknowledge the power of an omnipotent Jehovah, to communicate his will and pleasure to such of his creatures, and in such way and manner, as seemeth meet to his infinite wisdom. Yet, though it is the sole prerogative of the Almighty, and it has been his pleasure, to appoint and commission certain chosen agents to prophecy things to come, there have not been wanting, in all ages, men disposed to carp, cavil, and impiously aver their incredibility.

But all their efforts combined cannot invalidate demonstrative evidence, or subvert facts founded on the basis of truth. Such as review, with an impartial eye, events recorded in history, both sacred and prophane, which, in this instance, throw great light on each other, must discover every truth of authenticity that can be had in points of this kind. They will also find things foretold in plain and ex-

plicit terms, though the period of accomplishment was not at those times ascertained. They will also find their completion in ages following, and that in a manner corresponding with their predictions. What clearer evidence, what more demonstrative proof can be required? Nothing surely can withstand them, but the most perverse contumacy, and hardened infidelity.

The Divine prophecies have been fulfilling for a series of time: some are past, and others are actually fulfilling at this day; so that we have confirmation stronger than our progenitors, and are consequently more unpardonable, if we reject matters of such indisputable veracity: “for many righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.” Matt. xiii. 17. In a word, what served to exercise their faith, now serves to confirm the opinion and judgment of us who live in this latter age. It appears then manifestly, that those who deny the authenticity of the prophecies contained in the sacred volume particularly, must have renounced all mental conviction, and the evidence of their very senses, and that they are as grossly stupid as they are flagrantly impious.

When we cite the particular prophecies mentioned by our author, place them in a comparative view with those in holy writ, produce and comment on the time and manner of their respective completions, we hope it will be attended with advantage to our readers, and answer the main design of our labour in this undertaking, which we solemnly declare, is, by endeavouring to illustrate an important part of prophane history, to lead them to a perfect knowledge of those things that pertain to their everlasting interest, to the grand fountain of truth, the infallible word of God.

C H A P. I.

Noah foretells the future state and condition of his posterity.

The prophecy of Noah.

WE find in Josephus, as well as the sacred writings, that as soon as the earth began to recover its former state, after the dire effects of the late tremendous deluge, Noah applied himself to the cultivation of the ground, planting of vineyards, gathering and pressing the grapes, and producing a store of wine.

It is farther related, that the patriarch, though a pious and virtuous man, having, after an oblation to the bountiful author of every good and perfect gift, drank too liberally of the liquor, became intoxicated to a degree of insensibility, and laid himself down in a manner that exposed him to shame. His son Ham, seeing the situation of his aged parent, called his brethren, in derision, to sport with a spectacle that could not but shock minds the least susceptible of the emotions of filial tenderness. Out of pious reverence, therefore, the other sons, Shem and Japheth, brought a covering, and veiled the shame of their father.

Pronounces his blessing on Shem and Japheth

When Noah recovered his senses, and understood what had passed, he pronounced a blessing upon his other children, after the good office they had rendered him, and at the same time a bitter imprecation upon the descendants of Ham; and this prophetic malediction was followed, as will appear hereafter, with a Divine vengeance. Ham, indeed, in his own person, escaped the curse, from a tender regard in Noah to the ties of consanguinity. But it is now necessary to advert to sacred history.

His malediction against the posterity of Ham.

The form of the malediction runs thus: "Cursed be Canaan. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth. And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27.

It will appear, upon due reflection and attention to future events, that neither blessing or malediction so immediately relate to the children of Noah, as to their posterity, and the nations by them respectively founded; and also that it pleased the Judge of all the earth to display his moral government of the world, his approbation of virtue and aversion to vice, in the reward of the one, and the punishment of the other; for which wise and equitable purpose he endued Noah with a prophetic spirit, to make known his will to succeeding generations. To confine the word and spirit of ancient prophecy to individuals, or even particular persons, argues a total misconception of them; on the contrary, we must allow them a larger latitude, a more extensive scope; we must consider them as referring to numerous bodies collected, even to whole nations, whereby we shall be enabled to form a right judgment of the Divine superintendence over human affairs, and reconcile the various dispensations of Providence.

On this principle, therefore, we must suppose the curse of servitude pronounced upon Canaan, as well as the blessing of freedom promised to Shem and Japheth, not immediately relating to them personally considered, but as in an enlarged and extensive view, comprehending their whole race. So, indeed, as before observed, we must judge of scripture prophecy in general.

The malediction then uttered prophetically by the patriarch Noah, in fact referred to the race of Canaan, from his name called Canaanites, and from whose iniquities the Omniscient Being delegated his ancient servant to foretel that curse which was most justly due to their common degeneracy. And it was the evident design of the inspired penman, Moses, in relating the same, to encourage the Hebrews or Israelites in waging a necessary war

against an abandoned race, who had renounced all claims to the favour and protection of heaven, and were therefore deemed to servitude from an early date.

Having thus pointed out the purport and meaning of this prophecy, it now remains that we proceed to display the manner in which it was fully completed.

It is certain the Canaanites were a most wicked and abandoned people, and it was for their great sins that the Almighty was pleased to inflict a most severe punishment not only on them, but their posterity. They were addicted to practise the worst kinds of Idolatry. Their religion was bad, and their morals worse; for corrupt religion and corrupt morals usually generate each other. Was not, therefore, a curse, in the nature of things, as well as in the just judgment of God, entailed on such a people and nation as this? It was not for the righteousness of the Israelites that the Lord was pleased to give them the possession of the land of Canaan, but for the wickedness of the people did he drive them out of the country; and he would have driven out the Israelites in like manner, had they been guilty of the like abominations. See Levit. xviii. 24, &c.

The Canaanites, multiplied their wickedness.

The curse pronounced on the descendants of Ham particularly implies servitude and subjection. "Cursed be Canaan. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." The descendants, therefore, of Canaan were to be subject to the descendants of Shem and Japheth; and the natural consequence of vice, in communities as well as in single persons, is subjection, slavery, and death.

Nature of the curse pronounced on the descendants of Ham.

This part of the prophecy, however, was not fulfilled till several centuries after it was delivered by Noah, when the Israelites, who were the descendants of Shem, under the command of Joshua, invaded the country of the Canaanites, smote above thirty of their kings, took possession of their land, and made the Gibeonites and others servants and tributaries; and the rest were after subdued by Solomon. The Greeks and Romans, who were the descendants of Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine, but also pursued and conquered such of the Canaanites as were any where remaining; as for instance, the Tyrians and Carthaginians; the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. From that period the miserable remainder of these people have been slaves; first to the Saracens, who descended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who descended from Japheth; and under whose dominion great numbers of them at present remain.

Having thus explained the fulfilment of that part of Noah's prophecy relative to the descendants of his son Ham, let us now consider the promises he made to Shem and Japheth. And he said, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." The wickedness of men proceedeth from themselves, but their good from God; and therefore we find the old patriarch, in a strain of devotion, breaketh forth into thanksgiving to God as the author of all good to Shem. God can certainly bestow his particular favours according to his good pleasure; and salvation was to be derived to mankind through Shem and his posterity. By the Lord being called the God of Shem, is plainly intimated, that the Lord would be his God in a particular manner.

The promise made to Shem.

The promise made to Japheth was this: "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." That Japheth was more enlarged than the rest is evident, he having much greater possessions, and a more numerous offspring than either of his brothers. The territories of Japheth's posterity were very large; for, besides all Europe, great and extensive as it is, they possessed the lesser Asia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and those great regions towards

towards the north, which were anciently inhabited by the Scythians, and at present by the Tartars.

That the progeny of Japheth was enlarged, as well as his territories, evidently appears from the 10th chapter of Genesis, wherein we find that Japheth had seven sons, whereas Ham had only four, and Shem only five. The expression "and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem" is capable of a double construction; for thereby may be meant either that God, or that Japheth, shall dwell in the tents of Shem. Those who prefer the former construction, found their authority on the literal sense of the words in the text, there being no other noun to govern the verbs in the period than the word God. The whole sentence, therefore, according to this, should run thus, God will enlarge Japheth, and will dwell in the tents of Shem. But let the sense of this expression be taken either way, it is certain that the prophecy hath been most punctually fulfilled. In the former sense it was fulfilled literally when the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, rested on the ark, and dwelt in the tabernacle and temple of the Jews. In the latter sense it was fulfilled first, when the Greeks and Romans, who sprung originally from Japheth, subdued and possessed Judea, and other countries of Asia, belonging to Shem; and again spiritually, when they were profelyted to the true religion; and those who were not Israelites by birth, became Israelites by faith.

This first prophecy of Noah's is certainly a most extraordinary one indeed. It was delivered near four thousand years ago, and yet hath been fulfilling through the several periods of time to this day. It is both wonderful and instructive; and is, as it were, an epitome of the history of the world.

CHAP. II.

Of the prophecies concerning Ishmael, the son of Abraham, by his hand-maid Hagar.

AFTER Noah, the next great patriarch we meet with in the Old Testament is the pious Abraham, who was favoured with several Divine revelations. From him two very extraordinary nations descended, namely, the Ishmaelites and Israelites, concerning each of which people there are some prophecies of the most extraordinary nature.

Ishmael was the son of Abraham, by his hand-maid Hagar, who was an Egyptian; and though he was not properly the child of promise, yet he was distinguished by some express predictions, for the comfort and satisfaction of both his parents.

After Hagar had fled from the face of her mistress Sarah, who had dealt hardly with her, (see Gen. xvi.) the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderness, and said unto her, "Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man: his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."

We find, in the succeeding chapter, that God promises Abraham a son by his wife Sarah, whom he should call Isaac; but, notwithstanding this, he still reserved a blessing for Ishmael. "Behold" (said he) "I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation." After this, when Hagar and Ishmael were sent forth into the wilderness, God said unto Abraham, "And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed." Gen. xxi. 13. And the same is repeated to Hagar, (ver. 18.) "I will make him a great nation."

Now, if we attend to the particulars mentioned in this prophecy, and trace the course of events which afterwards took place, we shall find the whole strictly fulfilled, and that a part of it is fulfilling even at this present period. "I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, and it shall not be numbered for multitude." And again, "Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly." From these two passages it is manifestly evident that the prophecy does not so much relate to Ishmael himself, as it does to his descendants, whom it is foretold shall be exceeding numerous; and this part of the prediction was most amply fulfilled.

Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, was an Egyptian; and when he grew to a state of manhood, he married a woman of the same country. In the course of a few years his own children and their descendants became so numerous, that they formed a considerable body of people, and were particularly distinguished for the great traffic they carried on in different parts of Egypt. After this Ishmael's descendants were greatly multiplied in the Hagarenes, who were probably so called from his mother Hagar; in the Nabathæans, who were so denominated from his son Nabaioth; in the Itureans, who were so called from his son Jetur, or Itur; and in the Arabs, (especially the Scenites and Saracens,) who over-ran a great part of the world; and his descendants the Arabs are at this day a very numerous people.

That part of the prophecy which says, "Twelve princes shall he beget," is of a very particular nature indeed; notwithstanding which it was most strictly fulfilled. The names of these princes are recorded by Moses, who, after mentioning them, says, "These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles: twelve princes according to their nations." Gen. xxv. 16. We are not, however, to understand by this expression, that they were so many distinct sovereign princes, but only the heads of so many clans, or tribes. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs*, (as he denominates them,) or rulers of tribes: and Melo, an heathen historian, tells us, "That Ishmael had, by his Egyptian wife, twelve sons, who, departing into Arabia, divided the region between them, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; whence (even to our days, says he) the Arabians have had twelve kings of the same names as the first." After the time of Melo, the Arabs were governed by what was then called *phylarchs*, and lived in tribes; and this they still continue to do, as appears by the testimony of Thevenot, Middleton, and other modern travellers.

"And I will make him a great nation." This part of the prophecy is repeated several times, and, as soon as the regular course of nature would admit, was fully accomplished. The descendants of Ishmael, in process of time, grew up into a great nation; such they continued for several ages; and, when we consider the prodigious numbers of them that still inhabit the country, they may be justly called "a great nation."

"And he will be a wild man." Ishmael and his posterity were to be wild, fierce, savage, ranging in the deserts, and not easily softened to society; and whoever has read the accounts given of these people by different travellers, must know it to be a true and genuine character. It is said of Ishmael (Gen. xxi. 20.) that "he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer;" and the same is no less true of his descendants than of himself. "He dwelt in the wilderness;" and his descendants still inhabit the same wilderness; and many of them, from the best accounts we have, both ancient and modern, are total strangers to agriculture, neither sowing or planting, but living entirely by plunder and rapine. "And he became an archer." Such were the Itureans and mighty men of Keder, mentioned by Isaiah, chap. xxi. 17. and such the Arabs have been from the beginning to the present time. It was very late before they admitted the use of fire arms

Fulfillment
of the
prophecies.

Prophecies
concerning
Ishmael.

Hagar flies
from her
mistress
Sarah.

arms in their country; and the greater part of them are still strangers to that instrument of defence: for they constantly practise the bow and arrow, and are esteemed the most skilful archers in the universe.

“And he shall dwell in the presence of his brethren;” that is, shall dwell in tents, as many of the Arabs do at the present time.

If we reflect on this part of the prophecy, we shall, on the first view, think it very extraordinary, that “his hand should be against every man, and every man’s hand against him,” and yet that he should be able to “dwell in the presence of all his brethren.” But, extraordinary as it was, this also hath been fulfilled, not only in the person of Ishmael, but likewise in his descendants. With respect to Ishmael himself, the sacred historian tells us, that “the years of the life of Ishmael were an hundred and thirty and seven years, and he died in the presence of all his brethren.” Gen. xxv. 17, 18. As for his posterity, they dwelt likewise in the presence of all their brethren; and they still subsist a distinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithstanding the perpetual enmity between them and the rest of mankind.

It may be supposed by some, that the reason why these people were never subdued by any other nation is, that the country was never worth conquering, and that its barrenness has ever been its preservation; but this is a mistake; for, by all the accounts we have, though the greater part of it be sandy and barren deserts, yet here and there are interspersed beautiful spots, and fruitful vallies. One part of the country was anciently known and distinguished by the name of Arabia the Happy, which appellation it received on account of the natural fertility of the soil, in contrast to the barrenness of the other parts. The whole country of Arabia is, by the oriental writers, generally divided into five provinces, the chief of which is called Yaman, and is thus described by the learned Mr. Sale, in his preface to the Alcoran. “The province of Yaman (says he) has been famous, from all antiquity, for the wholesomeness of its climate, its fertility, and riches. The delightfulness and plenty of it are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red Sea is a dry barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over, but, in return, bounded by those mountains, which being well watered, enjoy an almost continual spring, and yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman, the greater part being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm trees.”

But, however fertile, or however barren and desolate, this country might be, yet it was certainly the interest of the neighbouring princes and states, at all hazards, to endeavour to root out such a pestilent race of robbers. This, indeed, has several times been attempted, but never accomplished. They have, from first to last, maintained their independence; and, notwithstanding the most powerful efforts have been made to destroy them, they still “dwell in the presence of all their brethren,” and in the presence of all their enemies.

On a judicious and circumspect view of the respective particulars contained in this amazing prophecy, with the astonishing manner in which each article has been fulfilled, we shall easily perceive that the whole, from beginning to end, was guided by the direction of Providence. The sacred historian tells us, that these prophecies concerning Ishmael were delivered partly by the angel of the Lord, and partly by God himself: and, indeed, who but God, or one raised and commissioned by him, could describe so particularly the genius and manners, not only of a single person before he was born, but of a whole people, from the first founder of the race to the present time? It was certainly very wonderful,

and not to be foreseen by human sagacity or prudence, that a man’s whole posterity should so nearly resemble him, and retain the same inclinations, the same habits, and the same customs throughout all ages. The waters of the purest spring or fountain are soon changed and polluted in their course; and the farther still they flow, the more they are incorporated and lost in other waters. How have the modern Italians degenerated from the courage and virtues of the old Romans? How are the French and English polished and refined from the barbarism of the ancient Gauls and Britons? In general, men and manners change with the times: but, in all changes and revolutions, the Arabs have continued the same from the beginning. They still remain the same fierce, savage, untractable, unsocial people they were at first, following in every thing their great ancestor, and being entirely different from the rest of their fellow creatures.

Disposition
of the Arabians.

The great affinity that still subsists between the present Arabs and their progenitor Ishmael, from whom they descended, will appear evident from the following circumstances. Ishmael was circumcised, and so are his posterity to this day; and as Ishmael was circumcised when he was thirteen years of age, so are the Arabs at the same time. Ishmael was born of Hagar, who was a concubine; and the Arabs still indulge themselves in the use of mercenary wives and concubines. He lived in tents in the wilderness, shifting from place to place; and so do his descendants, even to the present time. He was an archer in the wilderness, and so are they. He was to be the father of twelve princes, or heads of tribes; and they live in clans or tribes to this day. He was a wild man, “his hand against every man, and every man’s hand against him;” and they still live in the same state of war, their hand against every man, and every man’s hand against them.

If we reflect on these strange circumstances, how wonderful must it appear to us, that the same people should retain the same disposition for so many ages! But still how much more wonderful is it that, with this disposition, and this enmity against the whole world, they should still subsist an independent and free people! It cannot be pretended that no attempts were ever made to subdue them, for the greatest conquerors in the world have almost all, in their turns, attempted it, and some have been very near effecting it. Neither can it be pretended that the dryness or inaccessibility of their country hath been their preservation; for their country hath been often penetrated, but could never be entirely subdued. Large armies have found the means of subsistence in their country: none of their powerful invaders ever desisted on this account; and therefore, the reason of their having withstood every effort to conquer them, must be imputed to some other cause. This was certainly no less than the Divine interposition; and which will evidently appear, if we attend to the following very singular particulars.

Alexander was preparing an expedition against them, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Pompey was in the career of his conquest, when urgent affairs called him elsewhere. Cælius Gallus had penetrated far into their country, when a fatal disease destroyed great numbers of his men, and obliged him to return. Trajan besieged their capital city, but was defeated by thunder and lightning, whirlwinds, and other prodigies, and that as often as he renewed his assaults. Severus besieged the same city twice, and was twice repulsed from before it; and the historian Dion (a man of rank and character, though an heathen) plainly ascribes the defeat of these two emperors to the interposition of a Divine power.

In short, if we consider the whole matter in its proper light, we cannot fail being of the same opinion with this heathen historian; for, without a Divine interposition, how could a single nation stand out against the enmity of the whole world for any length of time, and much more for near four thousand years together? The great empires round them have

have all, in their turns, fallen to ruin, while they have continued the same from the beginning, and are likely to continue the same to the end.

The Arabs are the only people, except the Jews, who have subsisted as a distinct people from the beginning; and in some respects they very much resemble each other, as will appear by the following comparisons:

1. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, are descended from Abraham; and both boast of their descent from that father of the faithful.

2. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, are circumcised; and both profess to have derived that ceremony from Abraham.

3. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, had originally twelve heads of tribes, who were their princes or governors.

4. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, marry among themselves, and in their own tribes.

5. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, are singular in several of their customs, and are standing monuments, to all ages, of the exactness of the Divine predictions, and of the veracity of Scripture History.

We have only one observation more to make on the fulfilment of the very singular particulars contained in the prophecy relative to Abraham and Ishmael, and that is, that they are so incontrovertible as to defeat every attempt that can be made to place them in a fallacious light. We know the predictions delivered to Ishmael to be daily verified in his descendants, and therefore have, as it were, ocular demonstration for our faith; which is proving, by plain matter of fact, that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men," and that his truth, as well as his mercy, "endureth for ever."

CHAP. III.

Containing an account of the prophecies concerning Jacob and Esau, the sons of Isaac.

Prophecies concerning Jacob and Esau.

IT having pleased the Almighty to disclose unto Abraham the state and condition of his posterity by Ishmael, who was the son of the bond-woman, he was likewise pleased to predict some things of a much more important nature concerning the posterity of Isaac, who was the son of his wife Sarah. This son was properly the child of promise; and the prophecies relating to him and his family, are much more numerous than those relating to Ishmael and his descendants.

Previous to the birth of Ishmael, the Almighty was pleased to make this promise to Abraham; "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Gen. xii. 3. But after the birth of Ishmael by Hagar, and Isaac by Sarah, the promise was limited to Isaac: "for in Isaac shall thy seed be called." Gen. xxi. 12. And accordingly to Isaac was the promise repeated, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;" which plainly intimated, that the Saviour of the world was not to come from the family of Ishmael, but from the descendants of Isaac.

The land of Canaan promised to the descendants of Abraham.

The land of Canaan was promised to Abraham and his descendants four hundred years before they obtained possession of it, and it was afterwards promised to his son Isaac: "Sojourn in this land (says the Lord unto Isaac) and I will be with thee, and will bless thee: for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father."

Obtained by means of Ishmael.

This promise was strictly fulfilled soon after the death of Moses, when the Israelites got possession of the land of Canaan through the assistance and protection of Joshua, who succeeded Moses in the government of the people. In pursuance of these pro-

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phesies, they remained in possession for several ages; and afterwards, when, for their sins and iniquities, they were to be removed from it, their removal also was foretold, both the carrying away of the ten tribes, and the captivity of the two remaining tribes for seventy years; as likewise their final captivity and dispersion into all nations.

Abraham received a promise from God, that his posterity should be multiplied exceedingly above that of others. "I will make of thee a great nation;" and "in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore." See Gen. xii. 2. xxii. 17. The like promise was also continued to Isaac: "I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven." Gen. xxvi. 4.

Not to mention the great increase of the other posterity of Abraham and Isaac, how soon did their descendants by Jacob grow up to a mighty nation, and how numerous were they formerly in the land of Canaan? How numerous were they likewise in various other parts of the world? And after innumerable massacres and persecutions which they have undergone, how numerous are they still in their present dispersion among all nations?

Isaac had two sons, the one named Jacob, and the other Esau. The descendants of these sons did not incorporate themselves together as one people, but separated into two different nations; and therefore as it had been before specified which of the two, Ishmael or Isaac, was to be heir of the promises made to Abraham, so there was a necessity now for the same distinction to be made between Esau and Jacob, the sons of Isaac.

Jacob and Esau.

This was accordingly done, and that in the most ample and clear manner. When Rebecca, their mother, had conceived, "the children struggled together within her," Gen. xxv. 22; and she received the following Divine revelation: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels, and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." Gen. xxv. 23.

The same Divine Spirit influenced and directed their father to give his final benediction to the like purpose: for thus did he bless Jacob: "God give thee of the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee: be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee: cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleth thee." Gen. xxvii. 28, 29. And thus did he bless Esau: "Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother: and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."

Isaac's benediction to his son Jacob.

But, for greater clearness and certainty, a more express revelation was afterwards made to Jacob; and the land of Canaan, a numerous progeny, and the blessing of all nations, were promised to him in particular. "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Israel: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south; and in thee and in thy seed shall the families of the earth be blessed." Gen. xxviii. 13, 14.

Canaan promised to Jacob.

This prophecy, as well as those before mentioned, was not to be verified in the persons of Esau and Jacob, but in those of their posterity. Jacob was so far from bearing rule over Esau, that he was forced to fly his country for fear of him. He continued abroad several years, and when he returned, he sent a servant before, with a supplicatory message, to his brother Esau, requesting "that he might find grace in his sight." When he heard of Esau's coming

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coming to meet him with four hundred men, he "was greatly afraid and distressed," and cried unto the Lord, "Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau." Gen. xxxii. 11. He sent a magnificent present before him to appease his brother, calling him *lord*, and himself his *servant*. When he met him, he "bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother:" and after he had found a gracious reception, he made this acknowledgment: "I have seen thy face as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me."

At this time Jacob had no temporal superiority over his brother Esau; and therefore we must look for the completion of the prophecy among their descendants. The prophecy itself makes plainly "two nations," and "two manner of people," and comprehends these several particulars; that the families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations; that the family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger; that, in situation, and other temporal advantages, they should be much alike; that the elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger; that, however, there should be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger; but, in all spiritual gifts and graces, the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations.

The descendants of Esau and Jacob.

By the first part of the prophecy, "Two nations are in thy womb," &c. we find that they (that is, their posterity) were not only to grow up into two nations, but into two very different nations. And have not the Edomites (who were descended from Esau) and the Israelites (who were descended from Jacob) been all along two very different people in their manners, customs, and religions, which made them to be perpetually at variance with each other?

"And the children struggled together within her." This was a token of their future disagreement, and was fully evinced when they grew up to a state of manhood, by their different dispositions and inclinations. Esau was "a cunning hunter," and delighted in the sports of the field; but Jacob was more mild and gentle, "dwelling in tents," and minding his sheep and cattle. Esau slighted his birth right, and those sacred privileges of which Jacob was desirous, and is therefore called the *profane Esau*, (Heb. xii. 16.) but Jacob was a man of better faith and religion. The like diversity ran through their posterity. The descendants of Jacob were strict observers of the Jewish religion; but those of Esau, (whatever they were at first,) became, in process of time, the grossest idolaters. From these religious differences, and on other accounts, there was a continual grudge and enmity between the two nations. The king of Edom would not suffer the Israelites, in their return out of Egypt, so much as to pass through his territories; and the history of the Edomites after, is little more than the history of the wars between them and the Jews.

"And the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." The family of Esau was the elder, and, for sometime, the greater and more powerful, of the two, there having been dukes and kings in Edom, before there reigned any king over the "children of Israel." Gen. xxxvi. 31. But David and his captains made an entire conquest of the Edomites, slew several thousands, compelled the rest to become his tributaries and servants, and planted garrisons among them to secure their obedience. See 2 Sam. viii. 14.

The Edomites conquered, and subjected to a state of servitude.

The Edomites, after being reduced to subjection by David and his captains, continued in a state of servitude for about an hundred and fifty years, and, instead of having a king of their own, were governed by viceroys, or deputies, appointed by the kings of Judah. In the days of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, they revolted, recovered their liberties, "and made a king over themselves." 2 Kings

viii. 20. But, after this, they were again reduced by several of the princes of Judah at different periods, and most of their principal places destroyed. Judas Maccabeus attacked and defeated them several times, killing no less than twenty thousand at one time, and upwards of the like number at another. He likewise took their chief city Hebron, and destroyed all the towers and fortresses about it. At length Hyrcanus, the nephew of Judas Maccabeus, took what few cities they had left, and reduced them to the necessity of either embracing the Jewish religion, or leaving their country, and seeking new habitations elsewhere. They thought proper to chuse the former; in consequence of which they submitted themselves to be circumcised, became proselytes to the Jewish religion, and were ever after incorporated with those very people whom they had before considered as their enemies.

It is predicted, in one part of this remarkable prophecy, that, in point of situation, and other temporal advantages, Esau and Jacob should be much alike. It was said to Jacob, "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine." And much the same was said to Esau; "Behold, thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above." Jacob's situation was in a very fertile and pleasant country; nor was that of Esau's less so. Mount Seir, and the adjacent country, were, at first, in the possession of the Edomites; after which they extended themselves farther into Arabia, as also into the southern parts of Judea. But, in whatever part they were situated, we find that the Edomites, in temporal advantages, were little inferior to the Israelites, having cattle, and beasts, and substance in abundance. At the time that the Israelites were on their return from Egyptian bondage, the country in which the Edomites then lived, abounded with the most fruitful fields and vineyards, as evidently appears from the manner of the request then made by the Israelites, for permission to pass through those territories. "Let us pass, I pray thee, through the country; we will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells."

In another part of the prophecy it was predicted, that Esau should delight more in war and violence than his brother, but that he should be subdued by Jacob: "And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother." Esau himself might be said to live much by the sword, for he was "a cunning hunter," a man of the field. He and his posterity obtained possession of Mount Seir by force and violence, by destroying and expelling from thence the Horites, who were the former inhabitants. By what means they spread themselves farther into Arabia we are not informed; but it appears that, upon a sedition among them, which occasioned a separation, the greater part seized upon the south-west parts of Judea, during the Babylonish captivity, and afterwards made that their fixed place of residence.

Both before and after this, the Edomites were almost continually at war with the Jews, and upon every occasion were ready to join with their enemies. Even long after they were subdued by the Jews, they still retained the same violent spirit, as appears by the character given of them by Josephus to the following effect: "They were (says he) a turbulent and disorderly nation, always ready for commotions, and rejoicing in changes; at the least request of those who be sought them beginning war, and hastening to battles as it were to a feast." This character, given them by Josephus, appears very just; for, a little before the last siege of Jerusalem, they went, at the entreaty of the zealots, to assist them against the priests and people, and there, together with the zealots, murdered Ananias, the high-priest, and committed the most unheard of cruelties.

There was, however, to be a time when the elder should have the dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger. "And it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have dominion, that thou shalt break

"his yoke from off thy neck." It is not here said or meant that the Edomites should have dominion over the seed of Jacob, but simply have dominion, as they had when they appointed a king of their own. The whole of this sentence is, in the Jerusalem Targum, thus paraphrased: "And it shall be when the sons of Jacob attend to the law, and observe the precepts, they shall impose the yoke of servitude upon thy neck; but when they shall turn away themselves from studying the law, and neglect the precepts, behold then thou shalt shake off the yoke of servitude from thy neck."

It was David who imposed the yoke on the Edomites, (at which time the Jewish people strictly observed the law,) and it was very galling from the first. Towards the latter end of Solomon's reign, Hadad, the Edomite of the blood royal, who had been carried into Egypt in his childhood, returned into his own country, and raised some disturbances, but was not able to recover his throne, his subjects being over-awed by the garrisons which David had placed among them; and in the reigns of the succeeding princes of Judea they were totally subdued.

We come now to the last part of the prophecy, which predicts that, in all spiritual gifts and graces, the younger should be greatly superior to the elder, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations. "In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." And hitherto are to be referred in their full force those expressions; "Let people serve thee, and nations bow down unto thee: cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleth thee." The same promise was made to Abraham in the name of God: "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee." Gen. xii. 3.

Jacob more religious than Esau.

Jacob was a man of more religion, and believed the Divine promises more than Esau. The posterity of Jacob likewise preserved the true religion, and the worship of one God, while the Edomites were sunk into idolatry. Of the seed of Jacob was to be born the Saviour of the world. This was the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, to be the happy instrument of conveying these spiritual blessings to all nations.

The Edomites abolished.

The whole of this prophecy, if properly traced from the beginning, will appear to have been most strictly fulfilled. We find the nation of the Edomites were several times conquered by, and made tributary to, the Jews, but never the nation of the Jews to the Edomites; and the Jews have been the more considerable people, more known in the world, and more famous in history. We have, indeed, very little more of the history of the Edomites than what is connected with that of the Jews: and where is the name or the nation at this time? They were swallowed up and lost, partly among the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and, at length, the very name of them was abolished and disused.

Thus was fulfilled the prophecies of the other inspired men. See Jeremiah xlix. 7, &c. &c. Ezekiel xxv. 12, &c. Joel iii. 19. Amos i. 11, &c. and lastly, the prophet Obadiah. At this very time we see the Jews subsisting as a distinct people, while the Edomites are no more: and thus is amply fulfilled the words of the latter prophet: "For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever." And again, "there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau, for the Lord hath spoken it." See Obadiah, ver. 10 and 18.

CHAP. IV.

Containing an account of the prophecies of Jacob relative to his posterity, but more particularly his son Judah.

WE find two promises in the blessing bestowed upon Jacob, one of which is of a temporal, and the other of a spiritual, nature. The first was

the promise of the land of Canaan; and the second, the promise of the seed in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed. These promises were first made to Abraham, then repeated to Isaac, and afterwards confirmed to Jacob, who, a short time before his death, bequeathed them to his posterity.

The prophecies of Jacob.

The inheritance of the land of Canaan might be shared and divided among all his sons, but the blessed seed could descend only from one. Accordingly Jacob assigned to each a portion of the former, but limited the latter to the tribe of Judah; and, at the same time, sketched out the characters and fortunes of the different tribes into which the people were to be divided.

Joseph being the favourite son of Jacob, he adopted his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim for his own; but foretold, that the younger should be the greater of the two. This prediction was fulfilled in a very ample manner; for the tribe of Ephraim grew to be so numerous and powerful, that it was sometimes put for all the ten tribes of Israel.

Joseph his favorite son

Of Reuben, the elder son of Jacob, it is said, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." Gen. xlix. 4. And what is there recorded great or excellent of the tribe of Reuben? In number and power they were inferior to several other tribes.

Jacob's prophecy of his son Reuben.

Of Simeon and Levi it is said, "I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." And was not this eminently fulfilled in the tribe of Levi, who had no portion or inheritance of their own, but were dispersed among the other tribes? Neither had the tribe of Simeon any inheritance properly of their own, but only a portion in the midst of the tribes of Judah, from whence several of them afterwards went in search of new habitations, and were thereby divided from the rest of their brethren.

Of Simeon and Levi.

Of Zebulun it is said, "He shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and shall be for an haven of ships." And accordingly the tribe of Zebulun extended from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, where they had commodious havens for ships.

Of Zebulun.

Of Benjamin it is said, "He shall raven as a wolf." And was not that a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in several instances, and particularly in the case of the Levite's wife, when they alone waged war against all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles. See Judges xx.

Of Benjamin.

In like manner Jacob characterizes all the other tribes, and foretells their temporal condition, and that of Judah as well as the rest. But to Judah he particularly bequeaths the spiritual blessing, and delivers it in much the same form of words as it was delivered to him. Isaac had said to Jacob, "Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee." Gen. xxvii. 29. And here Jacob saith to Judah, "Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee." And it is added, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."

Of Judah.

There are several things to be attended to in this remarkable prophecy relative to Judah. We are told that Judah's brethren should "praise him," and that "his hand should be in the neck of his enemies." This was remarkably fulfilled in the local situation of the tribe of Judah; for their being so near the Arabians obliged them to be continually on their guard; and as they were, for the most part, successful, so it may be justly said, that "the hand of Judah was in the neck of his enemies," and that his brethren praised him for standing up in their defence. It is also said, that "his father's children should bow down before him;" and nothing was ever more literally fulfilled. David, in whose family the royal sovereignty was placed, was of the tribe of Judah, and to him all the other tribes bowed down.

Explanation of that part of Jacob's prophecies relative to his son Judah.

During

During the time of Joshua's wars with the Canaanites, the tribe of Judah was more distinguished for its valour than the others; and it appears, from the book of Judges, that they were always the most forward to engage with the common enemy. When it is said that "the scepter shall not depart from Judah," it implies, that it should depart from all those of the other tribes who should enjoy it. Thus it departed from the tribe of Benjamin on the death of Saul; and it is well known that the ten tribes were carried away captive, and incorporated with other nations, while that of Benjamin put itself under the protection of Judah.

The expression "until Shiloh come," evidently and incontestibly means till the coming of the Messiah.

"And unto him shall the gathering of the people be." If we understand this of Judah, that the other tribes should be gathered to that, it was in some measure fulfilled by the people going up so frequently as they did to Jerusalem, which was in the tribe of Judah, in order to obtain justice in difficult cases, and to worship God in his holy temple.

Upon the divisions of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, and the priests and Levites, and several out of all the other tribes, went over to Judah, and were so blended and incorporated together, that they are more than once spoken of as one tribe. And it is expressly said, (1 Kings xii. 20.) "there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only." All the rest were swallowed up in that tribe, and considered as parts and members of the same.

In like manner, when the Israelites were carried away captive into Assyria, it is said, "there was none left but the tribe of Judah only;" and yet we know that the tribe of Benjamin, and many of the other tribes, then remained; but they are reckoned as one and the same tribe with Judah. Nay, at that very time there was a remnant of Israel that escaped from the Assyrians, and went and adhered to Judah; for we find afterwards that, in the reign of Josiah, there were some of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of the remnant of Israel, who contributed money towards repairing the temple, as well as Judah and Benjamin. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. And, at the solemn celebration of the passover, some "of Israel were present" as well as "all Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem." When the people returned from the Babylonish captivity, then again several of the tribes of Israel associated themselves, and returned with Judah and Benjamin. In short, at so many different times, and upon such different occasions, were the other tribes gathered to that of Judah, that the latter became the general name of the whole nation; and, after the Babylonish captivity, they were no longer called the "people of Israel," but the "Jews, or people of Judah."

The government of the tribe of Judah subsisted, in some form or other, from the death of Jacob to the last destruction of Jerusalem; but then it was utterly broken and ruined: then the *scepter departed*, and hath been departed from that time to the present.

It may not be improper here to add a just observation made on the subject by the learned prelate bishop Sherlock. "As the tribe of Benjamin (says he) annexed itself to the tribe of Judah as its head, so it ran the same fortune with it: they went together into captivity, they returned home together, and were both in being when Shiloh came. This also was foretold by Jacob, 'Benjamin shall raven as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.' The morning and night here can be nothing else but the morning and night of the Jewish state; for this state is the subject of all Jacob's prophecy from one end to the other; and consequently it is here foretold of Benjamin, that he should continue to the very last times of the Jewish state. This interpretation is confirmed by Moses's prophecy; for the prophecy of Moses is, in truth, an exposition of Jacob's. 'Benjamin,' saith Moses, 'shall dwell in safety; the

"Lord shall cover him all the day long." Deut. xxxiii. 12. What is this "all the day long?" The same certainly as "the morning and night." Does not, therefore, this import a promise of a longer continuance to Benjamin than to the other tribes? And was it not most exactly fulfilled?"

We shall only observe farther, with respect to this prophecy, that the completion of it furnishes us with an invincible argument, not only that the Messiah has come, but that our Blessed Redeemer is the very person. The scepter was not to depart from Judah until the Messiah should come; but the scepter hath long been departed, and consequently the Messiah hath long come. The scepter departed at the final destruction of Jerusalem, and hath been departed now more than seventeen centuries, and consequently the Messiah came a little before that period; so that prejudice itself cannot long make any doubt concerning the reality of the person. Every man, therefore, of serious reflection, must say as Simon Peter said to Jesus, "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." John vi. 68, 69.

CHAP. V.

The prophecies of Moses, the great law-giver, concerning the Jews.

MOSES, a short time before his death, delivered many prophecies to the Jews, in which he predicted the great blessings that would be bestowed upon them, if they paid a proper attention to the laws he had given them; and, on the contrary, the heavy curses that would unavoidably fall upon them, if they became refractory and disobedient to the Divine will. These prophecies are contained in the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy; and the greater part of them relate to the curses that should fall on the Jews in case of their disobedience; all which have been since most strictly fulfilled, as will appear from the following observations.

These prophecies commence at the 49th verse of the before-mentioned chapter, in which it is said, "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle that flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand." This was fulfilled in the Chaldeans, who may be justly said to have come *from far* in comparison with the Moabites, Philistines, and others, who frequently invaded Judea, and committed depredations in various parts of the country.

The like description of the Chaldeans is given by the prophet Jeremiah: "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what thou say." Jeremiah v. 15. He likewise compares the enemies of the Jews to the eagles. "Our persecutors (says he) are swifter than the eagles of the heaven: they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness." Lam. iv. 9.

In the 50th verse of the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, the people, who were to be the persecutors of the Jews, are thus farther characterized. And they shall be "a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favour to the young." Such were the Chaldeans; and the sacred historian expressly saith, that, for the wickedness of the Jews, God "brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old men, or him that stooped for age; he gave them all into his hand." 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.

According to the prophecy of Moses, the enemies of the Jews were to besiege and take their cities. "And

"And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down wherein thou trustedst throughout all thy land." This was accordingly fulfilled; for "Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them." 2 Kings xviii. 13. And Nebuchadnezzar, and his captains, took and spoiled Jerusalem, burnt the city and temple, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about." 2 Kings, xxv. 10.

The Romans likewise (as we are informed by Josephus, in his History of the Jewish Wars) demolished several fortified places before they besieged and destroyed Jerusalem. And the Jews who inhabited that city, may very justly be said to have "trusted in their high and fenced walls," for they seldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the strength and situation of Jerusalem, as the Jebusites (the former inhabitants of the place) had done before them: "Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitations?" Jeremiah xxi. 13.

Jerusalem, indeed, was a very strong place, and wonderfully fortified both by nature and art. And yet, how many times was it taken previous to its final destruction by Titus? It was taken by Shishak, king of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, by Socius, and, lastly, by Herod.

The Jews, in these sieges, were to suffer great hardships, but more particularly by famine. Accordingly, when the king of Assyria besieged Samaria, there was a great famine in that city; "and behold they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for four pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of doves dung for five pieces of silver." 2 Kings vi. 25. When Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, "the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land." 2 Kings xxv. 3. And in the last siege of Jerusalem, by the Romans, there was a most dreadful famine in the city.

Thus was literally fulfilled the words of Moses, who says, the man's "eye shall be evil towards his brother, and towards the wife of his bosom, and towards his children, because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates:" and, in like manner, the woman's "eye shall be evil towards her husband of her bosom, and towards her son, and towards her daughter." See Deut. xxviii. 54, &c.

According to another part of this prophecy, great numbers of the Jews were to be destroyed. "And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude." Deut. xxviii. 62. Not to mention any other of the calamities and slaughters which they have undergone, there was, in the siege of Jerusalem, an infinite multitude that perished by famine. There certainly is not a nation upon the earth that hath been exposed to so many massacres and persecutions as the Jews. Their history abounds with them; and if God had not been pleased to have given them a promise of a numerous posterity, they must, many hundred years ago, have been totally extirpated.

The prophecy farther saith, that they should be carried into Egypt, and there sold for slaves. "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again, with ships: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen." Deut. xxviii. 68. They had, indeed, come out of Egypt triumphant, but now they were to return thither as slaves. They had, on their coming out, walked through the sea as on dry land, but now they were to be carried thither in ships. They might be carried thither in the ships of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants, or by the Romans, who had a fleet in the Mediterranean; and this was certainly a much safer way of conveying so many prisoners, than sending them by land.

No. 54.

That this part of the prophecy was fulfilled, evidently appears from various accounts. In the reigns of the two first Ptolemies, many of the Jews were sent into Egypt as slaves. And when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, he sent the greater part of those captives, who were upwards of seventeen years of age, to the works in Egypt: such as were under that age he sold for slaves; but so little care was taken of them, that no less than eleven thousand perished for want. This is confirmed by St. Jerome, who says, that, "after their last overthrow, many thousands of them were sold: that those who could not be sold, were transported into Egypt, and perished by shipwreck or famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants."

"And ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it." Deut. xxviii. 63. This was amply fulfilled when the ten tribes were carried into captivity by the king of Assyria, and other nations were planted in their stead; and when the two other tribes were carried away captives to Babylon; besides other captives and transportations of the people at different periods. Afterwards, when the emperor Adrian had subdued the rebellious Jews, he published an edict, in which he not only forbade them, on pain of death, from setting foot in Jerusalem, but prohibited them from even entering into the country of Judea. From that time to the present, Judea has been in the possession of foreign lords and masters, few of the Jews dwelling in it, and those only of a very low and servile condition. This has been clearly proved by several modern travellers, particularly Mr. Sandys, who, in speaking of the Holy Land, says, "it is for the most part now inhabited by Moors and Arabians; the one possessing the vallies, and the other the mountains. Turks there be few; but many Greeks, with other Christians, of all sects and nations, such as impute to the place an adherent holiness. Here are also some Jews, yet they inherit no part of the land, but live as aliens in their own country."

The different tribes carried into captivity.

Thus have the Jews been "plucked from off the land which they possessed." But this was not all, for, according to the prophecy, they were to be dispersed into all nations: "And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth unto the other." Deut. xxviii. 64. These words were partly fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity; but they have been more amply fulfilled since the great dispersion of the Jews by the Romans. What people, indeed, have been scattered so far and wide as they? and where is the nation which is a stranger to them, or to which they are strangers? They swarm in many parts of the east, and are spread through most of the countries in Europe and Africa. In short, they are to be found in all places where there is a circulation of trade and money, and may, properly speaking, be called the brokers of the whole world.

It was likewise foretold by Moses, that, though they should be so dispersed, they should not be totally destroyed, but should still subsist as a distinct people: "And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them." Levit. xxvi. 44. This part of the prophecy hath been most strictly fulfilled; for (as a celebrated writer observes) "the Jewish nation, like the bush of Moses, hath been always burning, but never consumed." And what an astonishing thing it is to think, that, after so many wars, battles, and sieges; after so many fires, famines, and pestilences; after so many rebellions, massacres, and persecutions; after so many years of captivity, slavery, and misery, they have not been utterly destroyed, but are still scattered among all nations, and subsist as a distinct people!

They were to suffer greatly in their dispersion, and not to rest long in any place. "And among these nations thou shalt find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest." Deut. xxxiii. 65. This likewise hath been amply fulfilled; for so far

The Jews not to rest long in any place.

far have they been from finding rest, that they have been banished from city to city, and from country to country. In many places they have been banished, recalled, and then banished again.

But they were not only to be banished from their own country, and dispersed into various parts throughout the world, but likewise, wherever they went, were to be "oppressed and spoiled evermore," and their "houses" and "vineyards," their "oxen" and "asses," to be taken from them. Deut. xxviii. 29, &c. That this has been strictly fulfilled, will evidently appear, when we consider the very frequent and great seizures that have been made of their effects in almost all countries. How often has heavy fines been laid on them by the princes of the different nations in which they have dwelt? and how often have they been obliged to secure their lives by the forfeiture of their possessions? Of this there have been innumerable instances, and some even in our own country. King Henry III. of England, always laid a heavy tax on the Jews at every low ebb of his fortunes. "One Abraham, (says a celebrated writer,) who was found a delinquent, was forced to pay seven hundred marks for his redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested, that the king had taken from him, at times, thirty thousand marks of silver, besides two hundred marks of gold. And in like manner he used many others of the Jews." And when they were banished, in the reign of Edward I. all their estates were confiscated to the crown.

"Their sons and daughters should be given unto another people." Deut. xxviii. 32. This has been likewise fulfilled; for, in several countries, but more particularly in Spain and Portugal, their children have been taken from them, by order of the government, to be educated in the popish religion.

"And they should be mad for the sight of their eyes which they should see." Deut. xxviii. 34. That this part of the prophecy has been most amply fulfilled we have the clearest evidence; for into what madness, fury, and desperation, have they repeatedly been driven by the cruel usage, extortions, and oppressions, they have undergone at different periods, and in different parts of the world.

The prophecy farther tells us, that they "should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word to all nations." Deut. xxviii. 37. And do we not hear and see this part of the prophecy fulfilled every day? Is not the avarice, usury, and hard-heartedness of a Jew grown proverbial? and are not their persons generally odious among all sorts of people? Mahometans, heathens, and Christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abusing, and persecuting the Jews. In most places where they are tolerated, they live in a separate quarter by themselves, and wear some badge of distinction. Their very countenances commonly distinguish them from the rest of mankind; and they are, in all respects, treated as if they were of another species.

Lastly, "their plagues should be wonderful, even great plagues, and of long continuance." Deut. xxviii. 59. And have not their plagues continued upwards of seventeen hundred years? What nation hath suffered so much, and yet continued so long? What nation hath subsisted as a distinct people in their own country so long as these have done in their dispersion into all countries? And what a standing miracle is this exhibited to the view and observation of the whole world!

These astonishing prophecies were delivered upwards of three thousand years ago, and, from the fulfilment of them, which we see every day taking place in the world, are the strongest proofs that can be given of the Divine legation of Moses. They are truly, as Moses foretold they would be, "a sign and a wonder for ever. Moreover, all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenest not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, and his

"statutes which he commanded thee: and they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever." Deut. xxviii. 45, 46.

CHAP. VI.

The prophecies of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Micah, Ezekiel, and other prophets, relative to the Jews.

THE great legislator Moses was not the only person who foretold the punishments to be inflicted on the Jews for their manifold transgressions. The like was foretold by many other persons, who received the spirit of inspiration. These prophecies were delivered at different periods, and were designed to reform the Jews from the wicked course of life to which they were naturally addicted; but as they continued inflexible, the prophecies denounced against them were strictly fulfilled.

It was among others of the prophecies foretold, that the ten tribes of Israel should be carried away captives by the king of Assyria; and that the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin should be made captives to the king of Babylon; but with this difference, that the two tribes should be restored, and return from their captivity, but the ten tribes should be totally annihilated.

The time when the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin was to take place, as also that of their restoration, was foretold by the prophet Jeremiah. "This whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." Jer. xxv. 11. And again, "Thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place." Jer. xxix. 10.

This prophecy was delivered "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon." Jer. xxv. 1. In the same year the prophecy began to take place; for Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea, besieged and took Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim his subject and tributary, and transported the finest children of the royal family, and of the nobility, to Babylon, to be brought up as slaves in his palaces. He likewise destroyed the temple, carried away the sacred vessels, and placed them in the temple of his idol Bel at Babylon. Almost the whole of the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem were carried into captivity, there being only a few, of very poor and mean condition, left to till and cultivate the land.

In this situation they remained for seventy years, when Cyrus, king of Babylon, issued a proclamation for the restoration of the Jews, and for the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem. In consequence of this the Jews immediately returned to their own country, and dispersed themselves into the respective cities they had formerly inhabited. The temple was begun, and carried on with great assiduity for some time, but, by the great interruption they met with from the Samaritans, was not finished till the reign of Darius, when all things were again restored to their former state. And thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, relative to the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

The prophecy against the ten tribes of Israel was much more severe than that against the other two. The tribe of Ephraim, which was the chief of these, is often put for the whole ten; and it was predicted that "within threescore and four years shall Ephraim be broken that it be not a people." Isaiah vii. 8. This prophecy was delivered in the first year of Ahaz, king of Judah, when Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, formed a conjunction to reduce Jerusalem; and it was to comfort Ahaz, and the house of David, in these difficulties and distresses, that the prophet Isaiah was commissioned to assure him, that the kings of Syria and Israel should remain only the heads of their respective cities; that they

The captivity of the tribes was foretold.

The prophecy of Jeremiah.

they should not prevail against Jerusalem; and that, within sixty and five years, Israel should be so broken that it should be no more a people.

The fulfilment of this prophecy commenced in the reign of Ahaz, when Tiglath-pileser took many of the Israelites, "even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive into Assyria, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan." 1 Chron. v. 26. 2 Kings xv. 29. His son Salmaneser, in the reign of Hezekiah, took Samaria, and carried away still greater numbers "unto Assyria, and put them in Holah and in Habor by the river of Gozan," (the same places where their brethren had been carried before them,) "and in the cities of the Medes." 2 Kings xviii. 11. His son Sennacherib came up also against Hezekiah, and all the fenced cities of Judah; but his army was miraculously defeated, and he himself was forced to return with shame and disgrace into his own country, where he was murdered by two of his sons. 2 Kings xvii. 19. Another of his sons, Esarhaddon, succeeded him on the throne; but it was some time before he could recover his kingdom from these disorders, and think of reducing Syria and Palestine again to his obedience: and then it was, and not till then, that he completed the ruin of the ten tribes, carried away the remains of the people, and, to prevent the land from becoming desolate, "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Hava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel." 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ephraim was broken from being a kingdom before, but it was now broken from being a people. And from that time to this, what account can be given of the people of Israel as distinct from those of Judah? Where have they subsisted all this time? And where is their situation, or what their present condition?

The Israelites extinct.

At their first dispersion they were carried into Assyria and Media; and if they subsisted any where, it is reasonable to imagine they might be found there in great abundance. But this is not the case; neither are they to be found in any of those parts where it has been asserted, by different Jewish writers, they took up their residence. It is the opinion of some, that they returned into their own country, with the other two tribes, after the Babylonish captivity. The decree, indeed, of Cyrus, extended to "all the people of God;" Ezra i. 3. and that of Artaxerxes to "all the people of Israel;" vii. 13. and no doubt but many of the Israelites took advantage of these decrees, and returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra to their own cities. But still the main body of the ten tribes remained behind; and if the whole did not return at this time, they cannot be supposed to have returned in a body at any time after; for we do not read of any such circumstance in history, neither of the time or occasion of their return. The celebrated dean of Prideaux says, "the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away, (excepting only some few who, joining themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity, returned with them,) soon going into the usages and idolatry of the nations among whom they were planted, (to which they were too much addicted while in their own land,) after a time, became wholly absorbed, and swallowed up in them, and thence utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after spoken of."

But if the whole race of Israel became thus extinct, and perished for ever, it may be asked, how can the numerous prophecies be fulfilled, which promise the future conversion and restoration of Israel as well as Judah? The truth we conceive to lie between these two opinions. Neither did they all return to Jerusalem, nor did all, who remained behind, comply with the idolatry of the Gentiles, among whom they lived. But whether they re-

mained, or whether they returned, this prophecy of Isaiah was still fulfilled; the kingdom, the commonwealth, the state of Israel was utterly broken; they no longer subsisted as a distinct people from Judah; they no longer maintained a separate religion; they joined themselves to the Jews, from whom they had been unhappily divided; they lost the name of Israel as a name of distinction, and were thenceforth all in common called Jews.

It appears, from the book of Esther, that there were great numbers of Jews in all the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus, or Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and they could not all be the remains of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had refused to return to Jerusalem with their brethren: they must, at least many of them, have been the descendants of the ten tribes, whom the kings of Assyria had carried away captive; but yet they are all spoken of as one and the same people: and all, without distinction, are denominated Jews.

Great numbers of Jews in Persia.

We read, in the Acts of the Apostles, that there went to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of Pentecost, "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia." Acts ii. 9. These men came from the countries wherein the ten tribes had been placed, and, in all probability, were therefore some of their posterity; but yet these, as well as the rest, are styled "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven." Acts ii. 5. Those also of the ten tribes, who returned to Jerusalem, united with the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and formed but one nation, one body of Jews. They might, perhaps, for some ages, have preserved their genealogies; but they were now incorporated together; and the distinction of tribes and families is, in a great measure, lost among them; and they have all, from the Babylonish captivity to this day, been comprehended under the general name of Jews.

There were many persons of all the ten tribes in being during the time of St. Paul's ministry; for he speaketh of "the twelve tribes hoping to attain to the promise of God." Acts xxxvi. 7. And St. James addresses his epistle "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." James i. 1. And there is no doubt but there are many of the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel still in being, though they cannot be separated from the rest. They are all confounded with the other Jews, and there is no difference between them. The Samaritans, indeed, (of whom there are still some remains at Shechem, and the neighbouring towns,) pretend to be the descendants of the children of Israel; but they are really derived from those nations which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, planted in the country, after he had carried thence the ten tribes into captivity. And it is for this reason that the Jews call them by no other name than Cuthites, which was the name of the principal person of those nations. They exclaim against them as the worst of heretics, and, if possible, have a greater aversion to them than to the Christians.

It may, perhaps, be asked by some, what could be the reason that such a material difference and distinction should be made between the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the ten tribes of Israel. Why the latter should be, as it were, lost in their captivity, and the former restored, and preserved several ages after. To this it is answered, that the ten tribes had totally revolted from God to the worship of the golden calves in Dan and Bethel; and for this, and their idolatry and wickedness, they were suffered to remain in the land of their captivity. The Jews were restored, not so much for their own sakes, as for the sake of the promises made unto their forefathers, namely, the promise to Judah, that the Messiah should come of his tribe; and the promise to David, that the Messiah should be born of his family. It was therefore necessary for the tribe of Judah, and the families of that tribe, to be kept distinct until the Divine dispensation should be accomplished. But since these ends have been fully answered, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are

Distinction between the tribes of Israel and those of Judah and Benjamin.

are as much confounded as any of the rest: all distinction of families and genealogies is lost among them; and (as bishop Chandler observes) the Jews themselves acknowledge as much, in saying, that, when the Messiah shall come, it will be part of his office "to sort their families, restore their genealogies, and set aside strangers."

How astonishingly must it engage the attention of the most serious, when they reflect on the preservation of the Jews through so many ages, notwithstanding the great efforts that have been made, at different periods, totally to extirpate them, and that, instead of themselves, all their enemies have been finally reduced. But, wonderful as these events may appear, they are still made much more so by their being signified beforehand by the spirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah: "Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord, for I am with thee, for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee." Jer. xlv. 28.

Present state
of the Jews.

There is not certainly, either in ancient or modern history, any circumstance to be found so remarkably singular as that of the preservation of the Jews to the present period of time. They have been dispersed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. They still live as a distinct people, and yet they do not live any where according to their own laws: they neither elect their own magistrates, or enjoy the full exercise of their religion. Their solemn feasts and sacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been now, for many ages, in the hands of strangers and aliens, who will not suffer them to come thither. No people on the whole face of the earth have continued unmixed so long as they have. The northern nations have come in great multitudes into the more southern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be discerned and distinguished? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortunes in foreign parts; but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France, who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who, from time to time, have settled there? In Spain, who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors the Spaniards, and the Goths and Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some time? In England, who can pretend to say, with certainty, which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The most ancient and honourable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance. But the Jews can go up higher than any nation; they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are descended, but they know certainly that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships which they have undergone in almost all countries, should, one would think, have made them desirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profess it, they glory in it: and after so many wars, massacres, and persecutions, they still subsist, they still are very numerous: and what but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner as no other nation upon earth hath been preserved?

Different
oppressors
of the Jews.

While we behold, with astonishment, the wise dispensations of Providence, in having protected the Jews even to the present period, we cannot, without equal astonishment, reflect on the circumstance of his having been pleased likewise utterly to destroy their enemies. The first oppressors of the Jews were the Egyptians, who detained them from their own land, compelled them into captivity, treated them with great cruelty, and kept them for many years in bondage. The Assyrians carried away captives the ten tribes of Israel, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, especially Antiochus Epi-

phanes, cruelly persecuted them: and the Romans utterly dissolved the Jewish state, and dispersed the people so that they have never been able to recover their city and country from that time to the present.

And where are now these great and famous monarchies, which, in their time, subdued and oppressed the people of God? are they not vanished, and not only their power, but almost even their very names, lost on the earth? The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, were overthrown, and entirely subjugated by the Persians: and the Persians (it is remarkable) were the restorers of the Jews, as well as the destroyers of their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were swallowed up by the Romans: and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken into pieces by the repeated incursions of the northern nations; while the Jews are subsisting as a distinct people to this day. And how wonderful is it to think, that the vanquished should so many ages survive the victors, and the former be spread all over the world, while the latter are no more!

The Divine vengeance hath not only punished nations for their cruelties to the Jews, but hath likewise pursued even single persons who have been their persecutors and oppressors. The first-born of Pharaoh was destroyed, and himself, with his host, drowned in the Red Sea. Most of those who oppressed Israel in the days of the Judges came to an untimely end. Nebuchadnezzar was stricken with madness, and the crown was soon transferred from his family to strangers. Antiochus Epiphanes died in great agonies, with ulcers and vermin issuing from his body, so that the filthiness of him not only became intolerable to his attendants, but even to himself. Herod, who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews, died in the like miserable manner. Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarously plundered and oppressed the Jews of Alexandria, was afterwards banished and slain. And Caligula, who persecuted the Jews, for refusing to pay Divine honour to his statue, was murdered in the flower of his age, after a short and wicked reign.

Ever since the Jews have absolutely rejected the gospel, and been no longer the people of God, there have not been any visible manifestations of a Divine interposition in their favour. As a punishment for their infidelity, they have, for ages past, been dispersed all over the world, without having either a temporal or spiritual protector. They are despised in all parts where they inhabit, and are the general scoff and ridicule of the people of all kingdoms.

Another most distinguished and memorable instance of the truth of prophecy is, the desolation of Judea. This prophecy was delivered so long ago as the time of Moses: "I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste." Levit. xxvi. 33. It was likewise foretold by the prophet Isaiah, who (speaking as prophets frequently did, of things future as present) says, "Your country is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city." Isaiah, chap. i. 7, 8, 9. This last passage may immediately relate to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah; but it must have a farther reference to the devastations made by the Chaldeans, and especially by the Romans. In this sense it is understood by most ancient interpreters; and the following words imply no less than a general destruction, and almost total extinction of the people, such as they suffered under the Chaldeans, but more fully under the Romans: "Except the Lord of Hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah."

In other places the same thing is either expressed or implied: and hath not the state of Judea now for many ages been exactly answerable to this description? That a country should be depopulated and

The
prophecy
of the
Jews
punished

Desolate
of Judea

and desolated by the incursions and depredations of foreign armies is nothing wonderful, but that it should lie so many ages in this miserable condition is more than man can foresee, and could be revealed only by the Divine will.

The long wretched state of the land of Judea, in being forsaken by its original inhabitants, and left desolate and uncultivated, has occasioned some controversy. It has been said, to barren a country could never have been "a land flowing with milk and honey," nor have supplied and maintained such multitudes as it is represented to have done. But those who make this observation, do not see or consider, that hereby the prophecies are fulfilled.

The land of Judea, formerly a fertile country.

From the concurrent testimonies of those who best knew it (namely, the people who inhabited it) the land of Judea was formerly a good and fertile country. Both Aristotle and Josephus speak largely in commendation of its fruitfulness; and though something may be allowed to national prejudices, yet they would hardly have had the confidence to assert a thing which all the world could easily contradict and disprove. Nay, there are even heathen authors who bear testimony to the fruitfulness of the land; though we presume that, after the Babylonish captivity, it never recovered to be again what it was before. Strabo, indeed, describes the country about Jerusalem as rocky and barren, but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecataeus giveth it the character of one of the best and most fertile countries. And Tacitus saith, "it raineth seldom; the soil is fruitful; fruits abound as with us; and, besides them, the balsam and palm trees." And, notwithstanding the long desolation of the land, there are still visible such marks and tokens of fruitfulness, as may convince any one that it once deserved the character which is given it in the sacred writings.

Description of Judea by Mr. Maundrell.

To satisfy those who may be doubtful of the truth of this assertion, we shall take notice of the observations made by Mr. Maundrell and Dr. Shaw, two ingenious travellers of our own nation. The first of these says, "All along this day's travel, from Kane Leban to Beer, and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before; presenting nothing to the view, in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of this pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations, finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed, in their minds, such high ideas, from the description given of it in the word of God; in so much that it almost startles their faith, when they reflect how it could be possible for a land like this to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the number given in by Joab (2 Sam. xxiv.) amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain that any man, who is not biased to infidelity, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples. For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills must have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain: nay, perhaps as much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to if it were all reduced to a perfect level. For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines along the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders they supported the mould from tumbling or being washed down; and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains. Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps wherever you go on all the mountains in Palestine. Thus the

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"very rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot of ground in this whole land that was not formerly improved, to the production of something or other, ministering to the sustenance of human life. For nothing can be more fruitful than the plain countries, whether for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently of milk. The hills, though improper for all cattle, except goats, being disposed into such beds as are before described, served very well to bear corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden stuff, which makes the principal food of these countries for several months in the year. The most rocky parts of all, which could not well be adjusted in that manner for the production of corn, might yet serve for the plantation of vines and olive trees; which delight to extract the one its fatness, the other its sprightly juice, chiefly out of such dry and stony places. And the great plain joining to the Dead Sea, which, by reason of its saltiness, might be thought unserviceable both for cattle, corn, olives, and vines, had yet its proper usefulness for the nourishment of bees, and for the fabric of honey; of which Josephus gives us his testimony. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. cap. 4. And I have reason to believe it, because, when I was there, I perceived, in many places, a smell of honey and wax, as strong as if one had been in an apiary. Why then might not this country very well maintain the vast number of its inhabitants, being in every part so productive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey, which are the principal food of these eastern nations? The constitution of their bodies, and the nature of their climate, inclining them to a more abstemious diet than we use in England, and other colder regions."

In the description which Dr. Shaw gives, he asserts, that "were the Holy Land as well peopled and cultivated as in former times, it would be still more fruitful than the very best part of the coast of Syria and Phœnice; for the soil itself (says he) is generally much richer, and, all things considered, yields a more preferable crop. Thus the cotton that is gathered in the plains of Ramah, Elsdraelon, and Zabulun, is in more esteem than what is cultivated near Sidon and Tripoly. Neither is it possible for pulse, wheat, or any sort of grain, to be more excellent than what is commonly sold in Jerusalem. The barrenness, or rather scarcity, which some authors may either ignorantly or maliciously complain of, does not proceed from the natural unfruitfulness of the country, but from want of inhabitants, and the great aversion there is to labour and industry in those few who possess it. There are, besides, such perpetual discords and depredations among the governors who share this fine country, that, allowing it was better peopled, there would be small encouragement to sow, when it was uncertain who should gather in the harvest. Otherwise the land is still capable of affording its neighbours the like supplies of corn and oil, which it is known to have done in the time of Solomon. The parts particularly about Jerusalem, being described to be rocky and mountainous, have been therefore supposed to be barren and unfruitful. Yet, granting this conclusion, which is far from being just, a kingdom is not to be denominated barren or unfruitful from one part of it only, but from the whole. Nay, farther, the blessing that was given to Judah was not of the same kind with the blessing of Asher or of Issachar, that 'his bread should be fat,' or 'his land should be pleasant,' but that 'his eyes should be red with wine, and his teeth should be white with milk.' Gen. xlv. 12. Moses also maketh milk and honey (the chief dainties and subsistence of the earlier ages, as they continue to be of the Bedoween Arabs) to be 'the glory of all lands;' all which productions are either actually enjoyed, or at least might be, by proper care and application. The plenty of wine alone is wanting at present; yet, from the goodness of that little which is still made at Jerusalem and Hebron, we find

Dr. Shaw's description of Judea.

"find that these barren rocks (as they are called) might yield a much greater quantity, if the ambitious Turk and Arab would permit a further increase and improvement to be made of the vine, &c."

Infidelity of the Jews.

The prophets Jeremiah, Isaiah, and others, not only foretold the desolation of the country of the Jews, and their dispersion through all parts of the world, but likewise their infidelity in disbelieving the Messiah, and what would be the consequences that would result therefrom. Of this there are numerous instances; but it will be sufficient to produce one or two passages from the prophet Isaiah. "Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" Isaiah liii. 1. These words both St. John and St. Paul have expressly applied to the unbelieving Jews of their time. The prophet likewise assigns the reason why they would not receive the Messiah, namely, because of his low and afflicted condition: and it is certain they rejected him on this account, having all along expected him to come as a temporal prince and deliverer in great power and glory.

Isaiah is commissioned to declare the Divine judgments to the people for their infidelity and disobedience.

The prophet Isaiah was commissioned to declare unto the people the judgments of God for their infidelity and disobedience. And he said, "Go ye and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the hearts of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed." Isaiah vi. 9, &c.

The prophets, in the style of scripture, are said "to do" what they declare "will be done:" and in like manner Jeremiah is said to be "set over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant;" Jer. i. 10. because he was authorized to make known the purposes and decrees of God, and because these events would follow in consequence of his prophecies. "Make the hearts of this people fat," is therefore as much as to say, "Denounce my judgments upon this people, that their hearts shall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes shut; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed." This prophecy might relate, in some measure, to the state of the Jews before the Babylonish captivity; but it did not receive its full completion till the days of Our Saviour: and in this sense it is understood and applied by the writers of the New Testament, and by Our Saviour himself.

The infidelity and obstinacy of the Jews to be of long duration.

Jeremiah is then informed, that this infidelity and obstinacy of his countrymen should be of long duration. "Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate; and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land." What a remarkable gradation is here in the denouncing of these judgments! Not only Jerusalem and "the cities should be wasted without inhabitants," but even the single "houses" should be "without man;" and not only the "houses" of the cities should be "without man," but even the country should be "utterly desolate;" and not only the people should be removed out of the "land," but "the Lord" should "remove them far away;" and they should not be removed for a short period, but there should be "a great" or rather "a long forsaking in the midst of the land."

And have not we seen all these particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews laboured under a spiritual blindness and insatiation in "hearing but not understanding," in "seeing but not perceiving," the Messiah, after the accomplishment of so many prophecies, and after the performance of so many miracles? And in consequence of their refusing to "convert and be healed," have not "their cities been wasted without inhabitant, and their

"houses without man?" Hath not their "land been utterly desolate?" Have they not been "removed far away," even into the most distant parts of the earth? And hath not their removal or banishment been now upwards of 1700 years duration? Do they not still continue deaf and blind, unbelieving and obstinate?

When this prophecy was delivered, the Jews gloried in being the peculiar people of God; and would any Jew of himself have either thought, or said, that his nation would, in process of time, become an infidel and reprobate for many ages, oppressed by man, and forsaken by God? It was more than 750 years before Christ that the prophet Isaiah predicted these things; and how could he have so done, unless he had been illuminated by the Divine vision? or how could they have succeeded accordingly, unless the spirit of prophecy had been the Spirit of God?

Of the like nature are the prophecies concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. How could such an event be foreseen hundreds of years before it happened? But the prophets are full of the glorious subject, and speak with delight and rapture of the universal kingdom of the Messiah: that "God would give unto him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession." Psalm ii. 8. That "all the ends of the world should remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations should worship before him." Psalm xxii. 27. That in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord should be established on the top of the mountain, and should be exalted above the hills, and all people should flow unto it." Micah iv. 1. (which passage is also to be found in Isaiah ii. 2.) That "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts." Malachi i. 11.

But the prophet Isaiah is more copious upon this as well as other evangelical subjects; and his 49th and 60th chapters treat particularly of the glory of the church in the abundant access of the Gentiles. "It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth." Isaiah xlix. 6. And again, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee, &c." Isaiah lx. 1, 3, 5, &c.

The Jews have applied these prophecies to the proselytes whom they have gained in the different nations into which they have been dispersed; but this is no less absurd than vain. The number of their proselytes was very inconsiderable, and nothing to answer these pompous descriptions. Neither was their religion ever designed, by its founder, for an universal religion, their worship and sacrifices being confined to one certain place, whither all the males were obliged to repair thrice every year; so that it was plainly calculated for a particular people, and could never become the religion of the whole world. There was, indeed, to be a religion, which was to be designed for all nations, to be preached in all, and to be received in all: but what prospect or probability was there that such a generous institution should proceed from such a narrow-minded people as the Jews, or that the Gentiles should ever receive a religion from the very people whom they most hated and despised? Was it not much more likely that the Jews would be corrupted by the idolatrous nations around them, and be induced to comply with the maxims of their powerful neighbours, than that they should be the happy instruments of reforming the world, and converting some of all nations to the worship of the true God? The

The prophet farther intimates, that this revolution (the greatest that ever happened in the religious world) should be effected by a few people, of low rank and education. "A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation." Isaiah lx. 22.

The commission given by Our Blessed Saviour to his apostles, was, "Go, teach all nations." And who were the persons to whom this commission was given? Was it to those who might have been thought best qualified to carry it into execution, such as the rich, the wise, the mighty of this world? No: they were chiefly a few poor fishermen, of low parentage and education, of no learning or eloquence, of no policy or address, of no worldly repute or authority, despised as Jews by the rest of mankind, and as the meanest and worst of Jews by the Jews themselves. These were the persons (strange and wonderful as it may appear) who were to contend with the prejudices of all the world, the superstitions of the people, the interests of the priests, the vanity of the philosophers, the pride of rulers, the malice of Jews, the learning of Greece, and the power of the Roman empire.

This great revolution was not only to be brought about by a few persons of mean birth, but it was likewise to be effected in a very short space of time. "I the Lord will hasten it in his time." Isaiah lx. 22.

After the ascension of Our Saviour, the number of the disciples together was about "an hundred and twenty;" Acts i. 15. but they soon increased and multiplied. The first sermon preached by St. Peter added unto them "about three thousand souls;" Acts ii. 41. and the second made up the number "about five thousand." Acts iv. 4.

Previous to the final destruction of Jerusalem (for about the space of forty years) the gospel had been so spread, that it was preached in almost every region of the then known world. In the reign of Constantine the Great, Christianity became the religion of the empire; and, after having suffered a little under Julian, it entirely prevailed, and triumphed over paganism and idolatry; and still does prevail in the most civilized and improved parts of the earth. All this was more than man could foresee, and much more than man could execute; and to this day we experience the good effects of these prophecies.

The speedy propagation of the gospel could not have been effected by persons so unequal to the task, if the same Divine Spirit, who foretold it, had not likewise assisted them in it, according to the promise, "I the Lord will hasten it in his time." In short, we may be as certain as if we had beheld it with our own eyes, that the matter really was as represented by the Evangelist; "They went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following." Mark xvi. 20.

But neither the prophecies concerning the Gentiles, nor those concerning the Jews, have yet received their full and entire completion. Our Saviour hath not yet had "the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;" Psalm ii. 8. "All the ends of the earth have not yet turned unto the Lord," xxii. 27. "All people, nations, and languages," have not yet "served him;" Dan. vii. 14. These things have hitherto been only partially, but they will, in time, be even literally fulfilled. Neither are the Jews yet made "an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations." Isaiah lx. 15. The time is not yet come, when "violence shall no more be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction within their borders;" ver. 18. God's promises to them are not yet fulfilled to the extent. "Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, even they and their children, and their childrens

children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever." Ezek. xxxvii. 21. 25. "Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen; but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God." Ezek. xxxix. 28, 29.

However, what hath already been accomplished, is a sufficient pledge and earnest of what is yet to come; and we have all imaginable reason to believe, since so many of these prophecies have been fulfilled, that the remaining ones will be fulfilled also; that there will be yet a greater harvest of the nations, and the yet unconverted parts of the earth will be enlightened with the knowledge of the Lord; and that the Jews will, in God's good time, be converted to Christianity, and, upon their conversion, be again restored to their native country.

The prophet Hosea says, "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, (or altar,) and without an ephod, (or priest to wear an ephod,) or without teraphim, (or Divine manifestations.) Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." Hosea iii. 4, 5.

The Jews were once the peculiar people of God: and (as St. Paul saith) "Hath God cast away his people? God forbid." Rom. xi. 1. We see that, after so many ages, they are still preserved, by a miraculous Providence, a distinct people; and why is such a continued miracle exerted but for the greater illustration of the Divine truth, and the better accomplishment of the Divine promises, as well those which are yet to be, as those which are already fulfilled?

The great empires and powers which have heretofore, in their turns, subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin: because though they executed the Divine purposes in oppressing the Jews, yet that was more than they knew; and their intentions, in acting as they did, were only to gratify their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And since such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, in former times, it should serve as a warning to all those who may, at any time, or upon any occasion, hereafter, be inclined to raise a clamour and persecution against them.

It must be allowed that the Jews are exceeding blameable for still persisting in their infidelity, after so many means have been taken to bring them to a sense of conviction; but this does not authorize us to proscribe, abuse, injure, and oppress them, as Christians, of more zeal than either knowledge or charity, have, in all ages, been inclined to do. "Charity is greater than faith;" and it is worse in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obstinate and unbelieving.

It may be observed by some, that shewing compassion to these unhappy people would be a means of defeating the fulfilment of the prophecies. But this is far from being the case; they were to be harassed and oppressed only by wicked nations; the good were to shew mercy on them; and we should chuse rather to be the dispensers of God's mercies than the executioners of his judgments.

If we read the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, we shall there see with that great apostle of the Gentiles (who certainly understood the prophecies better than any of us can pretend to do) faith of the infidelity of the Jews. Some of the Gentiles of his time valued themselves upon their superior advantages, and he reproves them for it, that they, who "were cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and were grafted, contrary to nature, into a good olive-tree," should presume to "boast against the natural branches." Rom.

Prophecy of Hosea.

The Jews not to be injured or oppressed.

Number of Disciples after Ascension.

The prophecies yet to be fully completed.

Rom. xi. 18, 24. But what would he have said, if they had made religion an instrument of faction, and had been for stirring up a persecution against them?

Christians of all denominations should consider and reflect, that it is to the Jews we owe the oracles of God, and the scriptures of the New Testament as well as the Old. We should consider that "the glorious company of the apostles," as well as the "goodly fellowship of the prophets," were all Jews. We should consider that "of them as concerning the flesh Christ came," the Saviour of the world; and surely something of kindness and gratitude is due for such infinite obligations.

Though the Jews are now broken off, yet they are not utterly cast away. "Because of unbelief," as St. Paul argueth, they "were broken off, and" thou "standest by faith; be not high-minded, but fear." Rom. xi. 20. There will be a time when they will be grafted in again, and again become the people of God: for, as the apostle proceeds, "I would not brethren that ye should be ignorant of this my story lest you should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved." Rom. xi. 25, 26.

And which now, it may be asked, is the most likely method to contribute to the conversion of these unhappy people? which are the most natural means of reconciling them to us and our religion? Is it to be effected by prayer, argument, long-suffering, gentleness and goodness; or by noise, invective, injury, and outrage; the malice of some, and the folly and madness of more? They certainly cannot be worse now than when they crucified the Son of God, and persecuted his apostles. But what saith Our Blessed Saviour himself? "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." Luke xxiii. 34. And what saith his apostle St. Paul? "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved." Rom. x. 1.

In conformity to these blessed examples, our church hath also taught us to pray for them: and how can prayer and persecution consist and agree together? Those who encourage persecution of any kind, are not only pretended friends to the church, but real enemies to religion. All true members of the church, all true Protestants, all true Christians, will, as the apostle adviseth, "put away all bitterness and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, with all malice." Ephes. iv. 31. And they will all join heart and voice in that excellent collect, "Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word: and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord."

CHAP. VII.

Prophecies concerning the ancient city of Nineveh.

The Jews not utterly cast away. The fate of other nations foretold as well as that of the Jews.

THE first great prophecies contained in the Old Testament are those which more immediately relate to the Jews themselves, who were once the peculiar people of God; and the principal subjects of those prophecies are the various changes and revolutions that were to happen in the Jewish church and state. But the spirit of prophecy is not confined to the Jews alone; there are other subjects occasionally introduced; and for the greater manifestation of Divine Providence, the fate of other nations is also foretold, and more especially those which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, and had intercourse and connection with the Jews.

It is much to be lamented, that, of these eastern nations, and of these early times, we have no regular histories, but only a few fragments which have escaped the general shipwreck of time. From these,

however, we see enough to make us admire the great works of Providence; and from these are clearly shown, that the revolutions of cities and kingdoms hath been such as was long ago foretold by the prophets.

The first prophecies we shall notice on this subject are those relative to the ancient city of Nineveh, once the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, and whose inhabitants not only destroyed the kingdom of Israel, but likewise greatly oppressed the kingdom of Judah.

The prophet Isaiah, in denouncing the judgments of God against the Assyrians, says, "O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is my indignation." Isaiah x. 3. It was the will of Providence that those people should be employed as the ministers of his wrath, and executioners of his vengeance, against the perverse and obstinate Jews. "I will send him against an hypocritical nation; and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire in the streets." Isaiah x. 6. But it was far from any intent of the Assyrians to execute the Divine will, or to chastise the vices of mankind; they only meant to extend their conquests, and establish their own dominion upon the ruins of others: "Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off nations not a few:" ver. 7. Wherefore, when they shall have served the purposes of Divine Providence, they shall be severely punished for their pride and ambition, their tyranny and cruelty to their neighbours: "Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion, and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks:" ver. 12.

There was no prospect of such an event as this while the Assyrians were in the midst of their successes and triumphs; but still the word of the prophet prevailed; and it was not long after the calamities they brought upon the Jews, the Assyrian empire (properly so called) was overthrown, and Nineveh destroyed.

The city of Nineveh was one of the largest and most ancient cities in the world. According to the best chronologers it was built not long after the flood, and very soon after the tower of Babel, by Nimrod; but being afterwards greatly enlarged by Ninus, from him it received its name. It was situated on the banks of the Tigris, and (according to the description given of it by Diodorus Siculus) was, in length, an hundred and fifty stadia; in breadth fourscore and ten; and in circumference, four hundred and seventy; which, being reduced to our measure, make it about twenty-one miles long, nine broad, and fifty-four round. How great the number of its inhabitants was, we may learn from "the six score thousand children who could not discern between their right hands and their left." Jonah iv. 11. And, according to a proportionate computation, there must have been, in the whole, not less than six hundred thousand persons.

The inhabitants of Nineveh, like those of other great cities, abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt in their morals. In consequence of this, God was pleased to commission the prophet Jonah to preach unto them the necessity of repentance, as the only means of averting their impending destruction: and such was the success of his preaching, that both the king and people repented, and turned from their evil ways, and thereby, for a time, escaped the executions of the Divine judgments.

But this repentance of the Ninevites, we may reasonably presume, was of no long continuance; for not many years after, we find the prophet Nahum foretelling the total and entire destruction of the city. Indeed, the whole of this prophecy relates to this single event; and the city was accordingly destroyed.

stroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, who, uniting together, subverted the whole Assyrian empire.

It is remarkable that the prophet Nahum not only foretold the destruction of Nineveh, but likewise the manner in which it was to be effected. He foretold that the Assyrians would be taken while they were drunken. "For while they be tolden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble full of dry." Nahum i. 10. And Diodorus Siculus says, "It was while the Assyrian army were feasting for their former victories, that those about Arbaces, (the general of the Median forces,) being informed, by some deserters, of the negligence and drunkenness in the camp of the enemy, assaulted them unexpectedly by night, and falling on them while they were in the utmost disorder, and unprepared, became masters of the camp, slew many of the soldiers, and drove the rest into the city."

The prophet Nahum likewise foretells, that "the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved." Nahum ii. 6. And Diodorus tells us, "there was an old prophecy, that Nineveh should not be taken till the river became an enemy to the city; and in the third year of the siege, the river, being swollen with continual rains, overflowed part of the city, and broke down the wall for twenty furlongs: that the king, thinking the oracle was fulfilled, and the river become an enemy to the city, built a large funeral pile in the palace, and collecting together all his wealth, and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himself and them in the palace; and the enemy entered the breach that the waters had made, and took the city."

Thus we find that what the prophet had predicted was literally fulfilled. "With an overflowing flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof" Nahum i. 8. He likewise promises the enemy much spoil of gold and silver. "Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end to the store, and glory out of all the pleasant furniture." Nahum ii. 9. And we read in Diodorus Siculus, that Arbaces carried many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatane, the royal city belonging to the Medes.

According to the prophecy of Nahum, the city was to be destroyed partly by water, and partly by fire. "Behold, the gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy bars." Nahum iii. 13. And we find, by Diodorus, that this literally took place; for, after the Medes and Babylonians had possessed themselves of the city, they set fire to it, and reduced the greater part of it to ashes.

The prophet Nahum was the principal person who foretold the total and entire destruction of the ancient city of Nineveh. "The Lord (saith he) with an over-running flood will make an utter end of the place thereof; he will make an utter end; affliction shall not rise up the second time." Chap. i. 8, 9. Again, "Where is the dwelling of the lions?" (meaning Nineveh, whose princes ravaged like lions:) "behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard." Chap. ii. 11, 13. And again, "Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the sun ariseth, they flee away, and their place is not known. Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria; thy nobles shall dwell in the dust; thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them: there is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap their hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?" Chap. iii. 17, 18, 19.

The prophet Zedekiah likewise, in the days of Josiah, king of Judah, foretold the same melancholy event. "The Lord will stretch out his hand against No. 54.

"the north, and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness: and flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations; both the cormorant and bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work: this is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me; how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her shall hiss and wag his hand." Zeph. ii. 13, &c.

It is not to be wondered at that, when those prophecies were at first delivered, the people should think it very unlikely they would ever be fulfilled. What probability, indeed, was there to think that so great a city, and which contained so many thousand inhabitants, should ever be totally destroyed? And yet so totally was it destroyed, that even the place where it stood is now scarcely known.

It has been already observed, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; and what we may reasonably suppose contributed to complete its ruin and devastation was, Nebuchadnezzar's soon after enlarging and beautifying of Babylon. From that time no mention is made of Nineveh by any of the sacred writers; and the most ancient of the profane authors, who have occasion to say any thing about it, speak of it as a city that once was great and flourishing, but now destroyed and desolate.

The same accounts are given of it by all our modern travellers, and particularly by Thevenot, on whose authority Dean Prideaux relates, that "Mosul is situated on the west side of the river Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the Old Nineveh; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river, where are to be seen some of its rubbish, of great extent, even to this day."

Another modern traveller says, "In this country the famous city of Nineveh once stood, on the eastern bank of the river Tigris, opposite to the place where Mosul now stands. There is nothing now to be seen but heaps of rubbish, almost a league along the river Tigris, opposite to Mosul, which people imagine to be the remains of this vast city."

Such hath been the fate of the once great city of Nineveh; in the destruction of which is most amply manifested the great truths of the Divine predictions!

CHAP. VIII.

Prophecies concerning the city of Babylon.

THE city of Babylon, after the destruction of Nineveh, became not only the greatest and most magnificent metropolis in the east, but in the whole world. It is said, by some, to have been first built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria; while others assert that it was built by Balus, the successor of Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder, we may reasonably suppose it received very great improvements afterwards; and Nebuchadnezzar, in particular, enlarged and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner (as himself boasts) be said to have built it. "Is not this (says he) great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Dan. iv. 30. By one means or other Babylon became so great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire. It is called, in scripture, "great Babylon; the glory of kingdoms; the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency; the praise of the whole earth, &c." And its beauty, strength, grandeur, walls, temples, and palaces, are described with such pomp and magnificence by profane authors, that it must deservedly have been reputed one of the wonders of the world.

Prophecies concerning the city of Babylon.

It might naturally have been imagined that such a city as this was in no danger of ever being abandoned, much less of its coming to destruction. Such a city as this might surely, with less vanity than any other, boast that she should continue for ever; but, alas! great as it once was, the time did come when all its splendor was laid aside, and the whole became one continued scene of ruins.

The Baby-
lonians ene-
mies to the
Jews.

The inhabitants of Babylon were no less enemies to the Jews than those of Nineveh. The one subverted the kingdom of Israel, and the other the kingdom of Judah. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that there should be several prophecies relative to these two cities, and that the fate of Babylon should be foretold as well as that of Nineveh. "Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away: first the king of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones: Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts the God of Israel, Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria." Lament. i. 17, 18.

The pro-
phets Isaiah
and Jeremi-
ah foretell
the destruc-
tion of Ba-
bylon.

The prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah very plainly, and in a particular manner, foretold the destruction of this great city. They both lived during the declension of the kingdom of Judah. As they predicted the captivity of the Jews, so they likewise foretold the downfall of their enemies: and they speak with such assurance of the event, that they describe a thing future as if it were already past. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." Isaiah xxi. 9. "Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed; howl for her, take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed." Jeremiah li. 8.

Prophecies
relative to
Cyrus.

Cyrus, who was the conqueror of Babylon, and transferred the empire of the Babylonians to the Medes and Persians, was particularly foretold by name many years before he was born. Isaiah xlv. 28. xlv. 1. He is honoured with the appellation of the "Lord's anointed;" and the Lord is said to "have holden his right hand," and to have "girded him." He was certainly a person of very extraordinary abilities, and was raised up to be the instrument of Providence in executing great and wise purposes.

It was foretold that Cyrus should be a great conqueror; that he should "subdue nations before him: and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut." Isaiah xlv. 1. This was strictly fulfilled; for Cyrus subdued several kings, and took several cities, particularly Sardes and Babylon, and extended his conquests all over Asia, from the river Indus to the Ægean Sea.

It was likewise foretold that Cyrus should find great spoil and treasure among the nations he should conquer. "I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places." Isaiah xlv. 3. And the riches which Cyrus found in his conquests were of prodigious value, as appears from the accounts given us by Pliny. Nor can we wonder at it, when we consider that those parts of Asia, at that time, abounded in wealth and luxury. Babylon had been heaping up treasures many years: and the riches of Cræsus, king of Lydia, whom Cyrus conquered and took prisoner, are, in a manner, become proverbial.

The prophet Jeremiah not only foretells the destruction of the great city of Babylon, but likewise points out the time when it is to be effected. "These nations (says he, speaking of the Jews) shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years: And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation saith the Lord." Jer. xxv. 11, 12. This prophecy was delivered, as appears from the first verse of the chapter, "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar

"king of Babylon;" from which time there were seventy years to the taking of Babylon, and the restoration of the Jews from captivity. Nebuchadnezzar, after taking Jerusalem, transplanted the Jews to Babylon, in order to strengthen the place: their removal from thence must, therefore, have greatly weakened it; after which it became more and more distressed, till at length it was finally destroyed.

It was foretold that various nations should unite against Babylon. "The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdom of nations gathered together; the Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle." Isaiah xlii. 4. And particularly it was foretold, that the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz, (that is, the Armenians, Phrygians, and other nations,) should compose part of his army. "Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and, Ashchenaz." Jer. li. 27. And accordingly Cyrus's army consisted of various nations; and among them were those very people whom he had conquered before, and now obliged to attend him in this expedition.

It was foretold that the Babylonians should be terrified, and hide themselves within their walls. "The mighty men of Babylon have foreborn to fight, they have remained in their holds, their might hath failed, they became as women." Jer. li. 30. And accordingly we find that, after a battle or two, the Babylonians never recovered their courage to face the enemy in the field again. They retired within their wall; and the first time that Cyrus came with his army before the place, he could not provoke them to venture forth and try the fortune of arms, even though he sent a challenge to the king, to fight with him in single combat: and the last time that he went, he consulted with his officers about the best method of carrying on the siege, "since (saith he) they do not come forth and fight."

It was likewise foretold that the river should be dried up before the city should be taken. This appeared very extraordinary, indeed, the river being more than two furlongs broad, and deeper than the height of two men standing one upon another; so that the city was thought to be stronger and better fortified by the river than by the walls. But, notwithstanding this, the prophets predicted that the waters should be dried up. See Isaiah xlv. 27. Jer. l. 38. li. 36. And accordingly Cyrus turned the course of the river Euphrates, which ran through the midst of Babylon, and, by means of deep trenches and canals, so drained the waters, that the river became easily fordable for his soldiers to enter the city; and by those means Babylon (which was otherwise impregnable) was taken.

It was foretold that the city should be taken by surprise during the time of a feast. "I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware, thou art found and also caught." Jer. l. 24. "In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake saith the Lord." Jer. li. 57. And accordingly the city was taken in the night of a great annual feast, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and revelling, and not having the least suspicion that any immediate danger was at hand.

Such were the very extraordinary circumstances that attended the reduction of Babylon: and how could any man foresee or foretell such singular events, such remarkable circumstances, without revelation and inspiration from God?

If we examine still farther into these mysterious affairs, we shall see how these and other prophecies have, by degrees, been fulfilled; for, in the very nature of the thing, they could not be fulfilled all at

at once. As the prophets often speak of things to be in future, as if they were already effected, so they speak often of things to be brought about in process of time, as if they were to succeed immediately. The past, present, and to come, are all alike known to infinite wisdom; but it is probable that the intermediate time was not revealed to the minds of the prophets.

The prophet Isaiah addresseth Babylon by the name of a virgin, as having never before been taken by an enemy. "Come and sit down in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground," Isaiah xlvii. 1. And Herodotus saith expressly, that this was the first time Babylon was taken. After this it never more recovered its ancient splendor: from an imperial it became a tributary city; from being governed by its own kings, and governing strangers, it became itself to be governed by strangers; and the seat of empire being transplanted to Shushan, it decayed by degrees, till it was at length reduced to utter desolation.

We are told by Berofus, that, when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared to him very difficult to be taken on that account. And Xenophon informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, distributed their bell houses among his officers, imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them poor, as the best means of keeping them obedient.

But, notwithstanding these precautions, they rebelled against Darius; and, in order to hold out to the last extremity, they took all their women, and each man choosing one of them out of his own family whom he liked best, they strangled the rest, that unnecessary mouths might not consume their provisions. "And hereby (saith Dean Prideaux) was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which he foretold, 'That two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, and that these shall come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their forceries, and the great abundance of their enchantments,' Isaiah xlvii. 9. And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners of them?" They sustained the assault against all the efforts of Darius for twenty months; and at length the city was taken by stratagem. As soon as Darius had made himself master of the place, he ordered three thousand of the principal men to be crucified, and thereby fulfilled the prophecies of the cruelty which the Medes and Persians should use towards the Babylonians, Isaiah xlii. 17, 18. Jer. l. 42. He likewise demolished the wall, and burnt the gates; by which was remarkably fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah; "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire." Jer. li. 58.

When Xerxes returned from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal, (being a professed enemy to image worship,) and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expences, he seized upon the treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols in Babylon, thereby accomplishing the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground: Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth." Isaiah xxi. 9. lvi. 1. "Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces. And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up." Jer. l. 2. li. 44, &c. This part of the prophecy was most literally fulfilled, when the vessels of the House of God, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of Bel, were restored by order of Cyrus, and carried back to Jerusalem.

After the destruction of Babylon by the Persians, Alexander intended to have made it the seat of his empire, and actually set men at work to rebuild the temple of Balus, to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters into their own channel. But if his designs had taken effect, how could the prophecies have been fulfilled? And what a providence therefore it was, that his designs did not take effect, and that the breaches were never repaired? He met with some difficulties in the work; and death soon after put an end to this and all his other projects; and none of his successors ever attempted it. Seleucia being built a few years after in the neighbourhood, Babylon, in a little time, became wholly desolate, Seleucia not only robbing it of its inhabitants, but (according to Pliny) even of its name.

Babylon becomes wholly desolate.

That the prophecies relative to the fate of this ancient and once magnificent city, have, in the most strict manner, been fulfilled, appears from accounts given of it by a variety of authors, both ancient and modern. Among the former, Diodorus Siculus describes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and says, that only a small part of the city was then inhabited, the greatest part within the walls being filled. Strabo (who wrote not long after Diodorus) says, that one part of the city was demolished by the Persians, and the other by time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and especially after Seleucus Nicanor had built Seleucia on the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now (saith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted; so that one may apply to this what the poet said of Magalopolis, in Arcadia, "the great city is now become a great desert." Pliny, in like manner, affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for that purpose by Seleucus Nicanor. Maximus Tyrius mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken; and Lucian intimates, that in a little time it would be sought for, and not found. In the time of Jerome (who lived in the fourth century after Christ) it was converted into a chase, to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls for the hunting of the latter kings of Persia. "We have learned (saith he) from a certain Elamite brother, who, coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of the walls." And a little after he saith, "that, excepting the brick walls, which, after many years, have been repaired for the enclosing of wild beasts, all the space within is entirely desolation."

Confirmation of various authors relative to the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning Babylon.

Of later authors the first who mentions any thing concerning Babylon is Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew, who lived in the twelfth century. In his itinerary, he says, "ancient Babylon is now laid waste; but some ruins are still to be seen of Nebuchadnezzar's palace; and men fear to enter them, on account of the serpents and scorpions which are in the midst of it." And Taxeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, says, "of this great famous city there is nothing but only a few vestiges remaining, nor in the whole region is any place less frequented."

Benjamin Tudela's account of Babylon.

Such are the accounts given us of the state of Babylon by ancient authors: let us see what relation is given of it by the writers and travellers of modern date. The first we shall quote of these is one Rauwolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year 1574, and whose account of the ruins of this once famous city is as follows: "The village (says he) of Eulogo now lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldaea, was situated. The harbour is a quarter of a league's distance from it, where people go ashore, in order to proceed by land to the celebrated city of Bagdat, which is a day and half's journey from thence eastward on the Tigris. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled; and so bare, that I could never have believed that this powerful city, once the most stately

Rauwolf's account

3000 Babylonians crucified by order of Darius.

The treasures of the temple of the Babylonians destroyed by Xerxes.

"and renowned in all the world, and situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Shinar, could have ever stood there, if I had not known it by its situation, and many antiquities, of great beauty, which are still standing hereabout in great delolation. First, by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable. Just before the village of Eulogo is the hill whereon the castle stood, and the ruins of its fortification are still visible, though demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, at a small distance, stood the tower of Babylon. It is still to be seen, and is half a league in diameter, but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venomous creatures, which lodge in holes made by them in the rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than within half a league, except during two months in the winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes. There is one fort particularly, which the inhabitants, in the language of the country, (which is Persian,) call Eglo, the poison whereof is very searching: they are larger than our lizard."

Petrus Val-
lensis's ac-
count of the
ruins of Ba-
bylon.

Petrus Vallengis, (a noble Roman,) who was at Bagdat in the year 1616, and went to see the ruins (as they are thought to be) of ancient Babylon, informs us, that, "in the middle of a vast and level plain, about a quarter of a league from the Euphrates, which, in that place, runs westward, appears an heap of ruined buildings like a huge mountain, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it. Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower of Belus; and it is, in all likelihood, the tower of Nimrod, in Babylon, or Babel, as that place is still called. There appear no marks of ruins without the compass of that huge mass, to convince one so great a city as Babylon had ever stood there: all one discovers, within fifty or sixty paces of it, are only the remains here and there of some foundations of buildings: and the country round about it is so flat and level, that one can hardly believe it should be chosen for the situation of so great and noble a city as Babylon, or that there were ever any remarkable buildings on it: but, for my part, I am astonished there appears so much as there does, considering it is at least four thousand years since that city was built; and that Diodorus Siculus informs us, it was reduced almost to nothing in his time."

M. Tavernier's
account.

Mons. Tavernier, a very celebrated traveller, tells us, that, "at the parting of the Tigris, which is but a little way from Bagdat, there is the foundation of a city, which seems to have been a large league in compass. There are some of the walls yet standing, upon which six coaches may go abreast: they are made of burnt brick, ten feet square, and three thick. The chronicles of the country say, here stood the ancient Babylon. Tavernier, however, did not think the ruins he saw to be those of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, or of the tower of Babel, as some have supposed they were. He adopts the opinion of the Arabs, and supposes them rather to be the remains of some tower, built by one of their princes for a beacon, to assemble his subjects in time of war, which, in all probability, was the real state of the case."

Mr. Salmon's
account.

The observations made by Mr. Salmon (in his Modern History) relative to Babylon, are certainly very just and pertinent. "What (says he) is as strange as any thing related of Babylon is, that we cannot learn, with certainty, either from ancient writers, or modern travellers, where this famous city stood, only in general, that it was situated in the province of Chaldæa, upon the river Euphrates, considerably above the place where it is united with the Tigris. Travellers have guessed, from the great ruins they have discovered in several parts of this country, that in this or that place Babylon once stood: but when we come to examine nicely the places they mention, we only learn that they are certainly wrong, and

"have taken the ruins of Seleucia, or some other great town, for those of Babylon."

The last traveller we shall mention, who takes notice of the ruins of Babylon, is Mr. Hanway, who, previous to his giving an account of the siege of Bagdat by Nadir Shah, prefaces it in these words: "Before we enter upon any circumstance relating to the siege of Bagdat, it may afford some light to the subject, to give a short account of this famous city, in the neighbourhood of which formerly stood the metropolis of one of the most ancient and most powerful monarchies in the world. The place is generally called Bagdat, or Bagdad; though some writers preserve the ancient name of Babylon. The reason of thus confounding these two cities is, that the Tigris and Euphrates, forming one common stream before they débogue into the Persian gulph, are not frequently mentioned as one and the same river. It is certain that the present Bagdat is situated on the Tigris; but the ancient Babylon, according to all historians, both sacred and profane, was on the Euphrates. The ruins of the latter, which geographical writers place about fifteen leagues to the south of Bagdat, are now so much effaced, that there are hardly any vestiges of them to point out the situation. In the time of the emperor Theodosius there was only a great park remaining, in which the kings of Persia bred wild beasts for the amusement of hunting."

Mr. Han-
way's ac-
count.

How evidently does it appear, from all these accounts, with what great punctuality time hath fulfilled the predictions of the prophets concerning Babylon! When it was converted into a chase for wild beasts to feed and breed there, then were exactly accomplished the words of the prophets, that "the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the island should dwell there, and cry in their desolate houses." One part of the country was overflowed by the river having been turned out of its course, and never restored to its former channel, and thence became boggy and marshy; so that it might literally be said to be "a possession for the bittern and pools of water." Isaiah xiv. 23. Another part is described as dry and naked, and barren of every thing; so that thereby was also fulfilled another prophecy; "Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby." Jer. li. 43. The place thereabout is represented as over-run with serpents, scorpions, and all sorts of venomous and unclean creatures; so that "their houses are full of doleful creatures, and dragons cry in their pleasant palaces; and Babylon is become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant." For all these reasons "neither can the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither can the shepherds make their folds there." And when we find that modern travellers cannot now certainly discover the spot of ground whereon this renowned city once was situated, we may very properly say, "How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Every purpose of the Lord hath he per- formed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant:" and the expression is no less true than sublime, that "the Lord of hosts hath swept it with the besom of destruction."

The pro-
phets con-
cerning
Babylon
fulfilled.

Thus have we represented, in the most clear and undeniable light, the amazing prophecies which were foretold and fulfilled concerning the fate of the once magnificent city of Babylon. How wonderful are such predictions, compared with the events! and what a convincing argument it is of the truth and divinity of the Holy Scriptures! Well might God represent this as a memorable instance of his prescience, and challenge all the other false gods and their votaries to produce the like. "Who hath declared this from ancient time? have not I the Lord? and there is no God else beside me; a just God and a Saviour, there is none beside me; declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying,

"My

“My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.” Isaiah xlv. 21. xlv. 10. And, indeed, where can we find a similar instance, but in Scripture, from the beginning of the world to the present time?

C H A P. IX.

Prophecies concerning the city of Tyre.

Prophecies concerning the destruction of Tyre

ANOTHER memorable instance of the great truth of prophecy, is that of the destruction of Tyre. The inhabitants of this city, as well as those of Nineveh and Babylon, were great enemies to the Jews: but it was not altogether on this account that they were punished with the Divine vengeance; it was owing to their pride and self-sufficiency, both of which were founded on their great riches obtained by traffic, and for which they were more famous than any other nation whatever.

The destruction of Tyre was predicted by the prophets many years before it happened, and particularly by Isaiah and Ezekiel. But it hath been a matter of doubt among the learned, which of the Tyres was the subject of the prophecies, whether Palætyrus, or Old Tyre, that was seated on the continent, or New Tyre, that was built on an island nearly opposite. But the best answer to be given to this, and the most incontestible observation is, that the prophecies manifestly appertain to both, some expressions being applicable only to the former, and others only to the latter.

In one place Tyre is described as “situate at the entry of the sea,” Ezek. xxvii. 3; in others as “in the midst of the sea,” ver. 4 and 25. Sometimes it is represented as besieged “with horses and with chariots,” Ezek. xxvi. 7, &c. and at other times it is expressly called “an island, and the sea, even the strength of the sea.” Ezek. xxiii. 2. It is said, “By reason of the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach.” Ezek. xxvi. 10. It is afterwards said, “They shall break down thy walls, and destroy the pleasant houses, and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water.” Ezek. xxvi. 12. And again, “They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas.” Ezek. xxviii. 8.

It is evident, from these expressions, that the insular Tyre, as well as the Tyre on the continent, is included in these prophecies. They are both comprehended under the same name, and both spoken of as one and the same city, one part being built on the continent, and the other on an adjoining island.

It was usual with the prophets, when they denounced the downfall and desolation of a city or kingdom, to describe, by way of contrast, its then flourishing condition, to show, in a stronger point of view, how Providence changeth the scene, and ordereth and disposeth all events. The prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel observe the same method with regard to Tyre. Isaiah speaketh of it as a place of great antiquity; “Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of antient days?” Is. xxiii. 7. And it is mentioned as a strong place so early as in the days of Joshua: “The strong city of Tyre.” Josh. xix. 29. Nay, there are even heathen authors who extol the great antiquity of the place. The Greek geographer Strabo saith, that, after Sidon, the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians was Tyre, which was a rival to Sidon in greatness, and lustre, and antiquity.

Ancient, however, as this city was, it was the “daughter of Sidon,” as it is called by the prophet Isaiah, xxiii. 12. and “the merchants of Sidon, who pass over the sea, replenished it,” ver. 2. Sidon was the eldest son of Canaan, Gen. x. 15. and the city of Sidon is mentioned by the patriarch

Jacob, Gen. xlix. 13. In the days of Joshua it was called “Great Sidon.” Josh. xi. 8. And in the days of the Judges, the inhabitants of Laish are said to have “dwelt carelessly and secure, after the manner of the Sidonians.” Judges xviii. 7.

But though Tyre was the daughter of Sidon, yet the daughter soon equalled, and, in time, excelled the mother, and became the most celebrated place in the world for its trade and navigation, being the seat of commerce, and the center of riches. It is therefore called, by the prophet Isaiah, “a mart of nations, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth.” Isaiah xxxiii. 3, 8. And Ezekiel (as it were commenting on the words of Isaiah, “a mart of nations”) recounts the various nations whose commodities were brought to Tyre, and bought and sold by the Tyrians. Ezek. xxvii.

Tyre celebrated for its great trade and riches.

In this wealthy and flourishing condition was Tyre when the prophets foretold its destruction; one of whom (Isaiah) mentions it at least 125 years before it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. An extensive and beneficial trade in any city soon produces luxury and pride. So it fared with the Tyrians; and for these, and their other vices, as well as for their insults and injuries done to the Jews, the Divine vengeance was denounced upon them by the prophets.

Its destruction foretold by the prophets.

The prophet Isaiah mentions the pride of the Tyrians as being the principal occasion of their fall: “The Lord of hosts (saith he) hath proposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth.” Is. xxiii. 9. Ezekiel describes at large their luxury, and particularly censures the pride of the king of Tyre, in arrogating to himself divine honours. “Because thou hast set thine heart at the heart of God, Behold, therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness.” Ezek. xxviii. 6, &c.

The pride and luxury of the Tyrians the cause of their destruction.

The prophets Joel and Amos had before denounced the Divine Judgments on the Tyrians for their wickedness in general, and in particular for their cruelty to the children of Israel, and for buying and selling them like cattle in the markets. Thus saith the Lord by the prophet Joel: “Because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleasant things: the children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border: Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompence upon your own head.” Joel iii. 5, &c.

Judgments on the Tyrians denounced by the prophets Joel and Amos.

The prophet Amos speaketh to the same purpose: “Thus saith the Lord, for three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant.” Amos i. 9. By the latter part of these words, the prophet means the league and alliance between Hiram, king of Tyre, on the one part, and David and Solomon on the other.

The royal psalmist reckons the Tyrians among the most inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewish name and nation: “The tabernacles of Edom (says he) and the Ishmaelites, of Moab, and the Hagarenes, Gabai, and Ammon, and Amalek, the Philistines, with the inhabitants of Tyre.” Psal. lxxxiii. 6, 7.

Ezekiel also begins his prophecy against the Tyrians, with a declaration that the judgments denounced against them were occasioned by their domineering over the Jews, and insulting them, after the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. “Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates

Prophecy of Ezekiel against the Tyrians.

"of the people; she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up." Ezekiel xxvi. 2, 3.

These were the circumstances which occasioned the prophecies against Tyre; and, by carefully considering and comparing them together, we shall find that they include the following particulars, viz.

1. That the city should be taken and destroyed by the Chaldeans, or Babylonians.
2. That the inhabitants should pass the Mediterranean into the islands and countries adjoining, and even there should not find a quiet settlement.
3. That the city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her gain and her merchandize.
4. That it should be taken and destroyed again.
5. That the people should, in time, forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God.
6. That the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon.

On a proper examination into these respective particulars, we shall find that they were not only distinctly foretold, but likewise exactly fulfilled.

1. The city should be taken and destroyed by the Chaldeans. This is expressly foretold by the prophet Ezekiel, who says, "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings from the north, with horses and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people: he shall slay the people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground." Ezek. xxvi. 7, 11. Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had besieged Tyre without success; but Nebuchadnezzar was to prevail. The prophet Ezekiel not only foretold the siege, but he likewise mentions it afterwards as a past transaction: "Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled." Ezekiel xxix. 18.

Fulfillment
of the prop-
hecies a-
gainst Tyre.

Josephus tells us, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre thirteen years when Ithobal was king there, and that he subdued all Syria and Phœnicia. As the siege continued so long, the soldiers must consequently have endured many hardships; so that thereby we better understand the justness of Ezekiel's expression, that "Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled." Such light doth prophane history cast upon sacred. It farther appears, from the Phœnician annals, that the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon, which plainly evinces that some of the blood royal must have been carried thither captives. The Phœnician annals likewise (as is clearly shewn by the learned Dr. Prideaux) agree exactly with Ezekiel's account of the time and year wherein the city was taken. Tyre, therefore, according to the prophecies, was subdued and taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans; after which we hear little more of that part of the city which stood upon the continent.

2. That the inhabitants of Tyre should pass over the Mediterranean into the islands and countries adjoining, and even there should find no quiet settlement. This is plainly signified by the prophet Isaiah: "Pass ye over to Tarshish," (that is, to Tarræssus, in Spain;) "howl ye inhabitants of the isle." Isaiah xxiii. 6. And again, "Arise, pass over to Chittim," (that is, the islands and countries bordering upon the Mediterranean;) "there also shalt thou have no rest." Ver. 12. What the prophet here delivers by way of advice, is to be understood

as a prediction. Ezekiel intimates the same thing: "The isles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure." Ezekiel xxvi. 18.

The Phœnicians were the best navigators of antiquity; and the Tyrians, in particular, were celebrated for their shipping, and having colonies in different parts of the world. In this respect Tyre exceeded Sidon: she sent forth colonies into Africa and Spain; and Quintus Curtius saith, that her colonies were diffused almost over the whole world. The Tyrians, therefore, having planted colonies at Tarshish, and upon the coasts of Chittim, it was natural for them, when they were pressed with dangers and difficulties at home, to fly to their friends and countrymen abroad, for refuge and protection. That they really did so is asserted by St. Jerome, whose authority is founded on the Assyrian histories, which have been since lost. "We read (says he) in the histories of the Assyrians, that when the Tyrians were besieged, after they saw no hope of resisting the enemy, they went on board their ships, and fled to Carthage, or to some islands of the Ionian and Aegean Sea." And in another place he saith, "When the Tyrians saw that the works for carrying on the siege were perfected, and the foundations of the walls were shaken by the battering of the rams, whatsoever precious things in gold, silver, clothes, and various kinds of furniture the nobility had, they put them on board their ships, and carried them to the islands: so that the city being taken, Nebuchadnezzar found nothing worthy of his labours."

It must certainly have been very mortifying to Nebuchadnezzar, after so long and laborious a siege, to be disappointed of the spoil of so rich a city; and therefore Ezekiel was commissioned to promise the conquest of Egypt for his reward: "Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army." Ezekiel xxix. 18, 19.

But though the Tyrians should pass over to Tarshish, and to Chittim, yet even there they should find no quiet settlement; "there also shalt thou have no rest." Megasthenes, who lived about 300 years before Christ, and was employed by Seleucus Nicanor in an embassy to the king of India, wrote an history of that country, in which he mentions Nebuchadnezzar as a man of the most distinguished valour and military prowess. This historian is quoted by several ancient authors; and he is particularly cited by Strabo and Josephus, for saying that Nebuchadnezzar surpassed Hercules in bravery and great exploits; that he subdued great part of Africa and Spain; and that he proceeded as far as the Pillars of Hercules.

It is reasonable to suppose that, after Nebuchadnezzar had subdued Tyre and Egypt, he carried his arms farther to the westward; and if he proceeded so far as Megasthenes reports, the Tyrians might well be said to "have no rest," the conqueror pursuing them from one country to another. But, besides this, and after this, the Carthaginians, and other colonies of the Tyrians, lived in a very wretched state. Their history consists of little more than wars and tumults. Sicily and Spain, Europe and Africa, the land, and their own element the sea, were theatres of their calamities and miseries, till at length not only the New, but Old Carthage likewise, was utterly destroyed. As the Carthaginians sprang from the Tyrians, and the Tyrians from the Sidonians, and Sidon was the first-born of Canaan, (see Gen. x. 15.) so the curse upon Canaan seemeth to have pursued them to the most distant parts of the earth.

Tyre to be
restored af-
ter seventy
years.

3. The city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her gain and her merchandize. This circumstance is expressly foretold by the prophet Isaiah: "And it shall come to pass in that day that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king, (or kingdom, meaning the Babylonians, which was to continue seventy years;) after the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten, make sweet melody, sing many songs that thou mayest be remembered. And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth." Isaiah xxiii. 15, 16, 17. The plain meaning of these figurative expressions is, that Tyre should lie neglected of traders and merchants for seventy years, as long as the Babylonian empire lasted, and after that she should recover her liberties and her trade, and draw in several of all nations to deal with her, and particularly the kings of the earth to buy her purples, which were worn chiefly by emperors and kings, and for which Tyre was more famous than any other place in the universe.

The time prefixed for the duration of the Babylonian empire was seventy years. So long were the nations to groan under that tyrannical yoke; though these nations were subdued, some sooner and some later than others. "These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years: and it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations." Jer. xxv. 11, 12. And accordingly, at the end of seventy years, Cyrus and the Persians subverted the Babylonian empire, and restored the conquered nations to their liberties.

Tyre was taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the 32d year of his reign; seventy years from which time brings us down to the 19th of Darius Hytaspis. At that time it appears from history, that the Ionians had rebelled against Darius, and the Phœnicians assisted him with their fleets; and consequently it is reasonable to conclude that they were now restored to their former privileges. In the succeeding reign we find that they, together with the Sidonians, furnished Xerxes with several ships for his expedition into Greece. And by the time of Alexander the Great, the Tyrians were grown to such power and greatness, that they stopped the progress of that rapid conqueror longer than any part of the Persian empire besides. But all this is to be understood of the insular Tyre; for as the old city flourished most before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, so the new city flourished most afterwards; and this is the Tyre that henceforth is so much celebrated in history.

4. The city should be taken and destroyed again. "Howl ye inhabitants of the isle." Isaiah xxiii. 6. "What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?" Ezek. xxvii. 32. "They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas." xxviii. 8. These expressions can imply no less than that the insular Tyre should be destroyed as well as that upon the continent; and as the one was accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, so was the other by Alexander the Great. But the same thing may be inferred more directly from the words of Zechariah, who prophesied in the reign of Darius, (probably Darius Hytaspis,) many years after the former destruction of the city, and consequently he must be understood to speak of this latter. His words are these: "And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire." Zech. ix. 3, 4. That Tyrus did build herself a strong hold is very certain; for her situation was exceeding strong in an island; and, besides the

sea to defend her, she was fortified with a wall of 150 feet in height, and of a proportionable thickness. "She heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets;" being the most celebrated place in the world for trade and riches, "the mart of nations," as she is called, conveying the commodities of the east to the west, and of the west to the east. But yet "Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire." Ezekiel had likewise foretold that the city should be consumed with fire: "I will bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee." Ezek. xxviii. 18. And accordingly Alexander besieged, and took, and set the city on fire. The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city: for with the stones, timber, and rubbish of the old city, Alexander made a bank, or causeway, from the continent to the island; thereby literally fulfilling the words of the prophet; "They shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water." Ezek. xxvi. 12. Alexander was seven months in completing this work; but the time and labour were well employed; for, by means thereof, he was enabled to storm and take the city.

Tyre taken
and burnt
by Alexan-
der.

At the time Alexander reduced Tyre, great numbers of the inhabitants, as in the former siege, passed over the Mediterranean to the islands and countries adjoining. Both Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius testify that they sent their wives and children to Carthage; and, upon the taking of the place, the Sidonians secretly conveyed away fifteen thousand more in their ships. Happy were they who thus escaped; for of those who remained behind, the conqueror slew eight thousand in storming and taking the city, caused two thousand afterwards to be crucified, and thirty thousand he sold for slaves. They had before sold some of the captive Jews; and now it was returned upon them, according to the prediction of Joel; "The children of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold; behold I will return your recompence upon your own head, and will sell your sons and your daughters." Joel iii. 6, 7, 8.

Two thou-
sand Ty-
rians cruci-
fied.

When the old city was taken, the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon; but when the new one was conquered by Alexander, their king held the sovereignty by his appointment. The cases are, in many respects, alike; but the city recovered much sooner from the calamities of the last siege than the first. In the space of nineteen years it was able to withstand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and sustained a siege of fifteen months before it was taken; a plain proof (as Dean Prideaux observes) "of the great advantage of trade: for this city being the grand mart where most of the trade both of the east and west did center, by virtue hereof it was that it soon after revived to its pristine vigour."

5. There should come a time when the Tyrians would forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God. The Psalmist is thought to have hinted as much in saying, "The daughter of Tyre shall be therewith a gift." Psal. xlv. 12. And again, "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents." Psal. lxxii. 10. Zechariah, when he foretells the calamities which the Tyrians and neighbouring nations should suffer from Alexander, at the same time predicts their conversion to the true God; "but he that remaineth, even he shall be for our God." Zech. ix. 7. This prediction is more fully expressed by the prophet Isaiah, who says, "And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord: it shall not be treasured, nor laid up: for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing." Isaiah xxiii. 18.

The Tyrians were greatly addicted to the worship of Hercules, as he was called by the Greeks, or of Baal, as he is denominated in scripture. But, in

The Tyri-
ans addicte
to worship
Hercules.

in

in process of time, by means of some Jews and proselytes living and conversing among them, many were converted to the Jewish religion; so that "a great multitude of people from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon came to hear Our Saviour, and to be healed of their diseases." Luke vi. 17. And when St. Paul, in his way to Jerusalem, came to Tyre, he found disciples there, who were inspired and prophesied; and with them "he tarried seven days." Acts xxi. 4.

The Tyrians become converts to Christianity

During the time of Dioclesian's persecution, the Tyrians were such sincere converts to Christianity, that many of them suffered the most horrid deaths, and died martyrs to the religion they then professed. After the storm of persecution was blown over, they (under the bishop Paulinus) built an oratory, or rather a temple, for the public worship of God, the most magnificent and sumptuous in all Palestine and Phœnicia. On this occasion Eusebius, on commenting on the passage of Isaiah, "And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord," says, "Since a church of God hath been founded in Tyre, as well as in other nations, many of its goods gotten by merchandize are consecrated to the Lord, being offered to his church (as he afterwards explains himself) for the use of the ministers of the altar or gospel, according to the institution of our Lord, that they who wait at the altar should live of the altar." In like manner speaks St. Jerome: "We may behold churches in Tyre built to Christ. We may see their riches that they are not laid up, nor treasured, but given to those who dwell before the Lord. For the Lord hath appointed, that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel."

Tyre created into an archbishopric.

To these proofs we shall only add, that, as Tyre consecrated its merchandize and hire unto the Lord, so it had the honour not only of being created into an archbishopric, but was the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem, having fourteen bishops under its primacy; and in this state it continued several years.

6. But, after all, Tyre was to be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. When the prophets denounced the destruction of any city or country, it was not intended that such denunciation should take effect immediately. It was threatened that Babylon should become a desolation without an inhabitant, but many ages passed before it was reduced to that condition; it decayed by degrees, till, at length, it came to nothing. In like manner Tyre was not to be ruined and desolated all at once. Many events were to happen previous to its final destruction, and before the prophecies of Ezekiel could be fully accomplished. "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up; and they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock: it shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God." Ezek. xxvi. 3, 4, 5. And again, "I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again," ver. 21.

The prophecies of Tyre, like those relative to most other places, were to receive their completion by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the old city, and Alexander employed the ruins and rubbish in making his causeway from the continent to the island, which henceforward were joined together. "It is no wonder, therefore, (as bishop Pocock observes,) that there are no signs of the ancient city; and, as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered; and the great aqueduct, in many parts, is almost buried in the sand." So that as to this part of the city, the prophecy hath been literally fulfilled. "Thou shalt be built no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again."

It may be questioned whether the new city ever arose to that height of power, wealth, and greatness, to which it was elevated in the times of Isaiah and Ezekiel. It received a great blow from Alexander, not only by his taking and burning the city, but much more by his building of Alexandria, in Egypt, which, in time, deprived it of much of its trade, and thereby contributed more effectually to its ruin. It had the misfortune afterwards of changing its masters often, being sometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the Saracens about the year of Christ 639, in the reign of Omar, their third emperor. It was retaken by the Christians during the time of the holy war, in the year 1124; Baldwin the second of that name being then king of Jerusalem, and assisted by a fleet of the Venetians. From the Christians it was again taken, in the year 1289, by the Mamalucs of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who sacked and razed this and Sidon, and other strong towns, that they might not ever again afford any harbour or shelter to the Christians. From the Mamalucs it was again taken, in the year 1516, by Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks; and under their dominion it continues at present. But, alas! how fallen, how changed from what it was formerly! Instead of being the center of trade, and frequented by the merchant ships of the east and west, it is now become an heap of ruins, and visited only by a few poor fisherman. So that as to this part likewise of the city the prophecy has been literally fulfilled; "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon."

The description given of this once opulent and magnificent city by Mr. Maundrell, in his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, is as follows: "This city (saith he) standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises, at a distance, something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which is described by the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxvi. &c. On the north side it hath an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle: besides which you see nothing here but a mere babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly on fishing, who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre," viz. "that it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on."

Mr. Maundrell's description of Tyre.

This account of Mr. Maundrell's is corroborated by Mr. Middleton, in his New System of Geography. "This powerful city, (says he, speaking of Tyre,) once the capital of Phœnicia, the emporium of commerce, and mistress of the sea, equally famed for its trade, beauty, and opulence, and for many ages deemed impregnable, both from its almost inaccessible situation, and the strength of its fortifications made by art; is now a mere desert, and cannot boast of one house left entire. Its present inhabitants are only a few very poor people, who dwell in caverns, and subsist by fishing."

Such hath been the fate of the once famous city of Tyre, on which the Divine vengeance was denounced for the great pride of its inhabitants; and in the destruction of which we have an additional instance, to those already mentioned, of the great truth of the Divine predictions, as spoken by the mouths of the prophets.

CHAP. X.

Prophecies concerning Egypt.

EGYPT is one of the most ancient kingdoms in the world, it having been in a very flourishing state even during the days of Abraham; and the inhabitants

Prophecy concerning Egypt.

habitants of it were distinguished for having more wisdom than any other people at that time on the face of the earth. It was (as we may call it) the great academy of the earlier ages. Hither the wits and sages of Greece and other countries repaired, and received their learning at this fountain. It is mentioned to the commendation of Moses, that he "was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians." Acts vii. 22. And the highest character given of Solomon's wisdom is, that it "excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt." 1 Kings iv. 30. But with this wisdom it was early corrupted, and was as much the parent of superstition as it was the mistress of learning; and the one, as well as the other, were from thence propagated and diffused over other countries. It was, indeed, the grand corruptor of the world; the source of Polytheism and idolatry to several of the eastern, and to most of the western, nations; and at length degenerated to such a degree, as not to be equalled by any other country in the universe.

When the Israelites remained in Egypt during their state of bondage, they acquired many of the maxims of the natives, and retained a fondness for the Egyptian idols ever after. Several of Moses's laws and institutions were evidently calculated to wean them from, and to guard them against, the manners and customs of the Egyptians. But still, in their hearts and affections, they were much inclined to return into Egypt. Even Solomon married a woman from that country: and, on many occasions, the Israelites courted the friendship and alliance of Egypt, in preference to any of the neighbouring powers. This prejudice is the more extraordinary, as the Egyptians generally treated them not only with disrespect, but took every advantage they could of doing them the greatest injuries. They oppressed them with the most cruel servitude during their state of bondage. They at length gave them leave to depart, and then pursued them as fugitives. Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, and plundered it. 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26. And in all their leagues and alliances, Egypt was to the Israelites as "a broken reed, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it." Isaiah xxxvi. 6.

When we consider these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that Egypt should be the subject of several prophecies; and we shall find, on examination, that these prophecies consisted of the principal revolutions that were to happen in that kingdom, and which were to take place from the days of the prophets, and continue to the present time.

The first great revolution that happened in Egypt (after the prophecies denounced against it) was the conquest of it by Nebuchadnezzar, which was particularly foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These two prophets have employed several sections, or chapters, upon this occasion. Jeremiah was carried into Egypt, where he foretold the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon: and some of his prophecies are intitled, "The word that the Lord spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt." Jer. xlvi. 13. Ezekiel also declares, "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: he and his people with him, the terrible of the nations shall be brought to destroy the land; and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain." Ezekiel xxx. 10, 11. The conquest of this kingdom was promised to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his services against Tyre, which, after a long siege, he took and destroyed, but was disappointed of the spoil, as we have already observed in the foregoing chapter.

That this prophecy was strictly fulfilled, appears from the testimonies of Megasthenes and Berossus, two heathen historians; one of whom expressly affirms, that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greatest

part of Africa; and the other affirms it in effect, by saying, that, when Nebuchadnezzar heard of the death of his father, having settled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the captives, whom he took there, to the care of some of his friends, to bring them after him, he hastened directly to Babylon.

The testimonies of these two are confirmed by Josephus, who says that Nebuchadnezzar, having subdued Cælo-Syria, waged war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and having conquered them, he invaded Egypt, slew Pharaoh-Hophra, their king, and appointed another in his stead. This monarch is represented by Ezekiel as an arrogant, impious prince: he calls him "the great dragon (or crocodile) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, my river is my own, and I have made it for myself." Ezekiel xxix. 4. Agreeable to this, Herodotus informs us, that he proudly and wickedly boasted of having established his kingdom so surely, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of it. For this presumption he was justly cut off; and the prediction foretold by Jeremiah was fully accomplished: "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." Jer. xliv. 30.

It was foretold by the prophet Ezekiel, that the country should be desolate forty years, and the people carried captives into other countries: "I will make the land of Egypt desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries." Ezek. xxix. 12. Though it cannot, indeed, be proved, from heathen authors, that this desolation of the country continued exactly forty years, yet there is not the least doubt but this, as well as the other conquered countries, laboured under the Babylonish yoke till the time of Cyrus. We are assured by Berossus, that Nebuchadnezzar took several captives from Egypt, and carried them to Babylon: and from Megasthenes we learn, that he transplanted and settled others in Pontus. So true it is that they were "scattered among the nations, and dispersed through the countries;" and the greater part of them might, probably, after the dissolution of the Babylonish empire, return to their native country.

The next memorable revolution that happened in Egypt, was the invasion and subduktion of it by Cambyfes and the Persians, which is the principal subject of the 19th chapter of the prophet Isaiah. Some parts, indeed, of this prophecy have a near affinity with those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar: but this prophecy, as well as several others, might admit of a double completion, and be fulfilled at both those periods. This prophecy of Isaiah is a general representation of the calamities that should befall the nation: it includes various particulars, and is applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as well as to Cambyfes and the Persians. They might, therefore, be both intended and comprehended in it; but the latter, it is most reasonable to imagine, were principally meant, and for this reason, because the deliverance of the Egyptians by some great conqueror, and their conversion afterwards to the true religion, which are foretold in the latter part of this chapter, were events consequent to the dominion of the Persians, and not to that of the Babylonians.

Isaiah begins his prophecy against Egypt with declaring, that the conquest of it should be swift and sudden, and that the idols of Egypt should be destroyed. "Behold (says he) the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it." Isaiah xix. 1. The same thing is foretold of Nebuchadnezzar by the prophet Jeremiah: "And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt. And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry

Egypt subdued by the Persians.

The conquest of Egypt to be swift and sudden.

The conquest of Egypt foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel

Testimonies concerning the fulfilment of the prophecy.

"carry them away captives. He shall break also the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire. Jer. xliii. 11, &c. And again the prophet Ezekiel: "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph, or Memphis." Ezek. xxx. 13.

The first attempt made by Cambyfes was upon Pelusium, a strong town at the entrance of Egypt, and key of the kingdom; and he succeeded by the stratagem of placing before his army a great number of dogs, sheep, cats, and other animals, which being held sacred by the Egyptians, not one of them would cast a javelin, or shoot an arrow that way; and so the town was stormed and taken, in a manner, without resistance. He treated the gods of Egypt with great contempt, laughed at the people, and chastised the priests for worshipping such deities. He slew Apis, or the sacred ox, (which the Egyptians worshipped,) with his own hand; and burnt and demolished their other idols and temples; and would likewise, if he had not been prevented, have destroyed the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Persia, and subdued the Egyptians again after they had revolted, plundered their temples, and caused another Apis to be slain, and served up at a banquet he had appointed in consequence of his victories.

Egypt to be distracted with civil wars.

It was also foretold, by the prophet Isaiah, that they should be miserably distracted with civil wars: "And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom." Isaiah xix. 2. Egypt was divided into twelve prefectures, or provinces, over each of which presided a petty prince, or governor. These disagreeing with each other, civil wars took place, and, for a considerable time, the whole kingdom was one continued scene of anarchy and confusion. It is, therefore, little to be wondered at, that, in such distractions as these, the Egyptians, who were naturally a cowardly people, should be destitute of *counsel*, and that "the spirit of Egypt should fail in the midst thereof," as is foretold by the prophet in ver. 3. and that being also a very superstitious people, "they should seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards." But their divination was all in vain; it was their fate to be subdued and oppressed by cruel lords and tyrants: "And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts," ver. 4. This is a very essential part of the prophecy, and may, with the greatest propriety and justice, be applied to the Persians, and especially to Cambyles and Ochus, the former of whom put the yoke on the neck of the Egyptians, and the latter riveted it. Ochus was the cruellest and worst of all the kings of Persia; and was so destructive and oppressive to Egypt in particular, that his favourite eunuch, Bagoas, who was an Egyptian, in revenge of his injured country, poisoned him. No other allegation is wanting to prove that the Persian yoke was more galling and intolerable to the Egyptians than their frequent revolts and rebellions, which, instead of being any benefit to them, only served to enslave them the more, and augment their misery.

Ochus, king of Persia, cruelly treats the Egyptians.

The prophet, after denouncing these judgments against the Egyptians, next proceeds to set forth, in figurative language, the consequences of this subjection and slavery, the poverty and want, the mourning and lamentation, the confusion and misery, which should be entailed on them and their posterity: after which he recounts the immediate causes of these evils, the folly of the princes and rulers, who valued themselves upon their wisdom, and the cowardice and effeminacy of the people in general. These things will plainly appear to any one who attentively peruses the history of that nation, the particulars of which are too considerable to be here admitted. It may, however, in general, be said, that Egypt would not have become a prey to so many

foreign enemies, had it not been for the excessive weakness of the people, both in counsel and in action. They had not the courage even to defend themselves. They trusted chiefly to their Grecian and other mercenaries, who, instead of defending, were often the first to betray them.

The next memorable revolution was effected by Alexander the Great, who subverted the Persian empire in Egypt, as well as in other places; and this event is particularly pointed out in the same 19th chapter of the prophet Isaiah. It is also foretold, that, about the same time, several of the Egyptians should lay aside their idolatry, and be converted to the worship of the true God. "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign, and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressor, and he shall send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it." Isaiah xix. 19, &c.

Revolution in Egypt, Alexander the Great.

The prophet then proceeds to show, that Assyria and Egypt, which used to be at great enmity with each other, should be united in the same worship by the intermediation of Israel, and that those three should be a blessing on the earth. "In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian in Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the Lord shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance," ver. 23, &c.

The Egyptians united in the same worship.

It is clearly foretold by the prophet, that a *great prince*, from a foreign country, should deliver the Egyptians from their Persian oppressors, and heal their country, which was *smitten of God*, and afflicted. And who could this be but Alexander, who is always distinguished by the additional epithet *the Great*, and whose first successor in Egypt was called the *great Ptolemy*, and Ptolemy Soter, or *the saviour*? When Alexander went first into Egypt, the people all cheerfully submitted to him out of hatred to the Persians, so that he became master of the country without any opposition. For this reason he treated them with great humanity and kindness, built a city there, which, after his own name, he called Alexandria, appointed one of his own country for their civil governor, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and customs. By these changes and regulations, and by the prudent and gentle administration of some of the first Ptolemies, Egypt revived, trade and learning flourished, and, for a time, the land was blessed with peace and plenty.

The Egyptians delivered from their Persian oppressors.

The prophet likewise foretells, that, about the same time, the true religion, and the true worship of the God of Israel, should begin to spread, and prevail in the land of Egypt; and what event was ever more unlikely to happen than the conversion of a people so lost in superstition and idolatry of the worst and grossest kind? But that it did happen will appear from what follows.

The religion began to prevail in Egypt.

It is certain that many of the Jews, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem, fled into Egypt, and with them went Jeremiah the prophet, who there delivered most of his prophecies concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence some knowledge of God, and some notices of the prophecies, might easily be received by the Egyptians. This alteration was to take place principally in *five cities*, which accordingly came to pass. The first city in which the true worship of God was received was *Heliopolis*; the second *Migdol*, or *Magdolum*; the third, *Takpanbes*, or *Daphne*; the fourth, *Noph*, or *Memphis*; and the fifth, in the *country of Pathros*, or *Thebais*; all of which are particularly

Places where the Jews fled, and where the prophecies were delivered.

particularly mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xlv. 1.

In these cities, at that time, many Jews resided; and though they were, in general, very wicked men, and disobedient to the word of God, yet, no doubt, some good people were mingled among them, who might relate to them the prophecies of Jeremiah; and they themselves, when they saw them fulfilled, might embrace the Jewish religion. This, however, is not to be understood of all the inhabitants of those places, but only of some, which is sufficient to justify the expression of "five cities speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing by the Lord of hosts." The prediction of the prophet Zephaniah is to the same effect: "Then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may call upon the name of the Lord to serve him with one consent." Zeph. iii. 9.

Alexander the Great sends many Jews to Alexandria

After Alexander the Great had made a conquest of Egypt, he transplanted many of the Jews into his new city of Alexandria, and allowed them many privileges and immunities equal to those enjoyed by the Macedonians. Ptolemy Soter carried more of them into Egypt, and they received such indulgencies, that many others followed them of their own accord. Ptolemy Philadelphus redeemed and released the captive Jews; and in his reign, or his father's, the books of Moses were translated into Greek, and afterwards the other parts of the Old Testament. The third Ptolemy, called Energetes, having subdued all Syria, did not sacrifice to the idols of Egypt, in acknowledgment of his victory; but, going to Jerusalem, made his oblations to God, after the manner of the Jews; and his example, no doubt, was followed by many of his subjects. The sixth Ptolemy, called Philometor, committed the whole management of his kingdom to two Jews, Onias and Dositheus, who were his chief ministers and generals, and had the principal direction of all affairs, both civil and military. This Onias obtained a licence from the king to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that at Jerusalem, alleging for the purpose this very prophecy of Isaiah, that there should "be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt;" and the king and queen, in their edict, made honourable mention of the law, and of the prophet Isaiah, and express a dread of sinning against God. The place, chosen for the building of this temple, was in the prefecture of Heliopolis, or "the city of the sun," which place is likewise mentioned in the prophecy. It was built after the model of the temple at Jerusalem, but not so sumptuous and magnificent. Philometor himself was made high-priest: other priests and Levites were appointed for the ministrations; and Divine service was daily performed there in the same manner as at Jerusalem. By these means "the Egyptians must have known the Lord;" and without doubt there must have been many proselytes among them. Amidst those who came up to the feast of Pentecost, there are particularly mentioned "the dwellers in Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, Jews and proselytes." Acts ii. 10.

The Jews favoured by the kings of Syria

Thus were the Jews settled and encouraged in Egypt; nor were they less favoured by the kings of Syria. Seleucus Nicanor made them free of the cities which he built in Asia and the Lower Syria, and even of Antioch, the capital of his kingdom; and granted the same rights and privileges to them as to the Greeks and Macedonians. Antiochus the Great published several decrees in favour of the Jews, both of those who inhabited Jerusalem, and of those who dwelt in Mesopotamia and Babylon. And thus, by means of the Jews and proselytes dwelling in Egypt and Syria, Israel, Egypt, and Syria, were, in some measure, united in the same worship. But this was more fully accomplished when the inhabitants of these countries became Christians, and were made members of the church of Christ. And it is to be seriously hoped and believed, that the prophecy will still receive its most perfect completion in the latter days, when Maho-

metism shall be rooted out, and Christianity shall flourish in these countries; when "the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved."

Ezekiel's prophecy concerning Egypt

The fate of Egypt, from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to the present period, is predicted, in a most remarkable manner, by the prophet Ezekiel. He foretells that, after the desolation of the land, it "should be a base kingdom: it shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations." Ezek. xxix. 14, 15. And again, "I will sell the land into the hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." Ezek. xxx. 12, 13.

In order to point out the great truth of the fulfilment of this remarkable prophecy, we must advert to, and make a short deduction from, the Egyptian history, at least that part of it which contains the various circumstances that took place from the subduktion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, to the present period.

After Nebuchadnezzar had conquered the Egyptians, he appointed Amasis for their king; and as he held his crown by the permission and allowance of the Babylonians, there is not the least doubt but he paid them tribute for it. Berotus, the Chaldean historian, speaketh of Nebuchadnezzar's reducing Egypt to his obedience, and afterwards of his settling the affairs of the country, and carrying away captives from thence to Babylon. By his settling the affairs of Egypt, nothing less could be meant than his appointing the governors, and the tribute they should pay to him: and by carrying some Egyptians captives to Babylon, he certainly intended not only to weaken the country, but also to have them as hostages to secure the obedience of the rest, and the payment of their tribute.

Various revolutions in the Egyptian empire

After the fall of the Babylonish empire, Cyrus established the Persian on its ruins; and it is affirmed, by that faithful and elegant historian Xenophon, that Cyrus also conquered Egypt, and made it part of his empire. But whether this was so or not, it is universally allowed that Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus, did conquer Egypt, and deprived Psammenitus (the then king) of his crown, to which he had newly succeeded upon the death of Amasis. Cambyzes intended to have made Psammenitus administrator of the kingdom under him, as it was the custom of the Persians to do to the conquered princes; but Psammenitus forming schemes to recover the kingdom, and being convicted thereof, was put to death. The Egyptians groaned under the yoke near forty years. They then revolted towards the latter end of the reign of Darius, the son of Hytaspis; but his son and successor Xerxes, in the second year of his reign, subdued them again, and reduced them to a worse condition of servitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt. About twenty-four years after this (when the Egyptians heard of the troubles in Persia about the succession to the throne after the death of Xerxes) they revolted again, at the instigation of Inarus, king of Lybia; and having driven away the Persian tribute-collectors, they constituted Inarus their king. Six years were employed in reducing them to obedience; and all Egypt submitted again to king Artaxerxes Longimanus, except Amyrtæus, who reigned in the fens, whither the Persians could not approach to take him. Inarus, who was the author of these evils, being betrayed to the Persians, was taken and crucified. They, however, permitted his son Thannyras to succeed his father in the kingdom of Lybia; and Egypt continued in subjection all the remaining part of the long reign of Artaxerxes. In the tenth year of Darius Nothus they revolted again, under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who sallied out of the fens, drove the Persians from Egypt, and made himself master of the country. Amyrtæus was succeeded by his son Pausiris, who, according to Herodotus,

rodotus, obtained the kingdom by favour of the Persians; from whence it appears that the Persians had again subdued Egypt, or, at least, that the king was not established without their consent and approbation. It is certain, however, that, after this, the Egyptians gave much trouble to the Persians. Artaxerxes Mnemon made several efforts to reconquer the country, but they all proved ineffectual. It was not totally and finally subdued till the ninth year of the following reign of Ochus, about 350 years before Christ, when Nectanebus, the last king, fled into Ethiopia, and Ochus became absolute master of the country; and having appointed one of his nobles, named Pherendates, to be his viceroy and governor of Egypt, he returned, with great glory, and with immense treasures, to Babylon. Egypt from that time hath never been able to recover its liberties: it hath always been subject to strangers, and never governed by a king of its own; whereby hath been amply fulfilled that part of Ezekiel's prophecy, in which it is said, "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

After the Persians, Egypt came into the hands of the Macedonians. It submitted to Alexander the Great without attempting the least resistance; and on his death it fell to the share of Ptolemy, one of his four famous captains, and was governed by his family for several generations. The two or three first of the Ptolemies were wise and potent princes; but most of the rest (of which there were eleven in number) were prodigies of luxury and wickedness. It is observed by Strabo, that all after the third Ptolemy governed very ill; but those who governed worst of all were the fourth, the seventh, and the last, called Auletes. The persons here alluded to by Strabo were, Ptolemy Philopater, or *the lover of his father*, so called by way of irony, because he was a parricide, and murdered both his father and mother: Ptolemy Physcon, who affected the title of *Eucrgetes*, or *the benefactor*; but the Alexandrians more justly named him *Kakergetes*, or *the malefactor*, on account of his distinguished wickedness: and Ptolemy Auletes, or *the piper*, so denominated because he spent much of his time playing on the pipe, and used to contend for the prize in the public shows. This kingdom of the Macedonians continued from the death of Alexander 294 years, and ended in the famous Cleopatra, who was one of the most ambitious and wicked princesses that ever sat upon a throne.

Egypt falls
under the
dominion of
the Romans

After the downfall of the Macedonians, Egypt fell under the dominion of the Romans. They had, indeed, either by virtue of treaties, or by force of arms, obtained a great authority there, and were, in a manner, arbiters of the kingdom before. But after the death of Cleopatra, Octavius Cæsar reduced it into the form of a Roman province, and appointed Cornelius Gallus the first prefect or governor. It remained in this state, with little variation, till the year 641 after Christ, that is 670 years in the whole, from the reign of Augustus Cæsar to that of the emperor Heraclius. It was at that period that the Saracens, in the reign of Omar, their third emperor, and under the command of Amrou, invaded and conquered Egypt, took Misrah (formerly called Memphis, but now Cairo) by storm, and also Alexandria, after they had besieged it fourteen months, and had lost no less than 23,000 men. But the greatest loss in the destruction of the latter place was the famous library, founded by the first Ptolemies, and so much enlarged and improved by their successors, that the books contained in it amounted to 700,000 volumes, all of which were committed to the flames. Before this event Egypt was frequented by learned foreigners from almost all parts, and it produced several learned natives; but afterwards it became more and more a *base kingdom*, and sunk into the greatest ignorance and superstition. Mahometism was established there instead of Christianity, and the government of the caliphs and sultans continued till about the year 1250 after Christ.

It was about this time that the Mamalucs usurped

the royal authority. Their government began with the Sultan Ibeg, in the 648th year of the Hegira, and in the year of Christ 1250, and continued through a series of twenty-four Turkish and twenty-three Circassian Mamaluc Sultans, ending with Tumanbai, in the year of Christ 1517. At that time Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their last Sultan Tumanbai before one of the gates of Cairo, and put an end to their government. He caused five hundred of the chiefest Egyptian families to be transplanted to Constantinople, as likewise great numbers of the wives and children of the Mamalucs, besides the Sultan's treasure, and other immense riches; and annexed Egypt to the Ottoman empire, whereof it hath continued a province from that day to this. It is governed by a Turkish basha, with twenty-four *begs*, or princes, under him, who are advanced from servitude to the administration of public affairs; a superstitious notion possessing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate, that captives shall reign, and the natives be subject to them. But it is not merely a superstitious notion, but a notion, in all probability, at first derived from some tradition of these prophecies, that "Egypt should be a base kingdom," and that "there should be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

Egyptians
since the
Turkish
empire.

Such are the events which have taken place in Egypt, and such has been the fulfilment of the prophecy of Ezekiel, relative to the destruction of this once flourishing and important kingdom. At the time this prophecy was delivered, who could pretend to say, upon human conjecture, that so great a kingdom, so rich and fertile a country, should ever after become tributary and subject to strangers? It is now more than two thousand years since this prophecy was first delivered; and what likelihood or appearance was there that the Egyptians should, for so many ages, bow under a foreign yoke, and never, in all that time, be able to recover their liberties, and have a prince of their own to reign over them? But as is the prophecy, so is the event: for not long after it was delivered, Egypt was conquered by the Babylonians, and after the Babylonians by the Persians; and after the Persians it became subject to the Macedonians, and after the Macedonians to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamalucs; and it is now a province to the Turkish empire.

We have now beheld in what manner the cities of Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, and Egypt, four of the greatest kingdoms (during their respective flourishing states) in the universe, were visited by Divine vengeance, for their enmity to, and persecution of, the Jews, the chosen people of God. But, besides this sin, all these nations were guilty of many others. Egypt, in particular, was so severely threatened for her idolatry, her pride, and her wickedness. The Egyptians have generally been more wicked than other nations. Ancient authors describe them every where as superstitious and luxurious, as an unwarlike and unserviceable people, as a faithless and falacious nation, always meaning one thing and pretending another, as lovers of wine and strong drink, as cruel in their anger, as thieves, and tolerating all kinds of theft, as patient of tortures, and, though put to the rack, choosing rather to die than confess the truth. Modern authors paint them still in blacker colours. The famous Thevenot is very strong and severe; "The people of Egypt (says he, generally speaking) are all swarthy, exceeding wicked, great rogues, cowardly, lazy, hypocrites, liars, robbers, treacherous, so very greedy of money, that they will kill a man for a *maiden*, or three half-pence." Bishop Pocock's character of them is not much more favourable, tho' not so harsh and opprobrious: "The natives of Egypt (says he) are now a slothful people, and delight in sitting still, hearing tales, and, indeed, seem always to have been more fit for the quiet life than for any active scenes. They are also malicious and envious to a great degree, which keeps them from uniting and setting up for themselves; and though they are very ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning and artifice, as well as falshood,

falsehood, and this makes them always suspicious of travellers. The love of money is so rooted in them, that nothing is to be done without bribery. They think the greatest villanies are expiated, when once they have washed their hands and feet. Their words pass for nothing, either in relations, promises, or professions of friendship, &c."

Present state
of the Eg-
yptians.

Such is the state of the Egyptians at the present period, and such has been the punishment inflicted on them for their manifold sins and transgressions, whereby that excellent political aphorism of the wisest of kings is fully verified; "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach and ruin to any people." Prov. xiv. 34.

C H A P. XI.

The Prophecies of Daniel.

The prop-
hecies of
Daniel.

THE first prophecy of Daniel, and on which, indeed, all the succeeding ones were founded, was his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This monarch, in the second year of his reign, having subdued all his enemies, and firmly established his throne, was thinking "upon his bed what should come to pass hereafter;" what should be the future success of his family and kingdom; and whether any, or what families and kingdoms, might arise after his own; and, as our waking thoughts generally give some tincture to our dreams, he dreamed of something to the same purpose, which astonished him, but which he could not rightly understand. The dream greatly affected him at the time; but, awaking in confusion, he had but an imperfect remembrance of it. He therefore called for "the magicians and astrologers," and, as absurdly as impiously, demanded of them, upon pain of death and destruction, "to make known unto him both the dream and the interpretation thereof." They answered, with great reason, that no king had ever required such a thing; that it transcended all the powers and faculties of man; and that God alone, or only beings like him, could disclose it. "There is not a man upon earth that can show the king's matter; therefore there is no king, lord, or ruler, that asked such things at any magician, astrologer, or Chaldean: and it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can show it before the king, except the God, whose dwelling is not of the flesh." Dan. ii. 10, 11.

Nebuchad-
nezzar or-
ders the
wise men of
Babylon to
be destroyed

But the pride of absolute power cannot listen to reason, or hear any controul. Nebuchadnezzar was so incensed at this reply, that he ordered all the magicians and wise men of Babylon to be destroyed. For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon; ver. 12. Daniel and his companions would have been involved in the same fate as the rest; but, by their joint and earnest prayers to God, "the secret was revealed unto Daniel in a night-vision; and Daniel blessed the God of heaven."

They are
preserved
by means of
Daniel.

Daniel, having received these instructions, was desirous to save the lives of the wise men of Babylon, who were so unjustly condemned, as well as his own. He therefore "went unto Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, whom the king had ordered to destroy the wise men of Babylon; and said thus unto him, Destroy not the wise men of Babylon; bring me in before the king, and I will show unto the king the interpretation;" ver. 12. &c. The captain of the guard immediately introduced him to the king, saying, "I have found a man of the captives of Judah that will make known unto the king the interpretation;" ver. 25. Daniel was far from assuming any merit to himself: he modestly told Nebuchadnezzar, that "this secret, which the wise men, astrologers, magicians, and soothsayers could not show unto the king, was not revealed to him for any wisdom that he had more than others: but (says he) there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known

"to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days." Dan. ii. 27, &c. Having said this, Daniel not only told him what he saw in his dream, but also what he thought within himself before his dream. "As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind, upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets maketh known unto thee what shall come to pass."

Daniel tells
Nebuchad-
nezzar his
dream.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream was of "a great image." This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before him, and the form thereof was terrible." It appears, from ancient coins, that cities and people were often represented by figures of men and women. A great terrible figure was therefore not an improper emblem of human power and dominion; and the various metals of which it was composed, not unfitly typified the various kingdoms which should arise. It consisted of four different metals, gold and silver, and brass and iron, with clay; and these four metals, according to Daniel's own interpretation, mean so many kingdoms: and the order of their succession is clearly denoted by the order of the parts, the head and higher parts signifying the earlier times, and the lower parts the latter times. From hence it is conjectured by Calvin, the poets drew their fables of the four ages of the world, namely, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age.

Substance of
Nebuchad-
nezzar's
dream.

These different kingdoms will naturally constitute the different heads of our discourse on Daniel's prophecy, and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream; in the explanation of which we shall follow the best commentators on the subject, but, at the same time, shall not regard any commentator so much as the truth of history, the evidence of reason, and the analogy of scripture.

"This image's head was of fine gold," (Daniel ii. 32,) which the prophet thus interprets: "Thou art this head of gold;" ver. 38. Thou, and thy family, and thy representatives. The Babylonian, therefore, was the first of these kingdoms; and it was fitly represented by "the head of fine gold," on account of its great riches; and Babylon, for the same reason, was called by Isaiah, "the golden city." Isaiah xiv. 4.

Daniel's in-
terpretation
of Nebu-
chadnezzar's
dream.

Daniel addresseth Nebuchadnezzar as a very powerful king: "Thou, O king, art a king of kings;" ver. 37. Nebuchadnezzar might, perhaps, think, like some of his predecessors, that his conquests were owing to his own fortitude and prudence; but the prophet assures him his successes must be primarily imputed to the God of heaven; "For the God of heaven (saith he) hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory."

Though almost all the ancient eastern histories are lost, yet there are some fragments preserved, which speak of this mighty conqueror and his extended empire. Berosus saith, that he held in subjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia; and, by his exploits, surpassed all the Chaldeans and Babylonians who reigned before him. Josephus subjoins, that, in the archives of the Phœnicians, there are written things consonant to those which are said by Berosus concerning Nebuchadnezzar, namely, that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia. Megasthenes, in the fourth book of his Indian History, endeavours to show throughout, that Nebuchadnezzar exceeded Hercules in fortitude and greatness of exploits; and positively affirms, that he subdued the greatest part of Lybia and Spain. Strabo likewise asserts, that this king, among the Chaldeans, was more celebrated than Hercules, and led his army out of Spain into Thrace and Pontus. But his empire, though of great extent, was yet of no long duration, for it ended in his grandson Belshazzar, not seventy years after the delivery of this prophecy: and this may be the reason of Daniel's speaking of him as the only king; "thou art this head of gold, and after thee shall rise, &c." Dan. ii. 38, 39.

The great
power of
king Nebu-
chadnezzar.

"His breast and his arms of silver," which Daniel thus interprets: "And after thee shall rise another" ther

"ther kingdom inferior to thee." It is very well known that the kingdom which arose after the Babylonian was the Medo-Perfian. The two hands and the shoulders signify that the empire of the Babylonians should be dissolved by two kings. The two kings were, the kings of the Medes and Persians, whose powers were united under Cyrus, who besieged and took Babylon, put an end to that empire, and on its ruins erected the Medo-Perfian, or the Perfian, (as it is more usually called,) the Persians having soon gained the ascendancy over the Medes.

The Perfian empire inferior to the Babylonian.

The Perfian empire is said to be *inferior*, as being *less* than the Babylonian; and it is certain that neither Cyrus, or any of his successors, ever carried their arms into Africa or Spain, at least as far as Nebuchadnezzar is reported to have done. The Perfian empire may likewise be called *inferior* as being *worse* than the former; for (as Dean Prideaux justly observes) the kings of Persia were certainly "the worst race of men that ever governed an empire." This empire, from its first establishment by Cyrus, to the death of the last king, Darius Codomanus, lasted not much above two hundred years. And thus far it is agreed by all commentators, that the two first kingdoms represented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream were the Babylonian and the Perfian.

"His belly and his thighs of brass;" which is interpreted by Daniel; "And another third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth." It is well known that Alexander the Great subverted the Perfian empire. The kingdom, therefore, which succeeded to the Perfian was the Macedonian; and this kingdom was fitly represented by *brass*, for the Greeks were famous for their brazen armour, their usual epithet being "the brazen coated Greeks." The third kingdom is also said to "bear rule over all the earth." Alexander the Great commanded that he should be called "the king of all the world;" not that he really conquered, or nearly conquered, the whole world, but he had considerable dominions in Europe, Asia and Africa, that is, in all the three parts of the world then known; and Diodorus Siculus, and other historians, mention ambassadors coming from almost all parts of the world to congratulate Alexander upon his successes, or to submit to his empire.

That this third kingdom, therefore, was the Macedonian there is not the least doubt. St. Jerome saith expressly, the third kingdom signifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander; which is rightly named brazen, saith he; for, among all metals, brass is most vocal, and tinkles louder, and its sound is diffused far and wide, that it portended not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but also the eloquence of the Greek language." After the death of Alexander, the kingdoms of the east were divided among his successors; but the whole still retained the name of the Macedonian empire; and Justin reckons Alexander the same to the Macedonians, as Cyrus was to the Persians, and Romulus to the Romans.

"His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay." This is interpreted by Daniel as follows: "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron; the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay; so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." Dan. ii. 40, &c.

This fourth kingdom is described as stronger than the three preceding. As iron breaketh and bruise

all other metals, so this was to break and subdue all the former kingdoms. The metal here is different, and consequently the nation was to be different from the preceding. The four different metals must signify the four different nations; and as the gold signified the Babylonians, the silver the Persians, and the brass the Macedonians, so the iron must necessarily denote some other nation; and that this nation was no other than that of the Romans, will evidently appear from what follows.

The Romans succeeded next to the Macedonians, and therefore, in course, were next to be mentioned. The Roman empire was stronger and larger than any of the preceding. The Romans brake in pieces, and subdued, all the former kingdoms. Josephus says, that, as the two arms of silver denoted the kings of the Medes and Persians, so we might say, in like manner, that the two legs of iron signified the two Roman consuls. The iron was "mixed with miry clay," and the Romans were defiled with a mixture of barbarous nations. The Roman empire was at length divided into ten lesser kingdoms, answering to the ten toes of the image. These kingdoms retained much of the old Roman strength, and manifested it upon several occasions; so that "the kingdom was partly strong and partly broken." They "mingled themselves with the seed of men." They made marriages and alliances one with another; but no hearty union ensued: reasons of state are stronger than those founded on the ties of blood, and interest will always avail more than affinity.

The Roman empire, therefore, is represented in a double state; first, with the strength of iron, conquering all before it, "his legs of iron;" and then weakened and divided by the mixture of barbarous nations, "his feet part of iron, and part of clay." It subdued Syria; and made the kingdom of the Seleucidæ a Roman province in the year 65 before Christ. It subdued Egypt, and made the kingdom of the Lagidæ a Roman province in the year 30 before Christ. And in the fourth century after Christ, it began to be torn in pieces by the incursions of the barbarous nations.

St. Jerome lived to see the incursions of the barbarous nations; and his comment is, "that the fourth kingdom, which plainly belongs to the Romans, is the iron that breaketh and subdueth all things; but his feet and toes are part of iron, and part of clay, which is most manifestly proved at this time: for as, in the beginning, nothing was stronger and harder than the Roman empire, so, in the end of things, nothing is weaker; since both in civil wars, and against divers nations, we want the assistance of other barbarous nations." He hath given the same interpretation in other parts of his works; and it seemeth that he had been blamed for it, as a reflection upon the government; and therefore he maketh this apology for himself: "If, (saith he,) in explaining the statue, and the difference of his feet and toes, I have interpreted the iron and clay of the Roman kingdom, which the scripture foretells should be first strong and then weak, let them not impute it to me, but to the prophet; for we must not so flatter princes, as to neglect the verity of the holy scriptures; nor is a general disputation an injury to a single person."

All ancient writers, both Jewish and Christian, agree with St. Jerome in explaining the fourth kingdom to be the Roman. The celebrated Mr. Mede, who was as able a judge as any person whatever in these matters, has made the following very just observation: "The Roman empire (says he) was believed to be the fourth kingdom of Daniel, by the church of Israel, both before and in Our Saviour's time; received by the disciples of the prophets, and the whole Christian church, for the first 300 years, without any known contradiction. And I confess, having so good a ground in scripture, it is with me "little less than an article of faith."

Exclusive of this wonderful image, Nebuchadnezzar saw, in his dream, "a stone cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were

“were of iron and clay, and broke them to pieces:
“then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver
“and the gold broken in pieces together, and be-
“came like the chaff of the threshing-floors, and
“the wind carried them away, that no place was
“found for them; and the stone that smote the
“image became a great mountain, and filled the
“whole earth:” which is thus interpreted and ex-
“plained by Daniel: “And in the days of these kings
“shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which
“shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall
“not be left to other people, but it shall break in
“pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it
“shall stand for ever: forasmuch as thou sawest
“that the stone was cut out of the mountain with-
“out hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron,
“the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold;” ver.
44, 45.

By this was evidently meant the kingdom of Christ, which was set up during the days of the last of the before-mentioned kingdoms. The *stone* was totally a very different thing from the *image*, and the kingdom of Christ is totally different from the kingdoms of the world. “The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands,” and was to “a building of God, a house not made with hands.” This the fathers generally apply to Christ himself, who was miraculously born of a virgin without the concurrence of a man: but it should rather be understood of the kingdom of Christ, which was formed out of the Roman empire, not by number of hands, or strength of armies, but without human means, and the assistance of human causes. This kingdom was “set up by the God of heaven;” and from thence the phrase of “the kingdom of heaven” came to signify the coming of the Messiah; and so it was used and understood by the Jews, and so it is applied by Our Saviour in the New Testament. Other kingdoms were raised by human ambition, and worldly power; but this was the work not of man, but of God: this was truly, as it is called, “the kingdom of heaven,” and “a kingdom not of this world;” its laws, its powers, were all Divine. This kingdom was “never to be destroyed,” as the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian empires have been, and, in a great measure, also the Roman. This kingdom was to “break in pieces, and consume, all the kingdoms;” to spread and enlarge itself, so that it should comprehend within itself all the former kingdoms. In short, it was to “fill the whole earth,” to become universal, and to “stand for ever.”

As the fourth kingdom, or the Roman empire, was represented in a twofold state, first strong and flourishing, “with legs of iron,” and then weakened and divided, “with feet and toes part of iron and part of clay,” so this fifth kingdom, or the kingdom of Christ, is described likewise in two states, which Mr. Mede very justly distinguishes by the names of “the kingdom of the stone,” and “the kingdom of the mountain.” The first, when “the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands; that is, the kingdom of Christ was first set up while the Roman empire was in its full strength with “legs of iron.” The Roman empire was afterwards divided into ten lesser kingdoms, the remains of which are still subsisting. The image is still standing upon his feet and toes of iron and clay; the kingdom of Christ is still “the stone cut out of the mountain:” this stone will one day smite the image upon the feet and toes, and destroy it utterly, and will itself “become a great mountain and fill the whole earth;” or, in other words, “the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.” Rev. xi. 15. We have, therefore, seen the kingdom of the *stone*, but we have not yet seen the kingdom of the *mountain*. Some parts of this prophecy still remain to be fulfilled; and, from the exact completion of the other parts, there is not the least doubt but that the rest, in due season, will be fully accomplished.

The interpretation of the fifth kingdom is con-

sonant to the sense of all ancient writers, both Jews and Christians. Jonathan Bell Uzziel, who made the Chaldee Targum, or paraphrase upon the prophecies, lived a little before Our Saviour. He did not, indeed, make any Chaldee version of Daniel, but he applies his prophecies in his interpretation of those of other prophets. Thus, in a paraphrase upon Habakuk, he speaketh of the four great kingdoms of the earth, that they should, in their turns, be destroyed, and be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. “For the kingdom of Babylon shall not continue, nor exercise dominion over Israel; the kings of Media shall be slain, and the strong men of Greece shall not prosper; the Romans shall be blotted out, nor collect tribute from Jerusalem. Therefore, because of the sign and redemption which thou shalt accomplish for thy Christ, and for the remnant of thy people, they who remain shall praise thee, &c.”

Josephus, in speaking of this kingdom, says, “The kingdom of the *stone* shall bruise the Jews that stumbled at Christ’s first coming; but the kingdom of the *mountain*, when manifested, shall beat the feet of the monarchical statue to dust, and leave no remains of the fourth monarchy in its last and degenerate state.”

The same opinion was prevalent among the ancient Christians, as well as among the Jews. St. Jerome, and all the fathers, who have occasion to comment upon this passage, give the same interpretation: but it will be sufficient here to preserve the testimony of that elegant historian Sulpicius Severus, who, after having given an account of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, and all the particulars relating to it, subjoins an exposition of it agreeable to Daniel’s interpretation. “The image (says he) is an emblem of the world. The golden head is the empire of the Chaldeans; forasmuch as that was the first and most wealthy. The breast and arms of silver, signify the second kingdom, which was that of the Persians under Cyrus. In the brazen belly the third kingdom is declared to be portended, and that we see fulfilled; forasmuch as the empire, taken from the Persians, was given by Alexander to Macedonia. The iron legs are the fourth kingdom; and that is the Roman, the strongest of all the kingdoms before it. But the feet, part of iron, and part of clay, prefigure the Roman empire to be so divided as that it should never unite again; which is equally fulfilled; forasmuch as the Roman territory is occupied by foreign nations or rebels: and we see (saith he, and he lived at the beginning of the fifth century) barbarous nations mixed with our armies, cities, and provinces. But in the stone cut without hands, which brake in pieces the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron and the clay, we have a figure of Christ; for he shall reduce this world, in which are the kingdoms of the earth, to nothing, and shall establish a kingdom that will last for ever.”

Thus did it please God to reveal unto Daniel, and by Daniel unto Nebuchadnezzar, the great and most signal events of this world, as Daniel said unto Nebuchadnezzar at the time he interpreted his dream; “The great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter; and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is sure.” Dan. ii. 45. The king, hearing his dream related with such exactness, might be better assured of the truth of the interpretation, and of the great events which should follow. And from hence we are enabled, in some measure, to account for Nebuchadnezzar’s prophesying a little before he died. Abydenus wrote the history of the Assyrians. It is not well known in what age he lived, and his history is lost; but there is a fragment of it preserved by Eusebius, wherein it is asserted, that Nebuchadnezzar, just before his death, was inspired, and that he prophesied in this manner: “I Nebuchadnezzar fore-
“rel unto you, O Babylonians, an imminent calamity, which neither Belus, my progenitor, nor
“queen Belis can persuade the fates to avert: a
“Persian mule shall come assisted by your demons,
“and impose servitude upon you; whose coad-
“jutor

Exposition
of Nebu-
chadnezzar’s dream
by Sulpi-
cius Seve-
rus.

Prophecy
of Nebu-
chadnezzar.

"jutor shall be a Mede, the boast of the Assyrians."

Interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's prophecy.

This prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar was afterwards thus interpreted: Cyrus was the mule: he was born of parents of different nations; the mother the better, and the father the meaner; for she was a Mede, and a daughter of the king of the Medes; but he was a Persian, and subject to the Medes. If, therefore, any such prophecy was uttered by Nebuchadnezzar a little before his death, if any such oracle was received and believed of Cyrus and the Persians subduing Asia, it may very justly be supposed to have been derived originally from the prophecy of Daniel, which being solemnly delivered to a great king, and published in Chaldea, might come to be generally known in the east, and the truth of it soon evinced by the event that followed,

It was likewise from this prophecy of Daniel that the distinction first arose of the four great empires of the world, which hath been followed by most historians and chronologers in their distribution of times. As these four empires are the subject of this prophecy, so likewise have they been the subject of the most celebrated writers, both in former and in latter ages. The histories of these empires are the best written, and the most read, of any; they are the study of the learned, and the amusement of the polite; they are of use both in schools, and in senates: from hence, examples, instructions, laws, and politics are derived for all ages; and very little in comparison is known of other times, or of other nations.

It may be observed by some, that there have been empires as great as these, such as those of the Tartars, the Saracens, and the Turks; and it may, perhaps, be thought that they are as well deserving of a place in this succession of kingdoms, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy, being as eminent for the wisdom of their constitutions, the extent of their dominions, and the length of their duration. But these four empires had a particular relation to the church and people of God, who were subjects to each of them in their turns. The fate of them was therefore particularly predicted; and we have in them, without the intermixture of others, a line of prophecy (as it may be justly called) from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the full and compleat establishment of the kingdom of the Messiah.

The great arbiter of kingdoms, and governor of the universe, can reveal as much of their future revolutions as he pleaseth; and he hath revealed enough to manifest his providence, and to confirm the truth of religion. What Daniel, therefore, said on the first discovery of these things, may be very justly applied after the completion of so many particulars: "Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever; for wisdom and might are his. And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know knowledge. He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him." Dan. ii. 20, &c.

C H A P. XII.

Of Daniel's Vision concerning the Four great Empires.

Daniel's vision concerning the four great empires.

THE last sovereign of the Babylonish empire was Belshazzar, in the first year of whose reign the same things were revealed unto Daniel concerning the four great empires of the world, as had been revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar in the second year of his reign, which was a space of about forty-eight years. All the difference between these revelations is, that what was revealed to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was represented to Daniel in the shape of great wild beasts; which difference is accounted for by Mr. Louth, who says, "this image appeared with a glorious lustre in the imagination of Nebuchadnezzar, whose mind was

wholly taken up with admiration of worldly pomp and splendor; whereas the same monarchies were represented to Daniel under the shape of fierce and wild beasts, as being the great supporters of idolatry and tyranny in the world."

In Daniel's vision the first kingdom is represented by a beast, that was "like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." Dan. vii. 4. This is the kingdom of the Babylonians: and the king of Babylon is, in like manner, compared to a lion by the prophet Jeremiah: "the lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way." Jer. iv. 7. And he is said to fly as an eagle: "Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab;" xlviii. 40. And he is also compared to an eagle by the prophet Ezekiel: "Thus saith the Lord God, 'A great eagle with great wings,' &c. Ezek. xviii. 3.

The lion is the king of beasts, and the eagle the king of birds; and therefore the kingdom of Babylon, which is described as the first and noblest kingdom, and was the kingdom then in being, is said to partake of the nature of both. The eagle's wings denote its swiftness and rapidity; and the conquests of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being advanced to its height within a few years by a single person, namely, by the conduct and arms of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther said that "the wings thereof were pluckt." Its wings were beginning to be pluckt when Daniel's prophecy was first delivered, for at that time the Medes and Persians were encroaching upon it. Belshazzar, the then reigning king, was the last of his race; and in the seventeenth year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Persians.

"And it was made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." The meaning of this passage is supposed to be an allusion to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, when, in his madness, "a beast's heart was given unto him," and, after he was restored to his senses, "a man's heart was given to him" again. It evidently appears, that, after the Babylonian empire was subverted, the people became more humane and gentle; their minds were humbled with their ill fortune; and those who vaunted as if they had been more than men, now found themselves to be but men. They were, in short, brought to such a sense as the psalmist wishes such persons to have: "Put them in fear, O Lord; that the nations may know themselves to be but men." Psal. ix. 20.

The second kingdom is represented by "another beast like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, 'Arise, devour much flesh.'" Dan. vii. 5. This is the kingdom of the Medes and Persians; and, for their cruelty and greediness after blood, they are compared to a bear, which is a savage and voracious animal. The learned Bochart recounts several particulars wherein the Persians resembled bears; but the chief likeness consisted in what has been already mentioned; and this likeness was principally intended by the prophet, as evidently appears from the words of the text itself; "Arise, devour much flesh."

"And it raised up itself on one side," or "it raised up one dominion." The Persians were subject to the Medes at the conquest of Babylon, but soon after raised themselves above them.

"And it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it." By these are meant the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom. They might properly be called ribs, as the conquest of them much strengthened the Persian empire; and they might be said to be between "the teeth of the"

"the bear," as they were much grinded and oppressed by the Persians.

Natural
cruelty of
the Medes
and Per-
sians.

"And they said thus unto it, arise, devour much flesh." This, as we have before observed, was said to denote the natural cruelty of the Medes and Persians. They are also represented as very cruel by the prophet Isaiah, chap. xiii. 18. Cambyles, Ochus, and others of their princes, were, indeed, more like bears than men. Instances of their cruelty abound in almost all the historians who have written of their affairs. Ammianus Marcellinus describes them as being proud, cruel, and exercising the power of life and death over slaves and obscure plebeians. "They pull off the skin (says he) from men alive by pieces or altogether; and they have abominable laws, by which, for one man's offence, all the neighbourhood is destroyed."

Emblem of
the third
kingdom.

Explan-
ation.

The third kingdom is represented by "another beast like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it." This is the kingdom of the Macedonians or Grecians, who, under the command of Alexander the Great, overcame the Persians, and reigned next after them: and it is fitly compared to a leopard on several accounts. The leopard is remarkable for swiftness; and Alexander and the Macedonians were amazingly swift and rapid in their conquests. The leopard is a spotted animal, and was therefore a proper emblem (according to Bochart) of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded, or (according to Grotius) of the various manners of Alexander himself, who was sometimes merciful, and sometimes cruel; sometimes temperate, and sometimes drunken; sometimes abstemious, and sometimes incontinent. The leopard (as Bochart observes) is of small stature, but of great courage, so as not to be afraid to engage with the lion and the largest beasts; and so Alexander, a little king in comparison, of small stature too, and with a small army, dared to attack Darius, whose kingdom extended from the Ægean Sea to the Indies.

"The beast had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl." The Babylonian empire was represented with *two* wings, but this is described with *four*. For (as St. Jerome saith) nothing could be swifter than the victories of Alexander, who ran through all the countries, from Illyricum and the Adriatic Sea, to the Indian Ocean and the river Ganges, not so much fighting as conquering; and in twelve years subjugated part of Europe, and all Asia to himself.

"The beast had also four heads;" to denote the four kingdoms into which this same third kingdom should be divided, as it was divided, after the death of Alexander, into four kingdoms, Cassander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lyfimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria:

"And dominion was given to it." This (as St. Jerome says) sheweth that it was not owing to the fortitude of Alexander, but proceeded from the will of the Lord. And, indeed, unless he had been directed, preserved, and assisted by the Supreme Power, how could Alexander, with 30,000 men, have overcome Darius, with 600,000, and, in so short a time, have brought all the countries, from Greece as far as to India, into subjection?

The fourth kingdom is represented by a "fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before." Daniel was particularly desirous to know what this might mean; upon which he was thus answered by the angel, who had explained to him the former part of his vision: "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces." Daniel vii. 19. 23.

No. 56.

This fourth kingdom can be none other than the Roman empire. The fourth beast was so great and horrible, that it was not easy to find an adequate name for it: and the Roman empire was "dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly," beyond any of the former kingdoms. It was "diverse from all kingdoms," not only in its republican form of government, but likewise in strength, and power, and greatness, length of duration, and extent of dominion. "It devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it." It reduced Macedon into a Roman province about 168 years, the kingdom of Pergamus about 133 years, Syria about 65 years, and Egypt about 30 years, before Christ. And besides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it subdued many other provinces and kingdoms; so that it might very justly be said to "devour the whole earth, and to tread it down, and break it in pieces;" and it became, in a manner, what the Roman writers delighted to call it, namely, "*The empire of the whole world.*"

Explan-
ation.

A celebrated Greek writer, who flourished in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, hath a remarkable passage, which is very pertinent towards illustrating the fulfilment of this part of the prophecy. In speaking of the great superiority of the Roman to all former empires, he saith, "The Macedonian empire having overturned the force of the Persians, in greatness, indeed, of dominion, exceeded all the kingdoms which were before it; but yet it did not flourish a long time. After the death of Alexander it began to grow worse and worse, and being divided into several principalities by his successors, it was weakened by itself, and at last was destroyed by the Romans. Notwithstanding its once great power, yet it did not reduce all the earth and sea to its obedience. For it did not possess Africa, except that part adjoining to Egypt. Nor did it subdue all Europe; but only northwards it proceeded as far as Thrace; and westwards it descended to the Adriatic Sea. But the city of Rome ruleth over all the earth, as far as it is inhabited; and commands all the sea; not only that within the Pillars of Hercules, but also the ocean, as far as it is navigable, having first, and alone, of all the most celebrated kingdoms, made the east and west the bounds of its empire: and its dominion hath continued not a short time, but longer than that of any other city or kingdom in the world."

Illustrations
of the ful-
filment of
that part of
the pro-
phesy re-
lative to
the Roman
empire.

Another remarkable property of this fourth beast is, that "it had ten horns:" and, according to the angel's interpretation, "the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings," or kingdoms, "that shall arise;" which was accordingly fulfilled when the Roman empire was divided into ten different states or kingdoms.

But, besides these ten horns or kingdoms of the fourth empire, there was to spring up among them another little horn. "I considered the horns (saith Daniel) and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns pluckt up by the roots." Daniel was eager to know the meaning of this part of the vision; upon which the angel informed him, that as "the ten horns out of this kingdom were ten kings," or kingdoms, "that should arise," so likewise that "another shall rise after them, and he shall subdue three kings," or kingdoms.

We have already seen that the Roman empire was divided into ten horns or kingdoms, and among them we may, on a proper examination, find another little horn or kingdom, answering, in all respects, to the character here given. The celebrated Machiavel (in his history of Florence) after having shewn how the Roman empire was broken and divided by the incursions of the northern nations, says, "About this time the bishops of Rome began to take upon them, and to exercise greater authority than they had formerly done. At first the successors of St. Peter were venerable and eminent for their miracles, and the holiness of their lives; and their examples added daily such numbers to the

Observa-
tions by
Machiavel.

Christian church, that, to obviate or remove the confusions which were then in the world, many princes turned Christians; and the emperor of Rome being converted among the rest, and quitting Rome, to hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman empire began to decline; but the church of Rome augmented as fast." He then proceeds to give an account how the Roman empire declined, and the power of the church of Rome increased; first under the Goths, then under the Lombards, and afterwards by calling in of the Franks.

Here, then, is a little horn springing up among the other ten horns. The bishop of Rome was respectable as a bishop long before, but he did not become an *horn* properly (which is an emblem of strength and power) till he became a temporal prince. He was to *rise after* the other, that is, *behind them*; so that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it had overpowered them. "Three of the first horns (that is, three of the first kings or kingdoms) were to be plucked up by the roots," and to "fall before him." These three are very fully explained both by Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton; but, as there is very little variation between them, we shall only quote the words of the latter. "Kings (saith he) are put for kingdoms, and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was an horn of the fourth beast, and rooted up three of his first horns, and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the rise of the ten horns. In the eighth century, by rooting up and subduing the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the senate and dukedom of Rome, the bishop acquired Peter's patrimony out of their dominions, and thereby rose up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of the fourth beast." Again. "It was certainly by the victory of the see of Rome over the Greek emperor, the king of Lombardy, and the senate of Rome, that she acquired Peter's patrimony, and rose up to her greatness."—That this explanation of Sir Isaac Newton's is justly founded will appear from what follows.

First, the exarchate of Ravenna, which of right belonged to the Greek emperors, and was the capital of their dominions in Italy, having revolted at the instigation of the pope, was unjustly seized by Aistulphus, king of the Lombards, who thereupon thought of making himself master of Italy. The pope, in this exigency, applied for help to Pepin, king of France, who marched into Italy, besieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to surrender the exarchate, and other territories; which were not restored to the Greek emperor, as in justice they ought to have been, but, at the solicitation of the pope, were given to St. Peter and his successors for a perpetual succession. Pope Zachary had acknowledged Pepin, usurper of the crown of France, as lawful sovereign; and now Pepin, in his turn, bestowed a principality, which was another's properly, upon Pope Stephen II. the successor of Zachary. "And so (as Platina says) the name of the exarchate, which had continued from the time of Narles to the taking of Ravenna by Aistulphus, an hundred and seventy years, was extinguished." This (according to Sigonius) was effected in the year 755; and henceforward the popes, having become temporal princes, did no longer date their epistles and bulls by the years of the emperors reigns, but by the years of their own advancement to the papal chair.

Secondly, the kingdom of the Lombards was often troublesome to the pope. King Disiderius invaded the territories of pope Adrian I. upon which the latter was obliged to have recourse to the king of France, and earnestly invited Charles the Great, the son and successor of Pepin, to come into Italy to his assistance. He accordingly went with a great army (being ambitious also himself of enlarging his dominions in Italy) and conquered the Lombards, put an end to their kingdom, and gave great part of their dominions to the pope. He not only confirmed the former donations of his father Pepin,

but also made an addition of other countries to them, as Corsica, Sardinia, the Sabine territories, the whole track between Lucca and Parma, and that part of Tuscany that belonged to the Lombards: and the tables of these donations he not only signed himself, but caused them to be signed by the bishops, abbots, and other great men then present, and laid them so signed upon the altar of St. Peter. And this was the end of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the 206th year after their possessing Italy, and in the year of Christ 774.

Thirdly, the *state of Rome*, though subject to the popes in things spiritual, was yet, in things temporal, governed by the senate and people, who, after their defection from the eastern emperors, still retained many of their old privileges, and elected both the western emperor and the popes. After Charles the Great had overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards, he went again to Rome, and was there, by the pope, bishops, abbots, and people of Rome, chosen Roman patrician, which is the degree of honor and power next to emperor. He then settled the affairs of Italy, and permitted the pope to hold under him the duchy of Rome with other territories: but, after a few years, the Romans, desirous to recover their liberty, conspired against pope Leo III. accused him of many great crimes, and imprisoned him. His accusers were heard on a day appointed before Charles, and a council of French and Italian bishops: but the pope, without pleading his own cause, or making any defence, was acquitted; his accusers were slain or banished, and he himself was declared superior to all human jurisdiction. And thus the foundation was laid for the absolute authority of the pope over the Romans, which was completed by degrees; and Charles, in return, was chosen emperor of the west. However, after the death of Charles the Great, the Romans again conspired against the pope; but Lewis the Pius, the son and successor of Charles, acquitted him again. Some time after this pope Leo was taken dangerously ill, which as soon as the Romans, his enemies, knew, they rose again, plundered and burnt his villas, and thence marched to Rome to recover what things had been taken from them by force; but they were repressed by some of the emperor's troops. The same emperor Lewis the Pius, at the request of pope Paschal, confirmed the donations which his father and grandfather had made to the see of Rome. Sigonius has recited the confirmation; and therein are mentioned Rome and its duchy, containing part of Tuscany and Campania, Ravenna, with the exarchate and Pentapolis, and the other part of Tuscany, and the countries taken from the Lombards: and all these are granted to the pope and his successors, that they should hold them in their own right, principality, and dominions, to the end of the world.

These were "the three horns, three of the first horns," which fell before the little horn: and the pope hath, in a manner, pointed himself out for the person by wearing the *triple crown*. In other respects too the pope fully answers the character of the little horn; so that if exquisite fitness of application may assure us of the true sense of the prophecy, we can no longer doubt concerning the person. He is "a little horn." And the power of the popes was originally very small, and their temporal dominions were little and inconsiderable, in comparison with others of the ten horns.

"He shall be diverse from the first:" that is, his kingdom shall be of a different nature and constitution: and the power of the pope differs greatly from that of all other princes, he having not only an ecclesiastical, but likewise a civil and temporal authority.

"And behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man." This denotes his cunning and foresight; his looking out and watching all opportunities to promote his own interests: And the policy of the Roman hierarchy had almost passed into a proverb.

"He

Explanation
by Mr.
Mede and
Sir Isaac
Newton.

Causes of
the Popes
becoming
temporal
Princes.

The Lombards
invade the
territories of
the Pope.

Great part
of the do-
minions of
the Lom-
bards given
to the Pope.

The King-
dom of the
Lombards
annihilated

Pope
Leo III.
restored
to the
Romans.

He signed
with his
Lombards
and thus
settled
the state
of the Empire

"He had a mouth speaking very great things." And who hath been more noisy and blustering than the pope, especially in former ages, boasting of his supremacy, thundering out his bulls and anathemas, excommunicating princes, and absolving subjects from their allegiance?

"His look was more stout than his fellows." And the pope assumes a superiority, not only over his fellow bishops, but even over crowned heads; and requires greater honours to be paid to him, than are expected even by kings and emperors themselves.

"And he shall speak great words against the Most High; or, he shall speak great words as the Most High." And has he not set himself up above all laws, divine and human; arrogating to himself godlike attributes, and titles of *holiness* and *infallibility*; exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees, in preference to, and in open violation of, both reason and scripture?

"And he shall wear out the saints of the Most High." This he has done by wars, massacres, and inquisitions, persecuting and destroying the faithful servants of Christ, and the true worshippers of God, who have protested against his innovations, and refused to comply with the idolatry practised in the church of Rome.

"And he shall think to change times and laws." This he has done by appointing fasts and feasts, canonizing saints, granting pardon and indulgences for sins, instituting new modes of worship, imposing new articles of faith, enjoining new rules of practice, and, in short, reversing, at pleasure, the laws both of God and man.

Such is the power of the pope even at this present period; and such is the little horn that was to arise out of the ten horns, or kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided.

Daniel's vision of the kingdom of the Messiah.

But the four kingdoms represented in Daniel's vision, were to be followed by a fifth, namely, the kingdom of the Messiah. "I beheld (saith Daniel) till the thrones were cast down, and the antient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him: and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened." Dan. vii. 9, 10. These metaphors and figures are taken from the solemnities of earthly judicatories, and particularly of the great Sanhedrim of the Jews, where the father of the consistory sat, with his assessors seated on each side of him, in the form of a semicircle, and the people standing before him: and from this was taken the description of the day of judgment as given in the New Testament.

"I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spoke; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame," ver. 11. The beast will be destroyed "because of the great words which the horn spoke," and the destruction of the beast will also be the destruction of the horn; and consequently the horn is a part of the fourth beast, or of the Roman empire. "As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time." When the dominion was taken away from the other beasts, their bodies were not destroyed, for they were suffered to continue still in being: but when the dominion shall be taken away from the fourth beast, his body shall be totally destroyed: The other kingdoms succeeded each other, but none other earthly kingdom shall succeed to this.

"I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of Man, came in the clouds of heaven, and came to the antient of days, and they brought him near before him." Here was evidently dis-

played the coming of the Messiah. From hence "the Son of Man" came to be a known term for Messiah among the Jews. From hence it was taken and used to frequently in the gospel. Our Saviour intimates himself to be this very Son of Man: "Hereafter (says he) shall ye see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." Matt. xxvi. 64, 65. And for saying this, he was charged by the high-priest with having "spoken blasphemy."

"And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Dan. vii. 14. All these kingdoms shall, in time, be destroyed, but the kingdom of the Messiah shall stand for ever. And it was an allusion to this part of the prophecy that the angel said of Christ before he was born, "He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end." Luke i. 33.

In what manner these great changes will be effected we cannot pretend to say, as God hath not been pleased to reveal it unto us. We see, however, the remains of the ten horns which arose out of the Roman empire. We see the little horn still subsisting, but, it is to be hoped, on the decline, and tending towards a dissolution. And having seen so many of these particulars accomplished, we can have no reason to doubt but that the rest also will, in due season, be amply fulfilled.

If we compare the prophecies of Daniel in interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with those revealed to Daniel in his vision, and interpreted by the angel, we shall find such a close similarity as must naturally strike us with astonishment. What was represented to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a "great image," was represented again to Daniel by "four great wild beasts:" and the beasts have degenerated as the metals grew worse and worse.

Agreement between the prophecies of Daniel in interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and those revealed to him in his vision.

"This image's head was of fine gold;" and "the first beast was like a lion with eagle's wings;" and these answer to each other; and both represented the powers then reigning, or the kingdom of the Babylonians: but it appeared in splendor and glory to Nebuchadnezzar, as it was then in its flourishing condition: the *plucking* of its wings, and its humiliation, were shown to Daniel, as it was then drawing near to its fatal end.

"The breast and arms of silver, and the second beast like a bear," were designed to represent the second kingdom, or that of the Medes and Persians. The "two arms" are supposed to denote the two people: but some farther particulars were hinted to Daniel, of the one people rising up above the other people, and of the conquest of three additional kingdoms. To Nebuchadnezzar this kingdom was called *inferior*, or worse than the former; and to Daniel it was described as very cruel; "Arise, devour much flesh."

The third kingdom, or that of the Macedonians, was represented by "the belly and thighs of brass," and by "the third beast like a leopard, with four wings of a fowl." It was said to Nebuchadnezzar, that "it should bear rule over all the earth;" and in Daniel's vision, "dominion was given to it." The "four heads" signify Alexander's four successors: but the "two thighs" can only signify the two principal of them, namely, the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, that is, the Syrian and Egyptian kings,

"The legs of iron," and "the fourth beast with great iron teeth;" exactly correspond; and as "iron breaketh in pieces" all other metals, so the fourth beast "devoured and break in pieces;" and they were, therefore, both equally proper representatives of the fourth kingdom, or the Roman, which was stronger and more powerful than either of the former kingdoms. The "ten toes" too, and the "ten horns," were alike fit emblems of the ten kingdoms,

doms, which arose out of the division of the Roman empire: but all that relates to "the little horn" was revealed only to Daniel, as a person more immediately interested in the fate of the church.

The *stone*, that was "cut out of the mountain without hands, and became" itself "a mountain, and filled the whole earth," is explained to be a kingdom, which shall prevail over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting. In like manner, "one like the Son of Man came to the antient of days," and was advanced to a kingdom, which shall prevail likewise over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting.

Such is the great concord and agreement between these prophecies of Daniel; which, remarkable as they are in many things, are not more so, than that they comprehend such distant events, and extend through so many ages, from the reign of the Babylonians, to the consummation of all things. They are truly (as Mr. Mede calls them), "the sacred calendar and great almanac of prophecy; a prophetic chronology of times, measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel, until the mystery of God shall be finished."

Daniel was "much troubled, and his countenance changed in him," at the foresight of the calamities that were to be brought on the church by the little horn: "he kept the matter in his heart." Much more may good men be grieved at the sight of these calamities, and lament the prevalence of popery and wickedness in the world: but let them "keep it in their hearts," that a time of just retribution will certainly come. The proof of this may be drawn from the moral attributes of God, as well as from his promise: "The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him." Daniel vii. 26, 27.

CHAP. XIII.

The Vision of the prophet Daniel, relative to the Ram and He-Goat.

THE first vision Daniel had was that of the four great beasts, representing the four great empires of the world, and which happened in the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon. In the third year of the same king's reign he had another vision, which, though in form of a different nature, pertained, in a very great degree, to the same tendency. "In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me, Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first." It was exhibited to him at the palace of Shushan, and by the side of the river Ulai, or Euleus, as it is called by the Greeks and Romans. "And I saw in a vision, and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai." Such was the time and place of the vision; and the vision itself consisted of a ram and an he-goat.

In the former vision there appeared four beasts, because four empires were there represented; but here are only two, because here we have a representation of what was transacted chiefly within two empires. The first of the four empires (that is, the Babylonian) is here wholly omitted; for its fate, at this time, was sufficiently known, and it was now drawing very near to a conclusion. The second empire, therefore, in the former vision, is the first in this; and what was there compared to a bear, is here prefigured by a ram. "Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold, there stood before the

"river a ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last." Dan. viii. 3. This ram with two horns, according to the explanation of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Persians. "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings (or kingdoms) of Media and Persia," ver. 20.

This empire, therefore, which was formed by the conjunction of the Medes and Persians, and is often called the Medo-Persian, was not unfitly represented by a ram "with two horns." Cyrus, the founder of this empire, succeeded to both crowns, and united the kingdoms of Media and Persia. It was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is said, that "the two horns were high: but one," it is added, "was higher than the other, and the higher came up last." The kingdom of Media was the more ancient of the two, and more famous in history. Persia was of little note or account till the time of Cyrus; but under him the Persians gained and preserved the ascendancy.

The great exploits of the ram are afterwards recapitulated by the prophet, who says, "I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great." Dan. viii. 4. Under Cyrus himself the Persians pushed their conquests *westward* as far as the Ægean Sea and the bounds of Asia: *northward* they subdued the Armenians, Cappadocians, and various other nations; and *southward* they conquered Egypt; if not under Cyrus, yet most certainly under his son Cambyses. In the prophecy there is not any mention made of their conquests in the *east*, the reason of which is, that these countries lay very remote, and were of little concern or consequence to them.

The ram was strong and powerful, "so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand;" that is, none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Persians, but all fell under their dominion. "He did according to his will, and became great:" and the Persian empire was increased and enlarged to such a degree, that it extended "from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces." Esther i. 1. So that seven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty which it contained in the time of Cyrus. Dan. vi. 1.

After the ram appears the he-goat. "And as I was considering (saith Daniel) behold, an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes;" which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel: "The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king," or kingdom. A goat is very properly made the type of the Grecian or Macedonian empire, because the Macedonians at first, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadae*, or "the goat's people;" and the reason of their being so called, is thus accounted for by heathen authors. Caranus, their first king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to seek new habitations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats for his guides to empire; and afterwards seeing an herd of goats flying from a violent storm, he followed them to Edessa, and there fixed the seat of his empire; made the goats his ensign, or standards, and called the city *Ægeæ*, or "the goat's town;" and the people *Ægeadae*, or "the goat's people." To this it may be added, that the city *Ægeæ* was the usual burial-place of the Macedonian kings; and it is also very remarkable, that Alexander's son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægeus*, or "the son of the goat;" and some of Alexander's successors are represented in their coins with "goat's horns."

This he-goat "came from the west on the face of the whole earth;" that is, he carried every thing before

Daniel's vision of the ram and he-goat.

The time and place of the vision.

before him in all the three parts of the then known world. "And he touched not the ground:" his marches were so swift, and his conquests so rapid, that he might be said, in a manner, to pass over the ground without touching it. For the same reason the same empire, in the former vision, was likened to a *leopard*, which is a very swift and active animal; and, to denote the greater quickness and impetuosity, to "a leopard with four wings."

"And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes." This horn, saith the angel, "is the first king," or kingdom of the Greeks in Asia, which was erected by Alexander the Great, and continued for some years under his brother Philip Arrideus, and his two sons, Alexander Aëgus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, in speaking of the swiftness of Alexander's marches, hath a passage which is very pertinent to our present purpose: "He flew (says he) with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius, going near forty miles a day for eleven days together; so that, by the speed of his marches, he came upon the enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. This exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther, or leopard, with four wings: for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey; and came on upon his enemies with that speed as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is, in another part of those prophecies, compared to an he-goat, coming from the west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as the former, fully verified the prophecy."

In the next part of this vision we have an account of the Persian empire being overthrown by the Grecians. "And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand." Dan. viii. 6, 7.

The ram had before *pushed westward*, and the Persians, in the reigns of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes, had poured down with great armies into Greece; but now the Grecians, in return, carried their arms into Asia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him.

"And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power." These words strongly point out to our imagination the army of Darius standing and guarding the river Granicus, and that of Alexander's on the other side plunging in, swimming across the stream, and rushing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be conceived. It appeared to be a strange mad attempt of Alexander to attack the army of Darius, which was considerably more than five times the number of his own; but he was successful in the undertaking, and this success diffused a terror of his name, and opened his way to the conquest of Asia.

"And I saw him come close unto the ram." He had several close engagements, or set battles, with the king of Persia, and particularly at the river Granicus, in Phrygia; at the Straits of Issus, in Cilicia; and in the plains of Arbela, in Assyria.

"And he was moved with choler against him." That was for the cruelties which the Persians had exercised towards the Grecians, and for Darius's

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attempting to corrupt sometimes the soldiers of Alexander to betray him, and sometimes his friends to destroy him; so that he would not listen to the most advantageous offers of peace, but he determined to pursue the Persian king till he completed his destruction.

"And he smote the ram, and brake his two horns." He subdued Persia and Media, with the other provinces and kingdoms of the Persian empire; and it is remarkable that in Persia he barbarously sacked and burned the royal city of Persepolis, the capital of the empire; and in Media Darius was seized, and made a prisoner, by some of his own traitor subjects, who not long afterwards barely murdered him.

"And there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him." He conquered where ever he went, routed all the forces, took all the cities and castles, and entirely subverted and ruined the Persian empire.

The Persian empire totally ruined

"And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand." Not even the numerous armies of the king of Persia could defend him; though his forces at the battle of Issus amounted to 600,000 men, and at that of Arbela to 10 or 1,100,000; whereas the whole number of Alexander's was not more than 40,000 in either battle. So true is the observation of the psalmist, "there is no king saved by the multitude of an host." Psal. xxxiii. 16.

There is not any thing fixed and stable in human affairs; and the empire of the goat, though exceeding great, was, perhaps, for that reason, the sooner broken in pieces. "Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones, towards the four winds of heaven." Which the angel thus interprets: "Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." Dan. viii. 22.

The empire of the goat was in its full strength when Alexander died at Babylon. He was succeeded on the throne by his natural brother, Philip Arrideus, and by his own two sons, Alexander Aëgus and Hercules; but, in the space of about fifteen years, they were all murdered; and then the first *horn*, or kingdom, was entirely *broken*. The royal family being thus extinct, the governors of provinces, who had usurped the power, assumed the title of kings; and, by the defeat and death of Antigonus, they were reduced to four, namely, Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and settled them into four kingdoms. These four kingdoms are the "notable horns" which came up in the room of the first great horn, and are the same as the "four heads of the leopard" in the former vision.

Death of Alexander, and untimely ends of his successors.

"Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. They were to be kingdoms of Greeks, not of Alexander's own family, but only of his nation; and neither were they to be equal to him in power and dominion, as an empire united is certainly more powerful than an empire divided, and the whole is greater than any of the parts. They were likewise to extend toward the four winds of heaven;" and, in the partition of the empire, Cassander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *western* parts; Lysimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and the *northern* regions; Ptolemy possessed Egypt, and the *southern* countries; and Seleucus obtained Syria, and the *eastern* provinces. Thus were they divided "toward the four winds of heaven."

As, in the former vision, a little horn sprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, so here a little horn is described as rising among the four horns of the Grecian empire: "And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east,"

"east, and toward the pleasant land." Dan. viii. 9. This little horn can only be applied to the Romans, who were a new and different power; who rose from small beginnings to an exceeding great empire; who first subdued Macedon and Greece, the capital kingdoms of the goat, and from thence spread and enlarged their conquests over the rest. When they first got footing in Greece, then they became a horn of the goat. Out of this horn they came, and were, at first, a little horn; but, in process of time, they overtopped the other horns, and became predominant. The strength of the other kingdoms consisted in themselves, and had their foundations in some part of the goat; but the Roman empire, as a horn or kingdom of the goat, was not mighty by its own power, was not strong by virtue of the goat, but drew its nourishment and strength from Rome to Italy. There grew the trunk and body of the tree, though the branches extended over Greece, Asia, Syria, and Egypt.

The remainder of this prophecy chiefly relates to the persecuting and oppressing the people of God. "And he waxed great even to the host of heaven, (or against the host of heaven,) and he cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them:" that is, the Jewish state in general, or the priests and Levites in particular, who are called *stars*, from their being eminent for their station, and illustrious for their knowledge; and "the host of heaven," as they watched and served in the temple, and their service is denominated a *warfare*. Numb. viii. 24.

"He shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand." When the city of Jerusalem was besieged and taken by the Romans, the number of captives amounted to ninety-seven thousand, and of the slain to eleven hundred thousand. The Romans too carried their conquest and revenge so as to put an end to the government of the Jews, and entirely to take away their place and nation.

The number of the slain and taken prisoners at the siege of Jerusalem.

It is farther added, that "he shall also stand up against the prince of princes." By the "prince of princes" is undoubtedly meant the Messiah. It was by the malice of the Jews, and the authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he suffered the punishment of the Roman malefactors and slaves. The Romans not only crucified Our Saviour, but also persecuted his disciples for above three centuries: and when, at length, they embraced the Christian religion, they soon corrupted it; so that it may be questioned whether their favour was not as hurtful to the church as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increased: and may it not, with equal truth and justice, be said of the latter, as of the former, that they "cast down the truth to the ground, and practised, and prospered?" The persecuting power of Rome, whether exercised towards the Jews, or towards the Christians, or by the emperors or popes, is still "the little horn." The tyranny is the same; but, as exerted in Greece and the east, it is the little horn of the he-goat, or third empire; as exerted in Italy, and the west, it is the little horn of the fourth beast, or fourth empire.

But the little horn, like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end: "he shall be broken without hand." As the stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was "cut out of the mountain without hands," that is, not by human, but by supernatural means, so the little horn "shall be broken without hand;" that is, not fall by the hands of man, but perish by a stroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal catastrophe of the Romans. "The stone (that is, the power of Christ) smote the image upon his feet of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces." Dan. ii. 34. "I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning

flame." Dan. vii. 11. And again, "the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end;" ver. 26. All which implies that the dominion of the Romans shall finally be destroyed with some extraordinary manifestations of the Divine power.

Daniel was much affected with the misfortunes and afflictions which were to befall the church and people of God. "And I Daniel fainted and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business, and was astonished at the vision, but none understood it." Dan. viii. 27. That Daniel was thus affected, can only be ascribed to his foreseeing that the future distress and misery of the Jews would greatly exceed all they had before sustained. And, indeed, the calamities which they suffered under the Romans were much greater than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. But they expect, and we expect, that, at length, "the sanctuary will be cleaned," and that God's promise will, in time, be fully accomplished. "I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, shall the Lord, who doeth all these things." Acts xv. 16, 17.

This concern of Daniel, and affection for his religion and country, show him in a very amiable light, and give an additional lustre to his character. But not only in this instance, but in every other, he manifests the same public spirit, and appears no less eminently a patriot than a prophet. Though he was torn early from his country, and enjoyed all the advantages that he could enjoy from foreign service, yet there was not any thing that could make him forget his native home: and in the next chapter (chap. ix.) we see him pouring out his soul in prayer, and most earnestly and devoutly supplicating for the pardon and restoration of his captive nation.

It is, therefore, a gross mistake, to think that religion will ever extinguish or abate our love for our own country. The scriptures, which rather excite and encourage it, exhibit several illustrious examples of it, and recommend and enforce this as well as all other moral and social virtues; and especially when the interests of true religion, and of our country, are so blended and interwoven, that they cannot well be separated the one from the other. This is a double incentive to the love of our country; and, with the same zeal that every pious Jew might say formerly, every honest Christian may say now, with the royal psalmist, "O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces. For my brethren and companion's sake I will wish thee prosperity: Yea, because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek to do thee good." Psal. cxxii. 6, &c.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Prophecy of Moses concerning a Prophet like unto himself.

WE have already given an account of the prophecies of Moses relative to the Jews, and shall here subjoin that most memorable one of the great legislator concerning another prophet to be raised like unto himself.

At the time of this prediction Moses was about to leave his people, and therefore, to give them some comfort, he promises them another prophet. "The Lord thy God (says he) will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken." Deut. xviii. 15. The same is repeated in the name of God: "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him;" ver. 18. It is like-
wise

wife farther added, in the next verse, "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of you."

In order to explain the meaning of this amazing prophecy, as well as to point out the full and ample completion of it, it is necessary to consider three things.

First, who the prophet was that is here particularly meant.

Secondly, that this prophet resembled Moses in a much greater degree than any other person ever did. And,

Thirdly, that the people have been, and still are, severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet predicted by Moses.

Who the prophet was meant by Moses.

And first, we shall consider who the prophet was that is here particularly meant. It has been the opinion of some that Joshua was the person, because he is said to have been the "successor of Moses in prophecies." Ecclesi. xlvii. 1. And as the people were commanded to hearken unto this prophet, so they said unto Joshua, "According as we have hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee." Joshua i. 17. Some again have imagined that the prophet here meant was Jeremiah, because (say they) he frequently makes use of the words of Moses; and Ababinel, in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah, reckons up fourteen particulars wherein they resemble each other, and observes, that as Moses prophesied forty years, so likewise did Jeremiah.

There are others again, and those by far the much greater number, who do not imagine the prophet meant to be either Joshua or Jeremiah, or, indeed, any single person whatever, but a succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses; because (say they) the Jews being prohibited from going after *enchanters* and *diviners*, they could not have been effectually secured from following them, but by having true prophets of their own, whom they might consult upon particular occasions.

But, notwithstanding this difference in opinion among those who have written on the subject, yet the very favours themselves of each respective construction agree generally in this; that, though Joshua or Jeremiah, or a succession of prophets, was *primarily* intended, yet the main end and ultimate scope of the prophecy was the Messiah; and, indeed, there are many sufficient reasons for understanding it of him principally, if not solely, besides the preference of a literal and typical interpretation.

Joshua not the prophet meant by Moses like unto himself.

Towards the conclusion of the book of Deuteronomy, we find the following passage, which evidently refers to this prophecy, and totally refutes the notion of Joshua's being the prophet like unto Moses. "And Joshua, the son of Nun, was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him; and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses. And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face: In all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do, &c." See Deut. xxxiv. 9, &c.

At what time, or by what hand, this addition was made to the sacred volume, cannot be certainly told; but it must have been made after the death of Moses. The expression, "there arose not a prophet since in Israel," plainly implies that this addition must have been made some time after Joshua succeeded to the government of the people, and consequently the Jewish church had no conception of a perpetual succession of the prophets to be raised up like unto Moses. And if we suppose this addition was made (as it is generally believed to have been) by Ezra, after the Babylonish captivity, then it is evident, beyond all contradiction, that neither Jere-

miah, or any of the ancient prophets, were esteemed like unto Moses.

Let us consider what are the peculiar marks and characters wherein it is said that none other prophet had ever resembled Moses. "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses." And which of the prophets ever converted so frequently and familiarly with God? Which of them ever wrought so many and such astonishing miracles? It must be answered, that not any one of all the prophets who succeeded Moses, was ever equal or comparable to him, except the Messiah, the great Saviour and Redeemer of mankind.

It is undeniably evident, from the declaration which God was pleased to make on occasion of the sedition raised by Miriam and Aaron, that there was not to be any prophet in the Jewish church, much less a succession of prophets, like unto Moses. Miriam and Aaron grew jealous of Moses, and murmured against him, saying, "Hath the Lord, indeed, spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?" Numb. xii. 2. The controversy, indeed, was of such importance, that God himself was pleased to interpose, and put an end to it. "If (said he) there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses."

Miriam and Aaron murmur against Moses.

By this is clearly seen, not only the great difference which God was pleased to make between Moses and other prophets, but likewise in what respect that difference lay. God revealed himself unto other prophets in dreams and visions, but with Moses he conversed more openly, that is, "face to face." These were privileges and prerogatives of the most singular nature, and which evidently distinguished Moses from all the other prophets of the Jewish dispensation. And yet there was a prophet to be raised up like unto Moses: but who ever resembled him in those superior advantages, except the Messiah?

Difference between Moses and other prophets.

It is, moreover, implied, that this prophet should be a law-giver. "A prophet like unto thee," not simply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moses, that is (as Eusebius explains it) a second law-giver. The reason, too, that is assigned for sending this prophet, will evince that he was to be vested with this character. The people had requested that the Divine laws might not be delivered to them in so terrible and awful a manner as they were in Horeb. God was pleased to approve of their request, and therefore promised that he would raise up unto them a prophet like unto Moses, a law-giver, who should speak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. The prophet, therefore, here meant, was to be a law-giver: but there were not any of the Jewish prophets law-givers in all the intermediate time between Moses and Christ.

Christ the prophet meant like unto Moses.

If we take a farther view of this matter, we shall find, from the most indubitable authority, that there never was any prophet, and much less a succession of prophets, whom the Jews esteemed like unto Moses, from his death to the coming of the Messiah. The highest degree of inspiration is termed by them *Mosaic*, and they enumerate several particulars, in which *that* hath the pre-eminence and advantage above all others. There was, indeed, in consequence of this prophecy, a general expectation of some extraordinary prophet to arise, which particularly prevailed about the time of Our Saviour's coming on the earth. The Jews then, as well as since, understood and applied this prophecy to the Messiah, the only prophet whom they will ever allow to be as great, or greater, than Moses.

When Our Saviour had fed five thousand men, by a miracle like that of Moses, who fed the Israelites in the wilderness, then those men said, "This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world."

"world." John vi. 14. St. Peter and St. Stephen likewise directly apply the prophecy to him, Acts iii. 22, 23. viii. 37. and they may very well be justified for so doing; for he fully answers all the marks and characters which are here given of the prophet like unto Moses. He had immediate communication with the Deity, and God spake to him *face to face*, as he did to Moses. He performed *signs and wonders* as great, or greater, than those of Moses. "I will raise them up a prophet," saith God: and the people glorified God, saying, "That a great prophet is risen up among us." Luke viii. 16. "I will put my words in his mouth," saith God: and our Saviour saith, "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me." John xviii. 8. "He shall speak unto them all that I shall command him," saith God: and our Saviour saith "I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting: whatsoever, I speak, therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak." John xii. 49, 50.

Great likeness between Moses and Christ.

Having thus clearly pointed out who the person was meant in Moses's prophecy, we are now to take some notice of the great and striking likeness between Moses and Christ, and how far the latter resembled the former in more respects than any other person ever did.

We have already given some instances wherein they resemble each other; namely, of God's speaking to both *face to face*, of both performing *signs and wonders*, of both being *law-givers*; and in these respects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moses. None of them were law-givers; they only interpreted and enforced the laws of Moses. None of them performed so many and such great wonders. None of them had such clear communications with God. They all saw visions, and dreamed dreams. Moses and Christ are the only two who perfectly resembled each other in these respects. But, farther to illustrate this material part of the prophecy, we shall preserve some very curious observations on the subject made by the Rev. Dr. Jortin, in his "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History."

Observations made on the subject by Dr. Jortin.

"Moses (says he) fled from his country to escape the hands of the kings of Egypt; so did Christ when his parents went into Egypt. Afterwards, "the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which sought thy life," Exod. iv. 19. so the angel of the Lord said to Joseph, in almost the same words, "Arise, and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life;" Matt. ii. 20. pointing him out, as it were, for that prophet who should arise like unto Moses.

Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, chusing rather to suffer affliction: Christ refused to be made king, chusing rather to suffer affliction.

Moses, says St. Stephen, "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and Josephus says, that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowledge beyond his years. St. Luke observes of Christ, that "he increased (betimes) in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man;" and his discourses in the temple with the doctors, when he was but twelve years old, were a proof of it.

Moses was not only a law-giver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest: in these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular.

Moses brought darkness over the land: the sun withdrew his light at Christ's crucifixion: and as the darkness which was spread over Egypt was followed by the destruction of their first-born, and of Pharaoh and his host, so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews.

Moses foretold the calamities which would befall that nation for their disobedience; so did Christ.

The spirit which was in Moses was conferred, in some degree, upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied: Christ conferred miraculous powers upon seventy disciples.

Moses was victorious over powerful kings and great nations; so was Christ by the effects of his religion; and by the fall of those who persecuted his church.

Moses conquered Amalec by holding up both his hands: Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross.

Moses interceded for transgressors, and caused an atonement to be made for them, and stopped the wrath of God; so did Christ.

Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people by sprinkling them with blood: Christ with his own blood.

Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book: Christ did more, he died for sinners.

Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood protected the people from destruction: Christ was the paschal lamb.

Moses lifted up the serpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds: by properly looking up to Christ all will be healed.

All Moses's affection towards the people, all his cares and toils on their account, were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion: the same returns the Jews made to Christ for all his benefits.

Moses was ill used by his own family; his brother and sister rebelled against him: there was a time when Christ's own brethren believed not in him.

Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care and conduct; and, to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him; and he used his utmost endeavour to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin; but in vain: in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness except two. Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse; his instructions and miracles were lost upon them, and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed.

Moses was very meek above all men that were on the face of the earth; so was Christ.

The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead: by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers.

In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances: Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people: it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him: Moses went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, when "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up, in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength.

Neither Moses, or Christ, as far as we can collect from sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent; their sufferings were of another kind.

Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay: nor could the Jews find the body of Christ. Lastly,

Lastly, as Moses, a little before his death, promised "another prophet," so Christ, before his death, promised "another comforter."

Such are the comparisons made by Dr. Jortin relative to the great resemblance between Moses and Christ; but the greatest similitude consists in their both being *law-givers*, which no other prophets ever were. They may resemble each other in many other circumstances, and a fruitful imagination may strike upon a likeness, where, in reality, there is not any to be found. But, as the same excellent writer concludes, "Is this similitude and correspondence in so many things between Moses and Christ the effect of mere chance? Let us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to Christ as Moses was. If we cannot find such an one, then have we found him of whom Moses, in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth the Son of God."

We come now to consider the last part of the prophecy, in doing of which, it will be no very difficult matter to prove that the people have been, and still are, severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet.

The words in this part of the prophecy are very clear and express. "Unto him ye shall hearken: And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." That is, I will severely punish him for it; or, as the Seventy translate it, "I will take vengeance of him."

This prophecy, as we have clearly proved, evidently relates to Christ. God himself, in a manner, applies it to him; for when he was transfigured, there came "a voice out of the cloud, which said, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.'" Mat. xvii. 5. This manifestly alludes to the words of Moses; "Unto him ye shall hearken;" and clearly points out that Christ alone was the prophet like unto Moses. The apostle St. Peter directly applies it to Our Saviour. For Moses truly said unto the fathers, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you: and it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people." Acts iii. 22, 23.

And hath not this terrible denunciation been fully executed upon the Jews? Was not the compleat destruction of that incredulous nation (soon after Christ had finished his ministry among them, and his apostles had likewise preached in vain) the fulfilling of the threat for not hearkening unto him? We may be the more certain of this application as Our Saviour himself not only denounced the same destruction, but also foretold the signs, the manner, and the circumstances of it with the greatest exactness. Such, indeed, of those Jews who believed in his name, by remembering the caution, and following the advice which he had given them, escaped from the general ruin of their country: but the main body either perished in their infidelity, or were carried captives into other nations; and, by persisting in the same infidelity, they have ever since been a vagabond, distressed, and miserable people.

The wise dispensations of Providence are in no respect more amply displayed than in the fulfilment of this part of the prophecy. We must be blind not to see it; and seeing, we cannot but admire and adore it. What account can the Jews themselves give of their long captivity, dispersion, and misery? Their former captivity, for the punishment of their wickedness and idolatry, lasted only seventy years; but they have lived in their present dispersion, even though they have not been idolaters, upwards of seventeen hundred.

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But though they have thus long laboured under these calamities for the enormity of their crimes, yet it is to be hoped that, upon a proper faith and repentance, they will, in time, become objects of the Divine mercy. We shall therefore conclude with the words of the apostle St. Paul; "Our hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved." Rom. x. 1.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Jewish Ritual, or Ceremonial Law.

IN the preceding chapters we have given an ample account of the respective prophecies contained in the Old Testament, the greater part of which have been already fulfilled, some are still fulfilling, and, no doubt, the rest will be fulfilled when the appointed time shall arrive. In this chapter we shall take some notice of the religious laws and ceremonies of the Jews, as also the means whereby they became acquainted with learning and literature.

The constitution of the Mosaic law consisted of three parts; namely,

1. Of political and judicial laws.
2. Of moral precepts, such as the ten commandments.
3. Of rites and ceremonies, such as circumcision, sacrifices, washings, purifications, the use of certain garments, &c. and divers rites by the priests in the tabernacle.

We shall observe, in general, that the design of these ceremonies was to convey religious and moral instructions to the people; and the method of their receiving these instructions was, in many instances, by hieroglyphics. Thus the government of the world by Divine Providence, and his extraordinary interposition in favour of good men, is represented by a ladder standing on the earth, and reaching to heaven, with the angels ascending and descending on it, to receive and execute orders from God above, who ruleth over all. Gen. xxviii. 12, 13. In the stile of this hieroglyphic Our Lord himself speaks: "Hereafter shall ye see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." John i. 51.

The exaltation of Joseph above the rest of his family, was represented by the hieroglyphic of his sheaf standing upright, and the eleven sheaves of his brethren standing round about, and bowing to it. As also of the sun, and moon, and eleven stars, making obedience to him. Gen. xxxvii. 7, 9.

The tribe of Judah is represented by a young lion; Issachar, by a strong ass; Dan, by a serpent lurking in the road; Naphtali, by an hind; Joseph, by a fruitful bough; Benjamin, by a ravening wolf. Gen. xlix. 9, 14, &c.

A rod or staff, as it is an instrument of striking or beating down, is the hieroglyphic of power exerted in conquering, punishing, and ruling. Isa. x. 5, 24. With such a rod Moses and Aaron appeared before Pharaoh, as hieroglyphically representing the power and authority of God, in whose name they demanded the release of the Israelites. Exod. vii. 15. Thus they appeared as men of learning, and acted agreeable to the literature of the age in which they lived.

A horn represented temporal power and dominion. 1 Sam. ii. 10. Psalm lxxix. 24.

A yoke, such as slaves carried upon their shoulders, represented servitude or bondage. Gen. xxvii. 37, 40.

This may serve to explain the nature of hieroglyphics, a sort of language to which the Jews were accustom'd; being the learning of that age, which they could understand much better than abstract reasonings about moral truths and duties.

The rites and ceremonies of the Jews hieroglyphic.

We may therefore, on this account, well admit, that the rites and ceremonies of their religious institutions were hieroglyphic, and intended, by external representations, to give them useful instructions in true religion and real goodness.

If we consult the prophets and apostles, who were well acquainted with their meaning, we shall find so much evidence of the moral and spiritual intention of so many, as may induce us to believe this was the sense and spirit of all the rest.

The Jews were enjoined frequent and various ablutions, or washings with water; the common use of which is to discharge the body from all dirt and filth, and to keep it clean. This was a very easy representation of purity of mind, or of an heart purged from filth and sin. In this manner the prophets understood it: "Wash me from mine iniquity." Psal. li. 2. "Wash me, and I shall be clean; ver. 7. "Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean; put away the evil of your doings." Isaiah i. 6.

Anointing with oil, or ointment, by which the head was beautified, and the countenance exhilarated, had the signification of honour, joy, holiness, and inspiration. Psal. xlv. Acts x. 38. The priests officiated in garments of fine linen; Exod. xxxix.

27. meaning, that the priests should *be clothed*, or have their minds adorned *with righteousness*.

Burning of incense, whose smoke riseth up with a pleasant scent, was an hieroglyphic representation of acceptable prayer. Psal. cxli. 2. Luke i. 10.

Circumcision had relation to the heart and soul, or to the retrenching all inordinate affections and inclinations. Lev. xxvi. 41. Rom. ii. 29.

The sprinkling of blood, and of the water of separation, (Numb. xix. 13, 19.) was hieroglyphic, and had a moral signification. See Heb. ix. 13, 14. 1 Pet. i. 2. As had likewise the muzzled mouth of the ox; Deut. xxv. 4. compared with 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10. 1 Tim. v. 17, 18.

Some persons have indulged their fancies more than they ought, and pretended to have found more mysteries in the Hebrew ritual than were really designed; but these instances, explained by authentic evidence, may convince us, that the whole had a spiritual meaning; and as we are taught in the Gospel every thing necessary to faith and practice in the plainest manner, we need not give ourselves much trouble about discovering the meaning of the other rites, which are not explained by the prophets and apostles.

But the affair of sacrifice, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, was a type of Our Blessed Redeemer, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification.

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End of the ILLUSTRATION of the PREDICTIONS of the PRINCIPAL PROPHETS, &c.



A

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE INDEX OF THE PRINCIPAL PLACES MENTIONED IN THE WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

Abarim. **A**BARIM, mentioned in Numbers xxvii. 12. was a long ridge of mountains, that reached from the tribe of Reuben into the land of Moab, on each side of the river Arnon, of which the mounts Pitgah, Peor, and Nebo (where Moses died) were a part.

Acra. **ACRA**, a large fortress, built by Antiochus, during the time of his persecution of the Jews, (related in the Maccabees,) out of the ruins he made of Jerusalem, on an eminence of the city of David. The word Acra properly signifies an eminence, or fortress, built on some raised ground, which has the command of the country round about; and as this of Acra stood higher than that of Simon, it gave the garrison the advantage of annoying all that passed to and from the temple. After sustaining several fortunes and revolutions, it was demolished by the victorious Simon.

Adasa. **ADASA**, mentioned, in the Maccabees, as the place where Judas Maccabeus pitched his camp, is said, by Jerome, to have been seated in the tribe of Ephraim.

Adibena. **ADIBENA**, a province of ancient Assyria. The whole country has been sometimes called by the name of this part of it.

Adida. **ADIDA**, the name of a fort recorded in the Maccabees, to be set up, or built, by Simon, in the region of Sephalia, westward of Elutherpolis, in Judæa.

Alexandria. **ALEXANDRIA**, the greatest city in Egypt, was built by Alexander the Great, on the coast of the Egyptian Sea, and in that part of Africa that is near the mouth of the Nile, where it forms a noble spacious haven, in form of a crescent. This city, as founded by Alexander, bears his name, and contains his tomb. On his building it, he brought great numbers of Jews thither to plant it; and Ptolemy Soter, after his death, having fixed the seat of his government there, was so desirous of augmenting

and adorning it, that, in order to render it the metropolis of Egypt, he brought thither many of that nation for that purpose, where, having granted them free exercise of their religion, and all the same privileges with the Macedonians and other Greeks, they soon became a great part of the inhabitants of that city. We are told that Alexandria was almost entirely ruined by the Romans, after they had become masters of it: but the emperor Adrian not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and restored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them. In the palace, which took up one third of the city, one quarter was consecrated to the muses and sciences, and thence called the *Museum*. There were lodged and entertained, at the public expence, men of learning, divided into societies, or colleges, according to the different sciences which they professed. They were all under one head, named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of pontiff. Among the many eminent persons whom their noble seminary produced, we may reckon Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Athanasius. It was adorned with such numbers of choice books, as to form the finest library in the world, which underwent many ravages and accidents, and was frequently repaired and stored with the same number of books, till at length it was burnt by the barbarous Saracens, in making themselves masters of Alexandria. We have not space to enumerate the public edifices and ornaments of antiquity. This city, by the Romans, was named Pharos Sebaste, Augusta, Julia, Claudia, Domitia, as well as Alexandria; by the natives, Racoris: but the Turks now call it Scandaria, or Scanderic; for they abbreviate the name of Alexander into that of Scander, and thus they give the name Scanderoon to Alexandretta. Its haven, tho' not very safe, is yet much frequented. But, however magnificent, opulent, &c. this city formerly was, it is now reduced, for the most part, to such heaps of ruins, (in some places even higher than the houses that are left in it,) and such desolation reigns through every quarter, that one cannot see a single street entire. Alexandria hath two ports, the old and

and the new: into the first none but Turkish vessels are admitted; the latter receives vessels from Europe. It is, with the rest of Egypt, subject to the Grand Signior, who seems, however, to have a limited authority, being often obliged to submit the administration of government to the humours of the petty princes of Egypt.

Alexan-
driou.

ALEXANDRION, a fortress in Judæa, built by Alexander Jannæus, from whom it had its name. It was situated on an high mountain, at the entrance into Judæa, near the town of Corea, which was the first place in Judæa on the Samaritan side, and upon the road to Jericho, on the frontiers of Judah and Benjamin. Alexandrion was afterwards the burying place of the Jewish kings; so that, though it was demolished by the Romans, it was rebuilt by Herod.

Amathia.

AMATHA, a city on the Jordan, built, probably, by Herod, for the benefit of the hot waters for which it was famed.

Antioch.

ANTIOCH was built by Seleucus, and soon after became, and for ages continued to be, the metropolis of the east; for not only the Syrian kings, but afterwards the Roman emperors, chose it for the usual place of their residence. It stood on the Orontes, (now called the Hasi) the place where that river empties itself into the Mediterranean, being equally distant from Constantinople and Alexandria, in Egypt. Seleucus called it from his father's name, which was Antiochus. This metropolis of Syria was afterwards known by the name of Tetrapolis, (i. e. fourfold city,) being divided, as it were, into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, besides the common one which enclosed them all. The place where it stood was very subject to earthquakes, by which it greatly suffered, and was often in danger of being overwhelmed. However, it continued 600 years, till it was taken and utterly destroyed by Bibaris, sultan of Egypt. It is now (in comparison) a small and contemptible village, known by the name of Anthakia, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. There is one thing well worth notice with relation to the walls of this city, that, within the thickness of it, at a certain place, there is a space left open, and with a gradual and imperceptible ascent, by which loaded carts or waggons may be drawn from the bottom of the wall quite up to the castle. They were flanked with 100 square towers, strongly built, of which there is still a good number left, every one having a cistern in the middle of it, quite entire to this day. It is also famous for giving the name of Christians to the disciples of Our Blessed Saviour; for being the birth-place of St. Luke, the Evangelist; and of Theophilus, hence named Antiochenus; and for its celebrated bishop, St. Ignatius the Martyr.

Antipatris

ANTIPATRIS, a city built, or rather rebuilt or repaired, by Herod, and so named in honour of his father Antipater, having been formerly called Cap-har-salama. It does not stand very far from Jerusalem, in the road to Cæsarea.

Antonia.

ANTONIA. After Simon had destroyed Mount Acra, (before described,) he built fortifications round the mountain on which the temple stood, for the better securing and fortifying it against all future insults from the heathens, within which he built an house, and dwelt there all his life-time. This house seems to be the same which Hyrcanus afterwards built into the castle Baris, where he, and all his successors of the Asmonean family, dwelt, and kept their court; and here laid up the pontifical stole, or sacred robes of the high-priest, &c. &c. which continued to be done till the time of Herod, who, on his being made king of Judæa, having observed the convenience of the place, rebuilt and made it a very strong fortress. Instead of Baris, the name it formerly bore, he called it Antonia; thereby complimenting Marcus Antonius, the triumvir, who then governed the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. The form of the building was that of a quadrangle, all built on every side, wherein were rooms for all the

uses of a palace; and in the middle was a large area for the soldiers to be in; and round it was a stately piazza, or cloister. There was a turret near the middle of the north side of the great square of the temple built remarkably high, that from thence might be seen all that was done in the courts within; so that if a tumult should arise in any part of the temple, it might be observed, and soldiers sent down to quell it. When Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Romans, they continued keeping a strong garrison in it; and by reason of its immediate influence on the temple, the captain of the garrison is, in scripture, called the Captain of the Temple. This fortress was at last mastered and taken by the Romans, and destroyed in the desolation and total destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and his forces.

ARABIA, if we include all those countries which go under that general name, is of very great extent, and has been, from early times, divided into three parts, viz. Arabia Felix, or *happy*, to the south; so styled from its rich produce, and famous for the queen of Sheba, who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, or whose kingdom was situated in this fertile country. Arabia Petrea, or *rocky*; so called not from its capital Petra, as built on a rock, but from the rockiness of the whole division, being full of mountains, among which is Mount Sinai, or Horeb, so famous in sacred scripture. As Arabia Petrea lies to the north of Arabia Felix, so still more north, or rather north-east, lies the third division, called, from its natural barrenness, Arabia Deserta. Various are the opinions of the learned concerning the origin and name of this country, and it would rather tend to perplex than entertain to specify them. As to the climate, part of Arabia is under the hottest, viz. the torrid zone. The air on the north part is extremely hot during the six summer months, the heavens being seldom or ever over-cast with clouds. But on the south side it is much more temperate, being qualified with refreshing dews, which fall almost every night in great abundance. The distinct names of the three Arabias sufficiently declare the nature of their soil; the northern being extremely barren, and encumbered with huge formidable rocks; the other over-spread with vast mountains of sand. But the southern, deservedly styled the *happy*, is blessed with an excellent soil, and extraordinary fertile in many places. It abounds with the rarest and most valuable commodities; as also with camels, animals of singular use for carriage, that seem formed by nature for this dry and sultry soil, which sometimes affords no water for many days travel. The country is infested with what are called freebooters, a strange species of mortals, scarcely deserving the title of human. They are all of a swarthy complexion, of mean stature, raw-boned, and very swift. Their voices are effeminate as well as their temper. They have no settled habitation, except those that live on the sea-coast, where their cities and towns are more regularly built and inhabited, as well as more given to traffic. Those of the inland country roam from place to place, sleep under tents, which they pitch at night, where their convenience or fancy leads them. As we have hitherto shewn the worst side of their character, we now ought, in justice, to shew the best; for there are, on the other hand, many of them, especially such as live in towns, that apply themselves to trade and commerce, to arts and sciences, in which they generally excel. This is particularly true with regard to the ancient Arabians, whose extraordinary performances, in physics, astronomy, and mathematics, shew them to have been men of great genius and application. They are, to this day, allowed to be very ingenious, witty, and generous, great admirers of poetry and rhetoric. The language of the three Arabias is Arabick, or corrupt Arabic, which is not only used here, but spoken, with some variations of dialect, over great part of the eastern countries. The true and ancient Arabic is a kind of dialect from the Hebrew, and esteemed, by the learned, very necessary for understanding the Old Testament. Christianity was first preached here by St. Paul, and some of his eminent disciples; so that it had received the

light of the gospel from the earliest time. But in many parts it was much clouded, long before the grand impostor Mahomet, their countryman, appeared, and, upon their being subdued by the Turks, they all embraced his religion, as best suited their depraved inclinations.

ARAM. The name Aram is constantly in Scripture the name of Syria, and the Syrians are called Arameans in divers places thereof. Several authors agree that the people now called Syrians were anciently called Aramenians and Arameans. Agreeably hereto, the adjoining countries into which the posterity of Aram might spread took his name, with some other additional ones joined to it.

ARBELA, so famed in history for the battle fought near Guagamela, in its neighbourhood, which last, being but an inconsiderable village, the city Arbela was chosen by historians to give name to that celebrated fight between Darius and Alexander, which proved the decisive stroke for the Persian empire. Arbela is by some placed in Persia, but with more truth in Assyria Propria, or Adiabena. Its plain is described as being 15 leagues in extent, watered with several rivulets, and producing great variety of fine fruit-trees; and the eminences where the ancient castles stood are covered with stately oaks.

ARMENIA. Authors differ concerning the origin whence this track derived its name. It was anciently divided into the Greater and Lesser, or Armenia Major and Minor. The former was one of the greatest provinces of Asia Minor. The soil of this country is very mountainous, yet the hills are here and there interspersed with fruitful and most beautiful dales and vallies. All sorts of grain are very indifferent; and if they had not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almost barren. What the country produces is almost entirely owing to painful labour, being either watered actually by hand, or by dug trenches, &c. for the fecundation of the fields. The cold is so intense here, that all manner of fruits are more backward than in most of the northern countries. The hills are covered with snow the whole year round, and it sometimes falls even in the month of June. The earth of this country produces an excellent medicine, viz. that which, from the name of this territory, receives its own surname *Bole Armenic*, which was anciently, as well as at present, found in Armenia, and was by Galen first introduced into medicine, and used with success in the time of a terrible plague at Rome. We have no system of the laws of the Armenians, and scarcely withal to form any particular idea of them. As to their religion, we are not so much at a loss, for a writer of credit assures us, they worship the same deities with the Medes and Persians, which will be specified hereafter. We have little or no authority for their learning and arts. Their language was much the same with that of the Syrians, at least they used the Syriac characters. The modern Armenians use two languages, the learned and the vulgar, the former (as they say) having no affinity with any other oriental language. Though the modern Armenians are now perhaps the greatest traders on the earth, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by them in ancient times. Shah Abbas, king of Persia, is said to have been the first who, considering the œconomy and indefatigable industry of this people, put them upon trade, and settled a colony of them at Julfa, the famous suburb of Isaphan. This place contains at present above 30,000 inhabitants, all Armenians and merchants. In the reign of Justinian II. the Saracens subdued Armenia, and held it till the irruption of the Turks, who possessed themselves of this country, and called it Turcomania; but the eastern part of it is subject to the Persians at this day. Nor was the extirpation of the royal race of Armenia absolutely effected, for we find it had kings again of its own even after such conquests by Saracens, Turks, Tartars, &c. And in our own chronicles we find mention of Leo, king of Armenia, who, in the reign of Richard II. came into England to sue for and a-

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gainst the Turks, who had driven him from his kingdom.

Armenia Minor may be described as in most instances similar to Armenia Major, so that it may suffice to observe, that, after a variety of revolutions through a succession of æras, it was, by Vespasian, made a province of the Roman empire, and so continued till the division of the same, when it became subject to the emperors of the east; and, on the decline of their power, it was first subdued by the Persians, and afterwards by the Turks, who gave it the name of Ganech, and have held it ever since.

ARNON. The brook or torrent of Arnon ran along between the countries of the Ammonites and Moabites, and discharged itself into the Black Sea. The river Arnon is supposed to have been the first northern boundary of the Israelites on the other side of Jordan.

ASCALON, in Palestine, (or the country of the Philistines,) is a great and noble sea-port to the northward of Gaza, and known to us still by the same name it bears in Scripture, and in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans, by whom it was held in great veneration. This city, as well as Gaza, is reckoned into the lot or tribe of Judah, and was taken by them, but not held. Its situation cannot be disputed, since it may be said to stand at this day, and has been often visited. Ascalon was famous amongst the ancients on many accounts. It was the birth-place of Semiramis, the Assyrian empress. It is noted for the place which originally produced the kind of onion called the shalot, which is supposed from thence to have derived its name. It may seem, at first sight, to be a very oblique derivation, till it is observed that the Latin of this plant is *Ascalonia*, whence the French have their *Eschalote*, which we have curtailed into *Shalot*. It is also famed for its wines, and very remarkable for its great flights of pigeons. With respect to the remarkables of Ascalon, we must not forget to mention the cypresses, which were here to be admired, nor the extraordinary wells attributed to Abraham and Isaac. This city had, in the first times of Christianity, an episcopal see; and, in the course of the holy wars, it was beautified with a new wall, and many fair buildings, by our king Richard I. But it is now dwindled almost to nothing. The Turks call it Scalana; and it is of no note, except for a Turkish garrison kept in it.

ASHDOD, or Azotus, was a city of the Philistines, to the N. E. of Ascalon, and of extraordinary fame among the ancients. It stood in a country which produced great plenty of corn. Here was the temple of Dagon, and here was he peculiarly worshipped. He seems to have been the grand, the most ancient, and favourite deity they had. To him they attributed the invention of bread-corn, or of agriculture, as his very name imports, the word Dagon signifying *bread-corn*. This Ashdod of the Old Testament is called Azotus in the New, as well as in the book of the Maccabees. It lies near the shore, between Gaza and Joppa. In the times that Christianity flourished in these parts, it was made an episcopal see, and continued a fair village till the days of St. Jerome.

ASPHALTITIS, Lake of, or the Dead Sea, is called also the Salt Sea. Much has been said and supposed of this famous or (as most will have it) infamous lake, that nothing will sink in it; and that it rose up from the submersion of the vale of Siddim, where once, as is most generally concluded, stood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. On this account it has been abhorred and detested, and represented as an everlasting monument of the Divine judgment, to deter mankind from the sins committed by those who drew down on them such fierce vengeance. As to this lake's several names, it was called Asphaltitis from the quantity of bitumen in and about it. It was formerly supposed that great quantities of this combustible substance were thrown up by this sea, and travellers represent it as in great plenty on the shores of it. It exactly resembles pitch,

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pitch, and cannot readily be distinguished from it by the sulphureousness of its smell and taste. It is called the Dead Sea, because it produces no fish, nor sustains any thing that has life, through its excessive saline quality. It is called the Salt Sea, as being to the highest degree impregnable with salt, inasmuch that Galen supposes it, in specific gravity, to be as much beyond other sea water, as sea water is beyond the water of rivers, and that it was impossible to immerge in it. The same physician likewise observes, that the saltiness of the sea is attended with an unpleasant bitterness. All this agrees well enough with what we are told of it at present, except that bodies will immerge in it, though not so easily as in other water. This sea, in its present state, is enclosed on the east and west with exceeding high mountains; on the north, it has the Plain of Jericho, or (if we take in both sides of the Jordan) the Great Plain, properly so called; and on the south it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye.

B.

Babel.

BABEL. The sons of Noah, on their arrival in a plain, in the land of Shinaar, began to think of building a city and tower. Their motive to this undertaking was their apprehension of a second deluge, and to have a place sufficiently high to fly to. But this enterprize being displeasing to the Almighty, they were obliged to give over their project before they had finished it, their language being so confounded that they could not understand one another; from whence the city took the name of Babel, which signifies *confusion*, whereupon the dispersion and planting of nations ensued.

Babylon.

BABYLON. Some historians make queen Semiramis, and others Belus, the first founder of this renowned city. But the first of these seems most to be depended on. However, it is generally agreed, that it was vastly improved, augmented, adorned, and made the wonder of the world, by Nebuchadnezzar. The most famous works were the walls of the city, the temple of Belus, his palace, with the gardens, the banks of the river, and the artificial lake and canals, made for the draining of that river, in the magnificence and expence of which works he much exceeded whatever had been done by any king before him; and, excepting the walls of China, nothing like it hath been since attempted. A famous traveller, in his itinerary, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was on the spot where the city of Babylon stood, and that he saw only some ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace still remaining, which nobody ventured to visit by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that infested the place. Another, in the account he gives of his travels from India to Italy, tells us, that, in his time, there was scarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it stood was the least frequented of any in all that country. A third confirms the accounts of the former, observing, "that the village of Elugo stands in the place where formerly Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldea, stood; that the country is so dry and barren that it cannot be tilled; and so bare, that he should have doubted, very much, whether this potent city (which was the most famous and stately one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Shinaar) stood in that place, if he had not known it by its situation, and several antiquities still to be seen in that neighbourhood, particularly the old bridge, which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there were some arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and wonderfully strong." He adds, that, just before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle stood, and that the ruins of its fortifications were still to be seen; and further, that, at a small distance from the castle stood the tower of Babylon, but so ruinous and full of venomous reptiles, that nobody dares come within half a mile of it, except in two of the winter months, when the insects keep within their holes. This shews how fully the pre-

dictions of the prophets, relating to this place, have been accomplished. It was first called Seleucia Babylonia, or Seleucia in the province of Babylon, to distinguish it from several other cities in different provinces bearing the name Seleucia. Afterwards it was known by the name of Babylonia, and at length by that of Babylon. As Babylon was drained of its inhabitants by Seleucia, so was Seleucia, in process of time, by Ctesephon and Almadaya, and these again by Bagdat. This last city was first built in the same place where Seleucia, or new Babylon, stood, which gave rise to the common error, that Bagdat stands on the ruins of old Babylon.

With respect to the Babylonian government, it was monarchical and despotic, their laws accordingly vague and uncertain, their punishments unfixed, arbitrary, and rigorous to the utmost. Their religion was rank idolatry, and some at least of their customs (even religious ones) shockingly brutal.

BAHURIM. This place is remarkable for two circumstances: the first as the place where Phaltiel, to whom Saul had given Michal, the wife of David, followed her weeping, when Ishbosheth restored her to her said first husband. The other on account of Shimei's behaviour here towards David, when he fled from his son Absalom. It appears, from the particulars mentioned as relative to these circumstances, that Bahurim was near the mount of Olives, and consequently not far from Jerusalem to the east, and situated within the tribe of Benjamin.

BARIS. Hyrcanus is said to have built the stately tower, or rather castle, of Baris, the same which served afterwards for a palace for the Asmonean princes, and was some time after re-built, enlarged, and fortified by Herod; It is to be noticed, that St. Jerome, in his commentary on those sacred books, which were written on the Babylonish captivity, such as those of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, &c. observes the word Baris to be of Chaldee extraction, peculiar to Palestine, and to signify an house or castle, enclosed on every side.

BEER-SHEBA. In Gen. xxi. we learn that Abraham, having entered into a solemn league of friendship with Abimelech, king of the Philistines, to secure his property in a well he had dug, to guard against the outrage of the Philistines, who had taken several wells from him before, and to ratify the aforesaid alliance, presented the king with oxen, sheep, &c. Then taking seven young sheep, he desired him to accept of them as a token that he had dug such a well, and that he should from thenceforth peaceably enjoy it. On this occasion that place was called Beer-sheba, or, The Well of the Oath, because of the covenant they had sworn there. From this Beer, or well, the city, or considerable town, in process of time built near it, was called Beer-sheba, which was the utmost bound of the Land of Promise on the south, as Dan was towards the north, whence came the proverb from Dan to Beer-sheba. This city was one of those that fell to the tribe of Simeon, but because Simeon had this inheritance in the midst of the tribe of Judah, therefore Beer-sheba is also numbered amongst the cities of Judah.

BELUS, or the Kav-danah, as it is called at present, is a river having its sources about four miles to the eastward of the head of Kishon, near Acra, or Ptolemais, in Palestine. It is very remarkable for its sands, being not only an excellent material for the making of glass, but also for having administered the first occasion or hint of that fine invention.

BERACHAH is a valley in the wilderness of Tekoa, called the *Valley of Blessing, or Praise*, because of the miraculous rout of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, or inhabitants of mount Seir, who combined together against Jehoshaphat.

BERENICE was a maritime city of Cyrenaica, once an archbishopric, and one of the five cities from which the region had the appellation of Pentapolis, situated

situated between the promontory Bæreum, towards the greater Syrtis, and the city Arsinoe to the east, from whence it is called. It had its name from queen Berenice, wife of Ptolemy III. Here were the gardens of the Hesperides, so celebrated by the ancients, as also the famous sacred grove. There was another Berenice, in like manner so named by Ptolemy, built also in honour of his queen: it was situated near the Arabian Gulph, and is now called Suaquen.

Berytus.

BERYTUS, a maritime city of Phœnicia, near mount Libanus, was anciently called also Beroe. It had a good port. After having been ruined, it was restored by Augustus Cæsar, who made a colony of it, which was called Julia Felix, and enjoyed the Roman rights. Agrippa conducted two legions thither, and Herod also granted it many favours. Though it might be, and really was, in its time, famous on divers accounts, yet it was so for none more than its being one of those three cities where only the law was publicly taught, the other two being Rome and Constantinople. To prove this we may here produce the express declaration of Justinian in these words: "We may command these three volumes, composed by us, to be delivered only in the royal cities, viz. Rome and Constantinople, and the fair city of Berytus, (which may properly be called the nurse of the laws,) as has been appointed by former princes, and in no other places than these, which have merited this privilege from our ancestors." These words inform us that Justinian's predecessors fixed the number of auditories of law to three, but we cannot ascertain the time when it was by them so done. It is now a place of trade, and a stage for the caravans that go to and from Grand Cairo.

Bethel.

BETHEL. In Gen. xxviii. we read that Jacob, in his journey to Padan-aram, being overtaken by the night, lay in the open field, with a stone for his pillow. In his sleep he had a dream of a ladder reaching from that spot to heaven, on which angels ascended and descended, whilst the Almighty encouraged him with a promise of being his protector, &c. Awakening, surprised and astonished, he cried out, "Surely God is in this place, and I knew it not;" wherefore he gave it the name of Bethel, signifying the *House of God*. It is plain, therefore, that this was the first time, as well as the occasion, that the place had this name, it being added, that it was called Luz at the first, as in former times. This same city was made choice of by Jeroboam for setting up one of his golden calves, whereupon Hosea (alluding to the name given it by Jacob) calls it Bethaven, instead of Bethel; i. e. the *House of Vanity*, instead of the *House of God*. Not that it was the town Bethaven properly so called. Bethel being within the lot of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, belonged to the kingdom of Israel, after the ten tribes revolted from the house of David, and lay in the southern border of that kingdom, not far from Jerusalem. But it was taken from the kingdom of Israel by Ahijah, king of Judah, and after that accounted as a part of the kingdom of Judah. Bacchides fortified it in the time of the Maccabees.

Bethlehem.

BETHLEHEM, the city of David of old, is famous for being the birth-place not only of that renowned king, but of Our Blessed Saviour himself, who, according to the flesh, descended from him. This place was otherwise called Ephrath, or Ephratah, sometimes Bethlehem Ephratah, and sometimes Bethlehem Judah, to distinguish it from another Bethlehem, lying in the tribe of Zebulun. It is situated about six or seven miles from Jerusalem to the southward, in the way to Hebron. Bethlehem, though now but thinly inhabited, is seated on a pleasant hill, enjoys an excellent air, and, as it has all along been much honoured by Christians of all nations, on account of its being the place of Our Saviour's birth, so at this very day it is visited by pilgrims and travellers. It is furnished not only with a convent of the Latins, but also with one of the Greeks, and another of the Armenians, the two latter being contiguous to the former.

BETHORON, mentioned in several places of scripture, was situated northward of Jerusalem, and between that metropolis and Shechem. It is to be noted, that there is express mention of two Bethorons in the Chronicles, where we are told that a woman of the tribe of Ephraim, by name Sherah, built Bethoron the nether and the upper. It is accordingly agreed among writers, that they both lay within the bounds of the tribe of Ephraim. But it is not agreed in what part of the tribe each lay, some placing Bethoron the upper in the north border of the tribe, whilst others place them nearer one to another, and both in the south border.

Bethoron.

BETHSAIDA. Bethsaida, in Hebrew, imports a place of fishing, or else of hunting; and both senses agree well with the situation of the city; for it lay on the lake of Gennesareth, just at the influx of the river Jordan into the said lake, and so lay very convenient for fishing. It was conveniently situated for hunting likewise, as lying in the tribe of Naphthali, a country well stored with deer. It was but a village, till Philip the tetrarch built it up to the bulk and appearance of a magnificent city, rich and populous, to which he gave also the name of Julias, out of respect to Julia, the daughter of Cæsar. This city stood on the eastern shore, and therefore is thought, by some, to have been distinct from the Bethsaida of Galilee; but this arises from not considering that the name of Galilee was extended, in its larger acceptation, to the parts lying east of the sea of Galilee. The woe denounced is in some measure come upon it, it being reduced again to the state of a very poor village, or hardly that, consisting long ago of a very few poor cottages.

Bethsaida.

BETHSAN is a city belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh, on the west of Jordan, and the south coast of the sea of Galilee. It is called Bethsa by the Jews. The Canaanites kept possession of it; and it was the most considerable city in the Decapolis after the Israelites had conquered Palestine. It stood in the middle of a great plain, near the mountain of Gilboa. The Greeks gave it the name of Scythopolis; and so it is called in the Maccabees, because anciently inhabited by the Scythians, who, according to Herodotus, had, in the reign of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, and Cyanares, king of Media, extended their conquests as far as Syria and Palestine. It is known among the eastern nations by the name of Elbyzon.

Bethsan.

BETHSHEMETH, a town belonging to the tribe of Judah, lay in the north border, not far west from Kirjath-jearim.

Bethshe-meth.

BETHSURA, so called from being situated on a rock, was a very strong fortress in the time of the Maccabees. It was in the tribe of Judah, and had formerly been fortified by king Rehoboam, being one of the keys of Judea, on the south side of Idumea. That king first built some walls, and other fortifications to it, to keep the revolted Danites in awe; but the Maccabees added such new works as to render the place impregnable. On the top of the hill, where stood Bethsura, is now the village called St. Philip; and though the adjacent parts are called a wilderness, yet they still produce plenty of corn, wine, and olives.

Bethsura.

BEZEC is mentioned, in Judges, as the place where the men of Judah and Simeon made great slaughter of the Canaanites and Perizzites, and where the proud and cruel Adonibezec had his residence. It is again mentioned in scripture as the place where Saul mustered the army wherewith he gave the Ammonites a signal overthrow.

Bezec.

BEZETHA was the name given, by king Agrippa, to a new quarter, which, at immense charge, he had built, and would have beautified and fortified, on the north side of the city of Jerusalem, the name importing the new city. He endeavoured to procure the emperor's leave for surrounding it with a strong wall, which, if he had obtained, it would have rendered the

Bezetha.

the metropolis absolutely impregnable. But the danger of the design being represented to Claudius, orders were sent to Agrippa to desist.

Bouys.

BOTRYS, now called Patron and Elpatron, on the coast of Phœnicia, was a very ancient town, founded by Ithobal, king of Sidon, and situated near the promontory, called, by the ancients, Peniel, and, by modern pilots, Capo Pagro. Under the Christian emperors it became an episcopal see; but it has fared so ill since, that there are few traces of its former state remaining, some ruins of churches and monasteries excepted, the rest consisting of a number of poor cots, inhabited chiefly by fishermen, scarcely deserving to be called a village.

C.

Cæsarea.

CÆSAREA. This city was raised by Herod, upon a certain place by the sea-side, called Straton's Tower, as being deemed a very commodious track of ground for that purpose. It was completed at an immense charge, and was the paragon of elegance and magnificence. But the master-piece was the port, which was made as large as the Pyræum, and a safe station against all winds and weathers, not to mention other conveniencies. It stood in Phœnicia, upon the pass into Egypt between Joppa and Dora, two sea-ports, where the south-west wind beats so furiously, that there is no riding in the harbours without being subject to imminent danger. Herod therefore, to encounter this difficulty, ordered a mole to be made in form of a half moon, and large enough for a royal navy to ride in. This mole was designed to break the letting of the sea, and the other half for the foundation of a stone wall, fortified with turrets, calling the largest of them, the Tower of Drusus, from Drusus, the son-in-law of Augustus, who died young. In fine, nothing was wanting that could contribute to grandeur, safety, or convenience. On a mount in the midst stood a temple dedicated to Cæsar, which was of great use to mariners as a sea mark. In this temple there were two statues; the one of Rome, the other of Cæsar; and from hence the city took its name of Cæsarea. Though it is called Cæsarea in the New Testament, yet it is frequently stiled, by way of distinction from others of the same name, Cæsarea Palestinæ, as being the metropolis of Palestine, and seat of the Roman proconsul. Here it was that St. Peter converted Cornelius and his kinsmen, the first fruits of the Gentiles. Here lived Philip the apostle. Here Paul defended himself against the Jews and their orator Tertullius; and here, in the amphitheatre, it was that Herod Antipas was smitten by an angel, as appears from the Acts of the Apostles. As for the times after the New Testament, here was born Eusebius, the learned historian and chronologer, who was bishop of this city in the beginning of the fourth century, and in the reign of Constantine the Great, to whom he made a celebrated oration. It was situated between Ptolemais to the north, and Joppa to the south, and was about twenty-six miles to the westward of Jerusalem. It was of old inhabited partly by Jews, and partly by idolatrous Greeks, who were perpetually at daggers drawing against each other, and ever hatching some new sedition, till Vespasian took it, and put a Roman colony into it.

Cæsarea Philippi.

CÆSAREA PHILIPPI was formerly, by heathen writers, called Paneas, the place where the Jordan had its spring head, which Philip, the brother of Antipas, (Herod) having greatly enlarged and beautified, called it by this new name after his own.

Cana.

CANA of Galilee (so called to distinguish it from Cana, belonging to the tribe of Asher, lying not far from Sidon) mentioned John ii. 1. lay within the tribe of Zebulon, not far from Nazareth. It was the native, or, at least, dwelling-place of Nathaniel, otherwise called Bartholomew; for the Evangelist John expressly stiles him Nathaniel of Cana of Galilee.

CANAAN has been successively known by several names, as the Land of Israel, the Land of God, the Holy Land, and simply the Land; also Judea, Palestine, Syria Palestine, Syria, Cœlo-Syria, Idumea, and Phœnicia. It was called the Land of the Hebrews, and sometimes the Land of the Jews. It was called the Land of God, as given by him to the posterity of Abraham, and the place of his more especial choice. It was called the Holy Land, first by the Jews, as solely appropriated to the service of God under their dispensation; and, secondly, by Christians, as it was the scene of what was wrought for theirs and the world's salvation. Whence came its appellation of Judea is seemingly plain: Judah, being chief of the tribes, communicated its name to the rest; and the kingdom of Judah standing after the dissolution of that of Israel, may have given farther ground for the extensive and general use of this name. It was called Palestine, as being a part of that track very early so denominated. Though this name properly belonged to no more than what is commonly called the Pentapolis of the Philistines, it had the fortune to spread itself over almost all the neighbouring regions.

CAPERNAUM was a city, situated on an eminence by the lake of Genesareth. It took its name from an adjoining spring, of great repute for its chrystalline flowing waters, which was called, by the natives, the Fountain of Capernaum. As the excellence of this fountain was probably one inducement to build the town, so there seems to have been another motive for chusing the situation, viz. its convenience for a wafting place from Galilee to the other side of the sea.

CARMEL (Mount) on the west coast of the Holy Land, at the south-east end of the tribe of Asher, ten miles from Acra, or Ptolemais, is the most remarkable head of land on all the coast. This name Carmel, we are told, was common both to a town and a mountain.

CHALCIS, capital of the island of Chalcis in Judea, stood on the narrowest part of the Euripus, being joined to Bœotia by a bridge, which situation agrees with that of the present city of Negropont. It was celebrated by all the ancients, as a most magnificent, populous, and wealthy city.

CHARRAN, mentioned in Gen. xi. and there called Haran, in memory, as it is said, of Haran, the son of Terah, brother of Abraham, and father of Lot, was situated in the west or north-west part of Mesopotamia, on a river which runs into the Euphrates. It was, with little alteration, called Carræ by the Romans.

CITIUM, anciently a town in Cyprus, was the birth-place of Zeno, the famous stoic.

COELO-SYRIA. Ancient geographers differ as to the bounds of what is meant by Cœlo Syria; but the preference is given to Strabo, who tells us, that Cœlo-Syria was between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, which, however the name may be extended, was undoubtedly the proper Cœlo-Syria. The principal cities are Heliopolis, (now Balbeck,) and Damascus, (now Sham).

COMAGENA, the third division of Syria Propria, was so called from its capital, long since destroyed; after which it was, by the Romans, called Euphratenensis, from its situation near the Euphrates. It was bounded on the north by Cilicia and the Lesser Armenia, on the west by part of Cilicia, on the south by Cœlo-Syria, and on the east by the Euphrates. The principal cities in this province were Samofata, (now Scemflat,) Germanicia, Catamana, Deba, Doliche, Chaonia, and Chelinadura; of the greater part of which little else is left but the names, and here and there some ruins of monuments, by which one may know where they stood.

COPTOS,

Coptos, an ancient city of Thebais, having been the chief residence of the native Egyptians for many ages, since their country has been subjected to a foreign power, and whence they received their present name of Copts. It was ruined by Dioclesian.

CYPRUS island was anciently known by various names. It was called *Acamis*, from one of its promontories; *Amathus*, *Paphios*, and *Salanisia*, from three of its ancient cities; *Macaria*, from the fruitfulness of its soil; *Alrota*, from its copper mines; *Collinia*, from its many hills; *Spheces*, from its ancient inhabitants the *Spheces*; and *Cerattis*, from the many promontories, which, like so many horns, (as the Greek word intimates,) shoot into the sea. Cyprus was, by ancient geographers, divided into four districts, denominated from the chief cities of each; besides which cities, and other less ones, here were no fewer than 800 villages. The honey of this island was much commended; as also the wine, oil, wool, and, above all, the copper. It was first discovered by the Phœnicians, about two or three generations, according to Sir Isaac Newton's computation, before Asterius and Minor, kings of Crete; i. e. 1600 years before Christ. It was so overgrown with wood that it could not be tilled; and they first cut it down for the melting of copper; and afterwards, when they began to fail, without fear, on the Mediterranean, (soon after the Trojan war,) they used to build ships, even great navies. They gave every man leave to cut down what trees he pleased, and possess all the cleared ground. In time, other nations, invited by the fertility of the soil, came and settled here. The government was, without doubt, monarchical. It was governed by no less than nine kings, when Cyrus the Great, by his lieutenants, first conquered it. It afterwards became subject to the Ptolemies of Egypt: from them it passed to the Romans; and thence to the Constantinopolitan emperors. It was next conquered by our king Richard, A. D. 1194, in his way to the Holy Land, and the royalty of it given by him to Guy of Lusignan, then titular king of Jerusalem, whose posterity reigned in it during seventeen generations. The Venetians, on failure of that male line, seized it in 1480, and held it till 1570, when Solyman II. claiming it as lord of Egypt, laid siege to Famagusta, the strongest place in it. The Venetians defended it with uncommon bravery, but, for want of timely assistance, were forced to surrender, tho' on honourable terms. The rest were soon subdued, and have groaned under the Turkish yoke ever since. The dukes of Savoy claim the title of king of Cyprus, as descended from Lewis, second husband of Charlotte, grand-daughter of James, the 13th king in descent from Guy aforesaid, who had been put out by James, her husband's brother. But, to speak of this island now in its modern state, it is by far the largest of all those of Asia Minor, lies near the bottom of the Mediterranean, and extends along the south coast of Cilicia, from east to west, about 170 or 200 miles. The country was once very fruitful, as above hinted, though the climate is not very temperate, being excessive hot and sultry in summer, insomuch that it sometimes dries up all the springs; for there are no springs or rivers, but what rains produce, which happening to fail thirty years successively, during the reign of Constantine the Great, the inhabitants were obliged to abandon the island for some time. It is likewise much infested with locusts, which hover in the air like clouds, during the hot season, and sometimes devour all their corn and fruit, but are often driven into the sea by the winds. On these accounts, as well as the severity of the Turkish government, the country is thinly peopled, and indifferently cultivated, in most parts. Yet, near the cities, it not only produces every thing necessary and delightful, but seems to enjoy a perpetual spring. Here is very good hunting, and a great variety of game. The chief manufactures are cotton and wool, which are the best in all the east. They have likewise silk, but not so good in proportion. They had formerly great quantities of sugar, till one of their bashaws burnt up all the canes. The inhabitants have been always branded for an excessive dissoluteness of

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manners. The men are accounted warlike, robust, active, and hospitable. Here we must note, when Solyman reduced the island, he murdered, or carried off, all the nobility and gentry, and left none but the meaner sort to continue in it, and these are mostly Greeks, clad after the Italian manner, but retaining their old customs and religion. Jews are interdicted the island, on account of an attempt they made on it in Trajan's reign, in which they massacred 250,000 of the inhabitants. Cyprus has no considerable rivers: and the most noted mountain is that called Olympus. Here is a pretty brisk trade between the merchants of Europe and Asia; and several European nations have their consuls and factors in the island.

CYRENE, now *Caïran*, or *Corene*, the metropolis of Cyrenaica, stood at some distance from the sea, on a spot in figure representing a table. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies as well as necessities of life. Its territories produced vast numbers of excellent horses, which probably made the Cyrenians, whether Lybians or Greeks, apply themselves to the study and practice of every thing relating to those animals, more than most nations. Cyrene derived its name from the fountain *Cyre*, near which it was situated. Aristippus, founder of the sect of Cyrenaics, Eratosthanes, the geographer, and Carneades, the philosopher, were all natives of Cyrene; as was Simon, mentioned by St. Luke.

CYRENIAN Jews. Ptolemy, immediate successor of Alexander the Great, as king of Egypt, with a powerful army, laid siege to Jerusalem in the year of the world 3687, before Christ 317, when the Jews, out of a superstitious fear of breaking the sabbath, suffered the city to be taken by storm on that day without resistance, and 100,000 of them were by him carried away captives into Egypt. But reflecting soon on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, and the sacred regard they paid to their oaths, and he, by taking this city, becoming master of Judea and Samaria, committed the keeping of several garrisons, both here and in Egypt, to them; and having made them swear allegiance, he endowed them with the same privileges they had enjoyed under the Macedonians. Of those whom he carried away, he chose about 30,000 of the stoutest to fill his garrisons: the rest he sent, some to assist them with provisions, others into Lybia and Cyrene just spoken of, of which he had made conquest, and added it to Egypt, four years before. From these latter were descended the Cyrenian Jews, among whom was Jason, author of the history of the Maccabees, in five books, now lost, but of which the second book of the Maccabees is an epitome. (See 2 Macc. ii. 23.) Of the same country were those Cyrenian Jews mentioned in the Acts. This Jewish colony grew in time so numerous, as to have 1000 of them put to death, for one mutiny, in the time of Vespasian; and yet, in a succeeding reign, they proved strong enough to master the whole province, and massacre 200,000 inhabitants of other nations. Their rage and fury, in short, were boundless, so that, through this and other massacres, Cyrenaica was next to quite dispeopled.

D.

DAGON, Temple of, see *Gaza*; and, for a description of his image, see *Asbdod*.

DAMASCUS is the capital of the south part of Syria. It is the most remarkable place for antiquity now in the whole world, being generally agreed to have been built by Uz, son of Aram, and grandson of Shem, the son of Noah; and was the birth-place of Eliezer, the steward of Abraham. It is famous, in scripture, for being the residence of the kings of Syria 300 years; till Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, slew Rezin, the last king of Syria, and added his dominions to his own new empire; in consequence of which, the Syrian kingdom passed to the Persian

Perſian and to the Grecian, till the Saracens conquered it, and made this city their royal reſidence. In this ſtate it continued till Bagdat was built, at which time it was very ſtrong and flouriſhing. It became afterwards a ſeparate kingdom, under the princes of the Selzuccian family, for near 200 years, which ended by the reduction of the city, and death of its laſt prince, by Halaon, the Tartar. Its Hebrew name was Damefech; and the Turks now call it Schan, or Scan. It is ſituated in a fertile plain, encompassed with hills, and upon the celebrated river Chryſorroa, (i. e. *golden ſtream*), called, by the Syrians, Pharpar, and which enriches the city and its country with all kinds of plenty and pleaſure. The emperor Julian ſtiled it the City of Jupiter, the Eye of the Eaſt; and added, that it excelled all others in the magnificence of its temples, tempera- ture of its ſeaſons, excellent fountains, number of ſprings, and fruitfulness of ſoil. Its territory pro- duces the beſt corn, wine, and fruits, all the year, which renders the place exceeding rich and delight- ful. The city is of an oblong form, ſlender to- wards the middle, and bulges out at both ends, ef- pecially that to the north-eaſt. It is computed to be about two miles in length; and is ſo thick beſet with towers, domes, fine gardens, ſummer-houſes, turrets, &c. that it yields a moſt noble proſpect, and, from the adjacent hills, looks like a ſtately city in a wood, enriched with moſt delightful and conſtant verdure, occaſioned by the vaſt quantity of water with which the river Barrady ſupplies both town and country. The public buildings bear a much better outſide than the private. The chief of all is the great moſque, formerly a Chriſtian church, built by the emperor Heraclius, in honour of Za- chariah, father of John Baptiſt, ſaid to be buried in it. This moſque is reckoned one of the moſt ſtately in all Turkey, into which it is death for any but a Muſſulman to enter. The city has ſeparate wards for every trade, and theſe are ſhut up every night by gates, and by a ſtout iron chain by day, to keep off beaſts of burthen. In particular here are not leſs than 20,000 perſons employed in making ſcy- meters, ſword blades, knives, and other cutlery work, bridles, and divers other things in iron and ſteel, all which are in great repute for the fine tem- per which the Barrady water gives thoſe metals. On one ſide of the city lies that which they call the Meidan, or the Green, (*Ager Damafcenus*), which is a ſpacious graſs field, encompassed with gardens, through which runs a branch of the Barrady. On the ſide of this green is a ſpacious noble hoſpital for pilgrims of all religions. The building is ſur- rounded with cloiſters, adorned with ſmall cupolas, and a great number of chambers for ſtrangers, who are maintained at the charge of the grand ſeignior. There is likewiſe another cloiſter for the mainte- nance of poor ſcholars, with a moſque, and hand- ſome gardens. On another ſide is a large houſe, where they bake biſcuits for thoſe pilgrims who travel to Mecca, and of which the ſultan allows them 200 camels load, and the like quantity of water. Almoſt in the heart of the city is an high caſtle, of an oval ſhape, moſtly of ſquare ſtone, and flanked with fourteen ſquare towers, in which are ſome cannon. Here are 1500 janiffaries con- ſtantly; 500 to guard the city, 500 to eſcort the caravan to Mecca, and 500 to attend the grand ſeignior when he goes to Bagdat. The city is go- verned by a beglerberg, who has ten ſangiacs un- der him, beſides agas, cadis, and other officers. Damafcus is the ſeat of a Greek patriarch, tranſ- lated hither from Antioch. It was the birth-place of the celebrated and eſteemed St. John, thence furnamed Damafcus. All ſorts of Chriſtians are allowed churches and their particular ceremonies here. Jews are in great numbers, and have ſtately ſynagogues. Other ſects make but little figure.

Damietta.

DAMIATA, or DUMIATA, in Lower Egypt, is ſituated on one of the eaſt branches of the Nile. This branch, and that called the Peluſiac, or ut- moſt eaſtern, form a kind of ſmall triangular iſland, on the weſt angle of which this city is ſitu- ate. It is one of the moſt conſiderable for trade in the whole territory about it, and the moſt fertile in

all Egypt. It is reckoned one of the keys of Egypt, is large, though now ill built, and contains about 25,000 inhabitants. It fell, with the reſt of Egypt, under the yoke of the Saracens, who held it till 1218, when the cruſaders laid ſiege to it, and took it the next year; but had ſcarce held it three years, when thoſe infidels, letting out the water about them, forced them to abandon it. Lewis, (ſurnamed Saint,) king of France, regained it in the year 1249, but having been taken priſoner about a year after, was forced to reſtore it for his ranſom. The Saracens, it is ſaid, then burnt it, that it might no more be ſuch a bone of contention. It ſoon re- covered, and is now a place of great trade, and the ſeat of an archbiſhop, under the patriarch of Alex- andria. Copts and Greeks here ſettled have each a church, and free exerciſe of religion. The town is under the government of an aga, cadi, and ſub- bachi, all appointed by the baſhaw of the province, who exacts part of their income. The inhabitants are ſeverally employed in manufactures, particu- larly of fine linen cloth of all colours. But they ſo abhor ſtrangers, eſpecially Europeans, on account of the cruſades, (the chief ſcene of which in Egypt was hereabout,) that they can ſcarce let them paſs along without inſult. Some have confounded Da- miata with Old Peluſium, or ſuppoſed it to have been reared from its ruins; but this error has been fully refuted.

DAN, the Tribe of, had their portion of the Land of Promise thus ſituate; the Philiftines and Judah on the ſouth; Benjamin, Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manaſſeh, north; and the Mediterranean weſt. This diſtrict is plain and level, but not ſo fruitful as that of the ſaid half tribe, having, in moſt parts, leſs depth of ſoil, and bordering on the ſea coaſt in a range of mountains.

DAN, City of, hath the ſaid name given it in Ge- neſis and Deuteronomy. It was called alſo Laith. It was ſituated at the head of the Jordan, and was uſually accounted the utmoſt north border of the Land of Iſrael, as Beer-ſheba was of the ſouth; whence, as before obſerved, the expreſſion, "From Dan to Beer-ſheba," to denote the whole length of the Holy Land from north to ſouth. Here it was that Jeroboam placed one of his golden calves. By Gentile writers it was called Paneas, from the adjoining ſpring Panicum, or Panion. This Dan, with its territory, was given, by Auguſtus, to He- rood the Great, who left it to Philip, his youngeſt ſon, together with the tetrarchy of Iturea and Tra- chonitis, to which it adjoined, and he repairing and beautifying it, made it his capital, or at leaſt his reſidence, giving it the name of Cæſarea Phi- lippi, or the Cæſarea of Philip, to ingratiate him- ſelf with Tiberius Cæſar, and to diſtinguiſh it from another place of the ſame name.

DAPHNE, near Antioch. To the account already given of Antioch, we may add, that Cæſar Gallus having, out of zeal to Chriſtianity, cauſed a Chriſ- tian church to be built there, the Daphnian Oracle immediately ceaſed. There were ſeveral places of this name beſides the foregoing, viz. a town of Egypt, near Peluſium; an iſland of Ethiopia; alſo a ſmall region of Theſſaly, through which flowed the river Paneus.

DATHEMA is the name of that fortrefs in the land of Gilead, mentioned in the firſt book of the Mac- cabs.

DECAPOLIS was a canton in Paleſtine, ſo called from its (Deca) ten cities, ſituate ſome on one, and ſome on the other, ſide Jordan, the capital of which was Scythopolis. It was moſtly inhabited by Gen- tiles.

DELPHOS, or Delphi, was the chief city of an- cient Phocis, famous for the temple of Apollo, whole oracle was reſorted to by all from all parts of Europe, Aſia, and Africa. Delphos, among ſeveral other cities of Greece and Peloponeſus, contended for be- ing ſituate in the very middle of the world. It had ſo convenient a harbour, and was ſo excellently well ſituated,

situated, (being rather in the heart of Greece than of the world,) that it became, in time, a sessions town of all the Grecian states. Here sat the court of the Amphictyones, chosen out of the prime cities of Greece, and so called from Amphictyon, first founder of this high court. The time of their assembling was in spring and autumn. Causes of all kinds were brought before them, from all parts of Grecia; and their sentence was deemed definitive. Mention of them is frequently made in history. Considering, therefore, the great concourse which this court, the oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of Apollo, brought into the city, we need not wonder at its being one of the most opulent of all Greece. As an instance of which, it may be noticed, that the gold and silver of which the temple was despoiled, (the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad,) on occasion of the Grecian holy war, as it was called, amounted to 10,000 talents; i. e. above, 1,000,000l. English money. Delphos was situate in ancient Achaia, now Livadia, in Turkey in Europe, on the south side of Mount Parnassus, where the town of Castri now stands. This modern town does not consist of above 200 houses, and those very ill built. It stands between Salona and Livadia, about ten miles from the latter. The number of Turks are very insignificant, though they have a mosque. The Greeks have five or six churches, and are deemed a very good people, though poor. The little trade they have, consists in cotton and tobacco. Their wine is exceeding good.

DELTA, or the Lower Egypt, reaching from Hep-tanomis to the Mediterranean Sea, contained not only that part which is compassed by the arms of the Nile, and, from its triangular figure, named Delta, but also Mazeotis and Alexandria, with its dependencies, to the west, and Casiotis, with some other territories towards Arabia, to the east. There are various opinions and conjectures concerning the ancient state of this part of the world, but it is now acknowledged to be the most fertile and best cultivated land in the whole kingdom of Egypt, containing above 360 villages, and yielding grapes and other fruits in abundance; and it fails not bearing even in those years when the Nile, not rising to its usual height, occasions a scarcity in other parts.

DIOSPOLIS was anciently a city in the Lesser Thebais, in Egypt. There was another town of this name in Palestine, vulgarly called Rhama, which Gallus, the Roman general, destroyed at the same time, and for the same cause, as he did some other adjacent places, viz. the frequent revolt of the Jews.

DORA, or Dor, was a maritime town, and considerable city, strongly situate near Mount Carmel, on the Mediterranean Sea, whence it gave name to the country about it. It was given to the half tribe of Manasseh on this side (i. e. the west side) of Jordan. Jerome observes, that it lay nine miles from Tyre, and was gone quite to decay in his time, so as to be uninhabited.

DOTHAN, mentioned in Gen. xxxvii. was seated about twelve miles to the northward of Samaria. In the neighbourhood of it Joseph was sold, by his brethren, to the Ishmaelites.

E.

ECBATANA. As there are now no monuments remaining either of the magnificent mausoleum ascribed to Daniel, or the proud palace where the monarchs of Asia went to pass the summer, there is great disagreement, among our modern travellers, about the place where this stately metropolis stood. It is the opinion of many writers, that Tauris is the same with the ancient and famous Ecbatana. Our author assures us, that the palace built by Daniel was entire in his time; but, at present, not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be seen either at Tauris, or in that neighbourhood; for, in all the ruins there, the materials are only earth, brick, and

pebbles, which, in ancient times, were never used in Media for building of palaces.

ECBATANA, a town in Syria, is remarkable for the death of Cambyses, king of Persia, there. This Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is the Ahaluerus of our bible. While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana, which he understanding of Ecbatana in Media, resolved to preserve his life by never going thither: but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria; for the town where he lay sick of his mortal wound was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana.

EDOM. When the ancient kingdom of Edom was in its meridian, it was supposed to have been bounded on the north by Canaan, and the lake Asphaltitis; on the east by Midian; on the south by the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea; and on the west by Amalekitis. This track is very mountainous, and great part of it desert. It has few or no streams, but latent springs of water for the use of the inhabitants, who know where to find them. Corn and wine, nevertheless, seem to have been anciently in some degree of plenty amongst them. So that Esau (that is, the posterity of Esau, or Edom) may anciently have enjoyed the "fatness of the earth," according to his father's prophetic blessing, Gen. xxvii. 39. though by modern travellers this country is deemed rather an unfertile spot. Amalekitis is by some reckoned to have been a part or province of Edom. The cities, and most remarkable places, of Edom, were, Teman, Dedan, Bozrah, Elath, Mount Hor, and the Valley of Salt. Now, though the name of this kingdom is frequently rendered Idumea, for Edomea, (as in our version of the bible,) yet, when that name occurs in prophane and more modern writers, it must not be understood of the ancient Edom, which, losing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of Arabia Petrea, and the Third Palestine. The south part of Canaan came to be called Idumea, and the whole nation of the Jews sometimes Idumeans. These people were at first ruled by patriarchs, or heads of families; and after that by kings, who were elected into the regal office. This elective kingdom was, some how or other, interrupted and dissolved, and the ancient form took place again, till, perceiving the imperfections of this kind of administration, they coalesced under one king, thereby to be the better enabled to withstand an invasion from the Israelites when they came out of Egypt. It was governed after by Edomitish kings quite down to the days of king David, who conquered the country: from which time they were kept under subjection to the kings of Judah, though always impatient under the yoke, and only waiting for a favourable opportunity of shaking it off. They were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in as others in the softening pleasures of luxury. Concerning their religion we are much in the dark. At first they were right in their belief and practice, as they were descended from Isaac, and used circumcision; but, by degrees, they forgot all, degenerated into idolatry, and disused circumcision. In the end, however, they coalesced with the Jews, and were ever after considered as but one nation with them in divine matters. The Romans conquered this country after the reduction of Judaea, and made it the sixth district in the division of Syria. The Turks are now in possession of it; though it appears not that they maintain much, if any, government in it, except on the sea-coast, for securing the road from Egypt to Judea, where stand some castles and villages, as Arissa, Dinhabah, &c. it being now inhabited by a wild, roving kind of Arabs, but who are not all entirely so barbarous and rude as some represent them.

EGYPT, called by its ancient inhabitants Chemia, and by the Copts at present, was so named, according to the general opinion of writers, from Ham, or Cham, the son of Noah, being more than once in the Psalms stiled the Land of Ham: but the name

name by which it is generally denoted in Scripture, is the Land of Mizraim, from whence the Arabians still call it Mesr, which the Greeks write Mesre, or Mestrea. Ancient Egypt is divided, by some, into two parts, the Upper and the Lower Egypt; by others into three; the upper, properly so called, or Thebais; the middle, or Heptanomis; and the lower, of which the best part was the Delta. Thebais, now called Al Said, is the most southern part of Egypt next to Ethiopia, and is near as large as all the rest, including the country on both sides the Nile down to Heptanomis, its last cities having been Lycopolis on the west, and Anteopolis on the east, side of the river, which agrees with the present extent of Al Said, the most northern city of which is Manfalut. There were formerly in this part of Egypt a great number of large and magnificent cities, with temples of several deities, and tombs of their ancient princes. Its metropolis, Thebes, called afterwards Diapolis, (i. e. City of Jupiter,) was situate on the Nile, and deservedly reckoned one of the finest cities in the world. Its 100 gates are mentioned by Homer, whence it had the surname of Hecatom-pulos. Its riches were so great, that, after it had been plundered by the Persians, what was found, on burning the remains of the pillage, amounted to about 300 talents of gold, and 2300 of silver. Who was its founder is uncertain. As the name Thebes was formerly given to all Egypt, its great power is the more credible. Heptanomis was so called from the seven *Nomes*, or prefectures, into which it was divided. It was full of very large and noble cities, the principal of which was Memphis, built by Menes, their first king, and, for many ages, capital of the whole kingdom. Here also was the lake Neris, the Labyrinths, and the Pyramids. The chief cities of the Delta were Tanis, Sais, and Xoïs, and in later times Alexandria. The climate of Egypt must needs be very warm, from its near situation to the tropic. Though the air is generally dry, yet great dews fall after the swelling of the Nile, which continue for several months. In the Delta it sometimes rains a little in the winter, notwithstanding what some ancients say to the contrary; and even snow, it is said, has been observed to fall at Alexandria. In Upper Egypt, indeed, towards the cataracts, it rains very seldom. The first summer, (for they reckon two,) which is in March, April and May, is the most inconvenient and sickly season, because the unequal weather, excessive heats, and hot winds, cause distempers; but in the second, June, July, and August, and in autumn and winter, the inhabitants breathe a much cooler air, the weather is more constant, and it is more delightful living, except from the 7th to the 14th of February, when the cold is so felt that the rich wear furs. The fertility of Egypt, and the excellence of its productions and fruits, were greatly celebrated by the ancients, and by Moses himself, in the book of Genesis. It was the granary of Old Rome, as it is now of Constantinople. The most plentiful parts are the Delta, and the province now called Al Feyyum. For this great fertility the land is indebted to the river Nile. The sources of this celebrated river were unknown to the ancients; but they are now well known to be in Ethiopia. The annual inundations of this river has been looked on as one of the greatest wonders of the country. Ancient writers tell us it begins to rise in Egypt about the summer solstice, and continues so to do till after the autumnal equinox, for about 100 days, and then it decreases as many, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till next year. If the river did not rise to 15 or 16 cubits, the country was not covered with its waters, and dearth ensued. This account comes very near to those of modern travellers. As this river could not of itself overflow the lands every where in the necessary proportion, they have cut a vast number of canals: however, as some places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raise the water to cover them by engines. Formerly they made use of Archimedes's screw, thence named the Egyptian pump, but now they generally use wheels, which carry a rope or chain of earthen pots of about seven or eight quarts each, and draw the water from the canals. There are besides a vast number of wells, from which the

water is drawn in the same manner to water the gardens and fruit-trees; so that it is no exaggeration of the matter, to say there are, in Egypt, above 200,000 oxen daily employed in this single labour; besides the men who draw water in wicker baskets, so close and well made that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little square beds, which are all surrounded with trenches, which immediately furnish as much water as is necessary; and by these means they have the finest and most fertile gardens in the world. Pomegranates, oranges, and several sorts of trees, afford a shade and coolness, that, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. The Egyptians have not the laborious task of ploughing, digging, or breaking the clods, but when the river has retired, they have no more to do than to mix a little sand with the earth to abate its strength, after which they sow with as little pains, and almost without charge. The pastures are most excellent, the grass generally growing to the height of the cattle. In fine, there is not a more pleasant sight in the world than Egypt in two seasons. Of the animal productions, the crocodile is the most remarkable. This amphibious creature is not, indeed, peculiar to the Nile, it being frequent enough in the Ganges, and other large rivers of India. With respect to vegetable productions, though woods are very rare in Egypt, yet there are some forests of palm-trees towards the deserts of Lybia: and near Dandera, the ancient Tontyra, is one of wild dates, whose fruit is excessive hard, but much admired. However, Egypt is not a country proper for trees; but the case is different as to plants, which are various, and many of them highly useful. Amongst the artificial curiosities of this country are the pyramids, those stupendous structures, which were deservedly reckoned, by the ancients, among the wonders of the world. The Egyptian Labyrinth, from whence Dædalus is supposed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in Crete, though he therein imitated but the hundredth part of it, was a celebrated structure; and Herodotus, who saw it, says, that it far surpassed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids. But admirable as the Labyrinth was, the lake Meris, by which it stood, is said to be yet more wonderful: according to the ancients, this lake was much larger than it is now, and one place in particular, which the water has left, is, indeed, become a dangerous quicksand, wherein men and cattle are sometimes lost. Later relations assure us, it is now above half a league broad, and a day's journey in length, being in circuit above twelve or fifteen leagues. And even this is prodigious enough, if we consider that it was the work of mens hands, as appears from the two pyramids built in the midst of it, which were standing in the time of Herodotus. With respect to the government, laws, religion, customs, &c. of the ancient Egyptians, we shall be as concise as possible. They are said to be the first who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life easy, and a people happy, the true end of politics. Other nations, particularly the Grecians, borrowed the best part of those which they established at home of this nation. The crown was hereditary, yet their first kings were obliged to conform themselves to the established laws of the land, even in their private way of life. They could not punish any person out of passion or caprice, nor give judgment but as law prescribed. While they thus behaved, they were infinitely dear to their people, the state was flourishing, and their extended dominion became exceeding rich and populous, and enabled them to adorn the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence. The king, priests, and soldiers, made, as it were, the three estates of the nation. The Egyptians were very careful in the administration of justice, formed most excellent laws, and minutely attended to the execution of them. But as much as the Egyptians seemed to excel other nations in the wisdom of their laws and constitutions, they surpassed them in bigotry and superstition. They are said to have been the first who erected idolatrous altars, images, and temples; and the first inventors of festivals, ceremonies, and transactions with the gods

by the mediation of others, and to have first given names to the twelve gods. They had many deities, of different ranks and orders. Those chiefly honoured were Osiris and Isis, by which it is most probable they originally meant the Sun and Moon, whose influences governed and preserved the world. Their idolatrous practices became so general at last, that they gave divine honours to several animals; nay, even to some vegetables. We can only hint, that the Egyptians were early famous for many arts and sciences, and particularly so for that called magic. To whomsoever the invention may justly be ascribed, it is certain the art was very ancient here. They had magicians who pretended to the interpretation of dreams, and a way of divining by a cup, in the time of Joseph. Gen. xlv. 5, 15. What were the real grounds of this science is not for us to say. We have entered upon the Egyptian chronology, in order to present a concise account of the modern state of Egypt. This land, though once so populous, and full of noble and opulent cities, is so far decayed and fallen from its pristine splendor, that it hath now very few places deserving to be called cities, either for extent, strength, beauty, or populousness. Scarce any are enclosed with walls; and many, formerly celebrated for their wealth and beauty, are now no other than overgrown villages, without ramparts or walls. Though Egypt is now by no means so populous as it has formerly been, yet these huge villages, or unwalled towns, are still very numerous, and so near to each other in some parts, that they appear almost contiguous, especially from Cairo to Rosetta, as well as along the canal of Damietta, and much more so in the heart of the Delta. Egypt is now inhabited not only by the Copti, or ancient natives, but by Arabs, Moors, Turks, Greeks, Jews, Franks, and others. The Coptic was the ancient language. But the Greek being introduced by Alexander, &c. continued to be spoken 900 years, till the Greeks were driven out by the Arabs, since which the Arabic hath continued the common language of the country, as they are the most numerous. However, they are kept severely under by the Turks, scarce any of them being admitted into offices. Both men and women (contrary to the ancient Egyptians, who were the most cleanly people in the world) are commonly very nasty, as well as rude and ignorant; and as they have not only embraced the doctrine of Mahomet, but are even more zealous observers of it than the Turks, so that has continued the principal religion of the country. The climate is naturally so excessive hot as to occasion a great variety of diseases, extremely dangerous; and, what is far worse, the plague often rages with such violence as to sweep off myriads in a year in the whole country.

EKRON, situated north-west of Gath, in Palestine, was the most northern of all the five cities which gave names to the five lordships of the Philistines, lay in the north border of Judah, and was consequently a frontier town. It was once a place of great wealth and power, and is much spoken of in Scripture; but it faded away to a great degree of obscurity; and although the name, and even very considerable vestiges of what it had once been, subsisted for many ages, it happens that no mention is made of it in prophane authors. It was famous for its idol Baalzebub, called the god of Ekron, which was next in repute and dignity to that of Dagon.

ELAH. The valley of Elah, or of the Terebinth, lay in the road from Eleutheriopolis to Jerusalem. Here it was that David slew Goliath. As to the height of this gigantic Philistine, according to the English standard, it was twelve feet eight inches, and somewhat better than three tenths. His coat of mail weighed 5000 shekels of brass, or upwards of 189 of our pounds troy; and by the same rule the head of his spear, which weighed 600 shekels of iron, exceeded 22 of the same pounds. The weight of these, and the other parts of his armour, was not, we may imagine, too heavy for so huge a person, his strength, doubtless, being in proportion to his stature.

No. 57.

ELAM, mentioned in several parts of Scripture, was a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eastward of the Tigris. It was the Susiana of the Greeks, and lay so opportunely for Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, (who was, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, to subdue it,) that he could have been no great while in completing its reduction; though, from the prophecy, Elam must have been a great and potent kingdom. And it seems to have waged war with the king of Scythia, beyond the river Oxus, with various success. Chodorlaomer was the first king of Elam, and he extended his conquests over many provinces of Asia. Elam.

ELATH was a fair and commodious haven on the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, adjoining to the south-east part of Mount Seir, or Land of Edom, and, for a long time, was a situation for the shipping which was sent from those parts into the Indies. It lies near the road the Egyptian pilgrims take when they go to Mecca. In the fourteenth century there were considerable remains of it standing. This was one of the places whence the Jews traded for gold to Ophir. It was also a great mart of the Tyrians. Elath.

ELEPHANTINE, Island of, was situated opposite Sienna, in Upper Egypt. It had a small city, and is supposed to have taken its name from the elephants found on it. The Romans terminated their empire here, and so do the Egyptians their navigation on the Nile. This small territory is pleasant and fruitful, though hot; and the trees and vines are covered with leaves all the year round. It is allowed the last place belonging to Egypt on this side. Elephantine.

ELEUTHERUS is a river mentioned in the Maccabees, and by geographers set down as the boundary of Syria and Phœnicia. The moderns, with one consent, give that name to a river between Tyre and Sidon, called, by the Turks, Calimea, but the ancients place it more to the northward. The writer of the Maccabees lays it in the land of Hamath, which country, wherever it was, was certainly without the borders of Israel, as appears from the same author. Eleutherus.

ELYMAIS, the metropolis of a province of the same name, lying between the rivers Eulæus and Orontes, and extending from the confines of Media to the Persian Gulph, was famous for a rich temple consecrated to Diana, which was plundered by one of the Parthian kings, who found in it 10,000 talents. The Elymeans, as Strabo informs us, were a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, skillful bowmen, &c. and never subdued by the Syro-Macedonian or Parthian kings, but governed by their princes. He dates the rise of this kingdom from the downfall of the Persian monarchy. Their kings are often spoken of by the ancients, but not one by name. All we know of them is, that they assisted Antiochus in his wars with Rome, but afterwards cut off both him and his army in defence of their temple. Elymais.

EMESA, or **EMISSA**, was a city of Syria Proper, placed by most of the eminent geographers on the Orontes, between Apamia and Laodicea Caliosa. The emperor Heliogabalus was a native of it. It made a great figure during the reign of the Seleucidæ, and became an episcopal see under that of Antioch. It was afterwards taken from the Mussulmen Arabs, by the crusaders, in 1098, and retaken by Saladin about 100 years after. The Tartars mastered it about 1258, and afterwards were driven out of it by the Mussulmen Mamalukes, and these at length by the Turks. It is now called Chems, and Aman or Haman, and is under the beglerberg of Damascus, who keeps a deputy-governor and a garrison in it. It is surrounded by strong walls, with six handsome gates, and stately towers, at proper distances. The castle, which appears to be Roman, stands on an eminence, which commands the town and adjacent parts. Here are likewise some fine new churches, though the greater part of them are now turned into mosques. The chief commerce of the place consists in silk of the finest manufacture. The Emesa.

gardens about it, as well as the neighbouring country, are very fertile and delightful, abounding with fruits of all sorts, especially with mulberry trees, to feed silk worms with, and these are planted in rows of considerable length, very regular, and well watered.

Emma. EMMA, the same as Amatha before described. The Jews gave the name of Hamah, or Hammath, to all places that had such waters: that of Emmaus is the same, only softened according to the Greek idiom. We must not, therefore, confound this with the following.

Emmaus. EMMAUS, according to St. Luke, was a village about 60 furlongs from Jerusalem west. It was afterwards made a city, and a Roman colony, and called Nicopolis.

Endor. ENDOR, mentioned in Scripture as the place of residence of a woman that had a familiar spirit, and to whom Saul applied to raise up Samuel, &c. was a city of the half tribe of Manasseh, on the west of Jordan.

Engedi. ENGEDI had anciently the name of Hazezon-tamar. It was a city in the tribe of Judah, not far from the Salt Sea, and in a wilderness, or desolate country. Engedi is noticed for its camphire, or (as others render it) cypress: and Jerome tells us it was remarkable for opo-balsamum, supposed to be the same now called balm of Gilead, and that it was a great town in his days.

Ephesus. EPHESUS, in Ionia, in Asia Minor, called by the present inhabitants Aiasalogus, was, in former times, the metropolis of all Asia. Pliny styles it the ornament of Asia, and Strabo the greatest and most frequented emporium of it. The ancient Ephesus was, indeed, very far different from the modern, which is but a sorry village, inhabited by thirty or forty Greek families, as ignorant as inconsiderable. The ancient city stood about 50 miles southward of Smyrna, near the mouth of the river Cayster, and the shore of the Icarian Sea, which is a bay of the Ægean; but as it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, it is not easy to determine the precise place. Most modern travellers are of opinion, that the ancient city stood more to the southward than the present, which they argue from the ruins that still remain. Ephesus, in ancient times, was known by several names. When in the Roman times it was the metropolis of all Asia, it acknowledged Lyfimachus for its founder, because that prince, having caused the ancient city to be entirely demolished, rebuilt, at a vast expence, a new one, in a place more convenient, and nearer the temple. This new Ephesus was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, but by him repaired and embellished with several stately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be seen, and scarce any thing worthy of ancient Ephesus. The aqueduct, part of which is still standing, is generally believed to have been the work of the Greek emperors. The pillars which support the arches are of fine marble, and higher or lower, as the level of the water required. This aqueduct served to convey water into the city from the spring of Haltee, mentioned by Pausanias. The Cayster was formerly navigable, and afforded a safe place for ships to ride in, but is now almost choked up with sand. But the chief ornament of Ephesus was the so much celebrated temple of Diana, built at the common charge of all the states of Asia, and, for its structure, size, and furniture, accounted among the wonders of the world. According to Pliny, an incredible space of time was spent in building this wonderful temple by all Asia. The pillars, which were of marble curiously carved, or highly polished, were the works of the most famous artists of antiquity; and the altar was almost wholly the performance of that great master Praxiteles. This temple had the privilege of an asylum, which at first extended to a furlong, afterwards enlarged by Mithridates to a bowshot, and doubled by Mark Anthony, so that it took in part of the city. But

Tiberius put a stop to the many abuses and disorders that attended privileges of this kind, and declared that no man, guilty of any wicked or dishonest action, should escape justice, though he fled to the altar itself. All the Ionians resorted yearly to Ephesus with their wives and children, where they solemnized the festival of Diana with great pomp and magnificence, making on that occasion rich offerings to the goddess, without forgetting her priests. The great Diana of the Ephesians, as she was styled by her blind adorers, was, according to Pliny, but a small statue of ebony, made by one Canetia. As Ephesus was, in the days of heathenism, famous for the temple, so it was, in the first Christian times, adorned with a magnificent church, honoured with the name of St. John's. It is yet standing, and represented by a traveller of eminence, as peculiarly striking to a stranger, from the loftiness of its fabric, though now converted into a Turkish mosque. Not far from hence was a stately lavatory of porphyry, called St. John's Font, the diameter of which was above seven pikes, wherein it is said he baptized great multitudes. The aqueduct on the east side appears not very antique, at least it seems to have been repaired in latter times, some stones being reversed in the walls, and seeming as if placed so by the ignorant Turks as they came casually to hand. So now the reliques of the Gentiles, the Christians, and the Turks, are subverted and heaped promiscuously together: for the whole town is nothing but a habitation of herdsmen and farmers, in low cottages of dirt, covered on the top with earth, sheltered from the extremity of the weather by mighty masses of ruinous walls, the pride and ostentation of former days, and the emblem in these of the frailty of the world, and the transient vanity of human glory. We conclude with observing, that the Turks took Ephesus under Mahomet I. the son of Bajazet, since which it hath remained under them, and that its commerce was transported to Smyrna and Scalanova.

EPHRAIM was a tribe. Also Ephraim, in which was the wood where Absalom perished on an oak, mentioned in the 2d book of Samuel, and is undoubtedly to be understood not of any wood lying in the tribe of Ephraim on the west of Jordan, (for Absalom, as well as David, were passed over Jordan,) but of some wood lying on the east side of Jordan, and so named on some other account, perhaps, as lying over against the tribe of Ephraim.

EPHRATA, being the same city as Bethlehem, see Ephraim that article.

EPHRON is mentioned, in the Maccabees, as a great and strong city, lying in the direct way between the land of Gilead and that of Judah.

ETHIOPIA. Several of the ancients gave the name of Ethiopians to all persons either perfectly black, or of a very swarthy complexion. The Arabs, therefore, and other Asiatics, as well as a great number of Africans, fell under this denomination. We find the Africans divided into the west, or Hesperian Ethiopians; and the Ethiopians above Egypt to the east of the former. The first inhabited that vast track called Lybia Interior, but the second were looked upon as the proper Ethiopians. As proper Ethiopia might anciently have been of different extent at different times, its frontiers cannot be precisely fixed. In scripture *Cush*, when taken for a country, is always to be understood of the proper Ethiopia. The ancients imagined the blackness of the Ethiopians, Abassines, and Abyssians, to be occasioned by the intense heat of their climate, and therefore so named them. As we have not room to specify all the several Ethiopian nations, as to their characters and customs, we shall only touch on some particulars. The Struthophagi (or ostrich eaters) lived upon ostriches. They had several arts and devices to take this their food, though that animal defended itself against them with stones, which it threw out of its feet with great violence. Of the skins of these creatures they made both garments and coverlids for their beds. The Ichthyophagi (or fish-eaters) by stopping up the passages

passages of certain caverns on the coast of the Red Sea, part of which they inhabited, with stones, enclosed vast numbers of large and small fishes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and served them for food. As they fed on fish in their life-time, so they fed on them after death, for they carried their dead to the sea-shore, where they lay till the tide carried them off. The Chelonophagi (or tortoise-eaters) not only lived upon those fishes, but covered their huts with the shells, and used them also as boats. The Acridophagi (or locust-eaters) had a deep valley in the country of many furlongs, which they took care to fill with wood, &c. and when the south wind drove vast numbers of locusts thither, they set the combustibles on fire, and the smoke suffocated these animals, to infinite in number, that the ground, for leagues, was covered with their bodies, which these people seasoned with salt, and lived upon the following year. The Spermatophagi and Ixylophagi formed two neighbouring cantons; the first feeding on the fruits that fell from the trees in summer, but the rest of the year on a sweet plant, with a stalk, somewhat resembling that of a turnip; and the latter on the buds and tender shoots of trees. These were people of such surprising activity, that they skipped from tree to tree almost like birds. They always went naked, had wives in common, but quarrelled about their habitations, fighting with clubs. Circumcision was a rite observed among the Ethiopians, as well as Egyptians, from very early antiquity; though which of these first received it cannot be certainly known. The Ethiopian soldiers tied their arrows round their heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out like so many rays, which formed a kind of crown. Their bows were four cubits long, and required so much strength to manage them, that no other people could make use of them. When they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouding showers of arrows. They retreated fighting, as did the Parthians, discharging volleys of arrows with such dexterity, that, whilst retiring full speed, they dreadfully galled the enemy. Their lances or darts were of immense size, which farther proves their vast strength. The Macrobian (or long-lived Egyptians) fed, for the most part, upon roasted flesh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of 120 years, which was said to be owing to a rich and fragrant fountain, wherein they frequently bathed themselves. They looked upon brats as the most valuable of metals, and so little esteemed gold, that they fettered their common prisoners with golden chains. Diodorus affirms, that they kept the bodies of their relations in their houses, within cases of glass; not thinking it right that the knowledge of the features, and likenesses of their deceased relations, should be forgotten by their surviving kindred, or concealed from their posterity. Thus much may suffice concerning the manners, customs, &c. of the divers, and, in some respects, very different nations or tribes of the different Ethiopians. Jupiter Ammon, according to the Greek and Latin authors, seems to have been the principal object of religious worship in Ethiopia. Diodorus says they valued themselves on their being the first nation that had a religious establishment. In short, from the general account of authors, their religion differed not much from that of the Egyptians, which is not to be wondered at, considering their vicinity to, and intercourse with, that people. The country is at present inhabited by people of three different religions, viz. Christians, Mahometans, and Pagans; but the last are most numerous, and are generally the Blacks, as the Mahometans are tawney, possessing the north shore; and those who are called Christians have abundance of Pagan and Jewish rites intermixed, and are but small in number compared with the other two. Ethiopia did not abound in cities and towns of any considerable note. Auxeme was its metropolis. It is very mountainous, and most of the hills overlook the clouds. In such a region the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where so many different seasons may be found in so small a compass. The Ethiopie, as well as the opposite, coast of the

Red Sea, and the islands of this sea, are, in summer, intolerably scorched by the solar rays. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts. In some provinces the winter is extremely severe; in others as warm as summer in several parts of Europe. They have little or no snow, but frequent and dreadful thunders, that terrify both man and beast, which proceed from the excessive variety of air. The climate, in general, is yet so healthy, that it is still not uncommon for the natives to arrive at 100 years of age. The days and nights in Ethiopia, as lying between the tropic of cancer and the equator, or equinoctial line, are, for the most part, nearly equal; and the soil in those parts capable of cultivation, is extremely fertile, and produces vast quantities of grain, pulse, and fruit. Metals likewise, particularly gold minerals, vegetables, and a surprising variety of animals, abound here. It is asserted they have sometimes two, sometimes three, harvests in a year. They neither sow or mow (to make hay) for the cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual distillation of moisture from the mountains, producing grass in great abundance, and covering the fields with a most beautiful verdure through all the different seasons of the year; yet they are sometimes infested with flights of grasshoppers, which cover the earth, and, in a short time, devour every blade of grass to the very root. Of all the rivers that water Ethiopia, the most famous is the Nile, which has its source in this country. The chief parts and emporiums were Adulis, Mondus, Opone, Morylow, and the principal city of the Avalite, seated upon the Red Sea. The Arabs, from their country, into these places imported fruit, corn, wine, &c. and exported from thence, to Oclis and Mufa, opposite harbours in Arabia, spices, cassia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and several other commodities. The civit-cat is one of the most remarkable animals of Ethiopia, which yields the perfume called civet, and is a native of the East-Indies and America, as well as of Africa. It is a sort of wild cat, not much unlike our tame ones, except that the head more resembles that of a fox: their skin is spotted, the claws are less dangerous, and the cry is different. The perfume this animal produces is an unctuous substance, of the consistence of honey, or butter, and has a most fragrant and grateful scent. Civet, like musk, is chiefly used by perfumers and confectioners, having but little place in medicine. The laws of this country allow polygamy, though the church canons forbid it, so that they lawfully, though irreligiously, indulge themselves in it. Trades and manufactures are wholly wanting here; though, indeed, their way of living makes them need the fewer. Even those which are most necessary they are supplied with by the Jews, viz. weaving of stuffs for drets, forging heads for the lances, &c.

EZION-GEBER was a celebrated port-town in the reign of Solomon and Jehoshaphat. From divers texts of Scripture it may be inferred, that Ezion-Geber and Elath were neighbouring places; so that, for the situation of this place, it may suffice to turn to the article Elath. After the division of the kingdom, Edom being of that part which remained to the house of David, they still continued to carry on a trade before established from the two ports of Elath and Ezion-Geber, especially from the latter, which they chiefly made use of till the time of Jehoshaphat. But he having there lost his fleet, which he had prepared to sail to Ophir, in partnership with Ahaziah, king of Israel, this spoiled the credit of that harbour. Therefore, to avoid future mischiefs, the station of the king's ships was thenceforth removed to Elath.

G.

GADARA, a city of Palestine, in Coelo-Syria, situated near the river of its name, where it discharges itself into the lake of Genesareth.

GADDER, a province in Judea, in which had been situated the tribes of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and

and Issachar. It was the most northern part of Palestine, extending beyond the great plain of Jezreel, and was bounded north by Mount Libanus, east by the Jordan and the sea of Galilee, south by the river Chison, and west by the Mediterranean. It was divided into high and low. The former, on the other side Jordan, extending towards the Machonitis, the Libanus, and Batana, was stiled Galilee of the Gentiles, either because mostly inhabited by, or intermixed with, them. Here was seated the half-tribe of Manasseh. The other was richer and more fertile, except in the northernmost part, producing excellent corn, wine, and fruits, with little cultivation, and was, in its flourishing state, full of towns and villages, and extremely populous. The inhabitants were stout and warlike, and very zealous for the Jewish religion. Herein stood Capernaum, Chorazin and Bethsaida.

Gath.

GATH, in Palestine, one of the five cities of the Philistines, was anciently the principal one, as being the royal seat in the middle times of that people, but it dwindled away so early, that there are few or no materials for a description of it. Nor is it easy to fix its exact situation, there being a number of cities of the same name, differently placed by the sacred books, some of them distinguished by an appellative, as Gath-Epher, Gath-Rimmon, &c. and others without any. The word signifies a press, a wine-press, oil-press, or any other. Gath and Ekron are recorded as the boundaries of the Philistine territory, the former on the south, and the latter on the north; and these, with the three between, composed the five satrapies of that brave ancient nation. It must needs have been a very strong populous city, till David took and dismantled it. Rehoboam rebuilt and fortified it. In the days of Amos and Micah, we find it to have been in a flourishing condition, and wholly independent of the kings of Judah, and since then demolished by Hazael, king of Syria. From these various changes it grew to be of little consideration, till, in the time of Christianity, Fulk, king of Jerusalem, built a castle on its ruins. As to the ancient inhabitants of this city and its district, it is evident, from Scripture, that their inveterate enmity towards the Israelites was such, that a learned author says, "one would be almost tempted to think they were created on purpose to be a thorn in the sides of that chosen people." This enmity seems to have been of very ancient date; for, in the first book of Chronicles, we read, that "the man of Gath slew the children of Ephraim, because they came down to take away their cattle, and Ephraim their father mourned many days, &c."

Gaza.

GAZA was the most renowned city of the Philistines, whose gates Sampson took away, and whither he was carried when he was taken, and where he pulled down the house of Dagon on the lords of the Philistines. When it was in its first days cannot be known; but, in time, it became considerable for strength, beauty, and extent. It was situate on an high hill, and flood, as it were, in the very south-west angle or corner of the land of Canaan, upon the skirts of the desert which led to Egypt. In the Hebrew it is called Azza; and Aga by the Syrians, which has been altered into Gaza. In latter times it was also called Ione and Minoa; and the sea which washed along the shore from Gaza to Egypt, was called the Ionian Sea. This city was in the lot of Judah, according to the division made by Joshua; but though it was attempted and carried, yet the Philistines possessed it again, and kept it. For the more convenient communication with the sea, it had a port, called Majuma, a place of no great account, till Constantine took notice of it, and called it Constantia, in honour of his son Constantius. Julian altered its name into the port of Gaza, or maritime part of that city. There is no sign it ever was a commodious place for the reception of shipping, but that it was a mere shift for that purpose. Gaza often groaned under the miseries of war, of which one instance was in the year of the world 2667, when, after a stout resistance, and great slaughter, it was taken by Alexander the Great. Gaza was

sometimes in a flourishing state, with mighty walls and costly edifices, and sometimes in a distressed condition. After several vicissitudes, it lay so far neglected, that, in the Acts of the Apostles, it is called desert; that is, such a desert as it is now, we may suppose, weak in inhabitants; for so fertile a spot can never be called by that appellation according to the common acceptation of that word with us. Lucan commemorates Gaza with Tyre and Sidon, when its sister cities are either forgotten, or omitted as not worthy a place among the considerable ones of this part of the coast. Though it is now but a poor place, there are some reliques left, that testify its having been in a better condition; for divers simple roofs are supported with goodly pillars of Parian marble, some plain, some curiously carved. On the summit of the hill are the ruins of the huge arches, sunk low in the earth, and other foundations of a stately building. Majuma, which is the new or present Gaza, retains some monuments of its former grandeur, and is encompassed with fertile vallies, producing great plenty of fruits. Near this city is a round castle, flanked with four square towers, and in good repair. Over against it is the seraglio, where the basha's wives, &c. are kept; and a little above it the remains of an old Roman castle, the materials of which are remarkably firm and hard.

GENESARETH, lake and land. The Lake, called also the Sea of Tiberias, the water of Geneser, and Sea of Galilee, is supposed to have borrowed its name from the city Cinneroth, on its borders, in the tribe of Naphtali. It has great variety of fish, which, for shape and taste, is not to be found any where else. The Jordan runs through the midst of it. The lake takes its name from the country that surrounds it, which is fruitful and agreeable to admiration. As to the fertility of the soil, no plant comes amiss to it; besides that, it is improved, by the skill and industry of the inhabitants, to the highest degree; and, by a climate extraordinarily benign, every thing prospers there, as nuts, palms, figs, and orange-trees, that flourish in perfection, though they require a quite different temperature of air in the nature of them. It is as remarkable for a chrysaline flowing fountain, called by the natives, Capernaum. The length of the country, along the lake, is thirty stadia, or furlongs; and the breadth twenty.

GERAR, a place frequently mentioned in the history of Abraham, was a Philistine city, venerable as being the seat of their first kings; but its exact situation is not to be determined. The usual name of the kings thereof seems to have been Abimelech, as Pharaoh was that of those of Egypt. The kings of Gerar were, in all probability, Philistines by extraction; for the kingdom of Gerar is expressly reckoned within the land of the Philistines.

GESHUR and Maacah kingdoms. From Joshua xiii. 11, 13, it is evident that the cities Geshur and Maacah, the two capitals of these two small kingdoms, lay within the borders of the land of Israel, and consequently on the south side of Mount Libanus. That Geshur and Maacah were the capitals of two kingdoms, is likewise evident from our having express mention made of the king of Geshur, 2 Sam. iii. 3. and of the king of Maacah, 2 Sam. x. 6. How these two cities or kingdoms lay, in respect to one another, is not to be determined; but it is certain they both lay in the north part of the half tribe of Manasseh, or the east of Jordan. Geshur was a kingdom before Damascus; and Nicolaus Damascenes writes that Abraham was king (i. e. ruler) there.

GIBEON lay to the north of Jerusalem, according to modern geographers, about seven or eight miles; and as many from Gibeon, north-west. It stood on an hill, as the name imports. It is, in Scripture, called Gibeon of Benjamin, as belonging to that tribe; and Gibeon of Saul, as being not only his native place, but that of his royal seat. It was here that the concubine of the

the Levite was abused, the consequence of which is very remarkable, and was very fatal. St. Jerome tells us it was totally ruined in his time.

GIBEON, the capital of the ancient Gibeonites, and a city of the Hivites, was distant about seven miles north from Jerusalem, and situated on an eminence, as its name properly imports. From Joshua x. 2. we learn, that it was a great city, greater than Ai. Eusebius and Jerome tells us, it was a regal city; though we no where read of a king of Gibeon; whereby it seems to be implied, that, though it was not a regal city, it was, in reality, as considerable. As to the city itself, Eusebius farther tells us, that it was a town or village in his time, still going under its old name, four miles west from Bethel.

GIHON. It is not agreed whether it be a mountain or a fountain. Its situation is generally assigned to be near mount Sion, and on the west side thereof. It was at this Gihon that Solomon, by the especial order of David, was anointed king over Israel; and this is thought to carry in it some inducement to suppose that Gihon was a fountain; David making choice of this fountain for anointing Solomon in opposition to his other son, Adonijah, who was at that time setting up for king near Ennogel, i. e. the well or fountain of Rogel, on another side of Jerusalem.

GILEAD, or Galaad, mount, lies on the east of the sea of Galilee, being part of the ridge of mountains running from mount Lebanon, and including the mountainous region called Trachonites. It had its name from the occasion of the heap made with stones by Laban and Jacob, Galaad or Gilead signifying the *heap of witnesses*. From this name given to the heap of stones, the whole mountainous track hereabouts was afterwards so called. Hence we read of some places lying in this track or country, that were distinguished by the name of Gilead being added to them, as Jabez-Gilead and Ramoth-Gilead. The word Gilead seems, in some places of Scripture, to denote, if not all, the greatest part of the country beyond Jordan, viz. all the half tribe of Manasseh, and the tribe of Gad.

GILGAL is situated between Jordan and Jericho. Jerome says that the place was shewn in his days at two miles distance from Jericho, and was held in very great veneration by the inhabitants of that country.

GISCHALA was a town in Galilee, and the last therein reduced by Titus. Of this city was that famed John from this place named John of Gischala, who headed one of the parties of the zealots who defended Jerusalem against the Romans, but, at the same time, committed all manner of the most execrable outrages, and brought on the Jews innumerable calamities.

GREECE. The limits of all Greece extended from north to south, i. e. from the long ridge of mountains which divided it from Macedonia, and from the river Strymon, by which it was parted from Thrace, to the promontory of Tenarus, the utmost southern extent of Peloponnesus; and from east to west from the Ionian to the Ægean Sea. It contained a great number of kingdoms, all of which have, at one time or other, been governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of Argos, Attica, Thebes, and Sparta, of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war. From the names of Graïoi and Graïcoi, they were soon changed into those of Achæi and Hellones, by which they are generally called in ancient authors. It is supposed, and with some foundation, that Javan, the son of Japhet, and his descendants, were the first who peopled these countries. If we look upon the infant state of Greece with respect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confession of their own writers, to have been one continued, uncultivated desert, inhabited by men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root that came in their

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way, and lying either in the open fields, or, at best, sheltering themselves from the inclemency of the weather in dens, clefts, and hollow trees. Laws they had none, except that of the strongest arm; so that those who were most pleasantly or fruitfully situated, were continually liable to be dispossessed by new invaders. Hence it was that Greece was in a continual fluctuation, the weakest being always sure to be turned out by the strongest. Hence it is also, that whilst other nations, as the Jews, Egyptians, Medianites, and Phœnicians, had improved the useful arts to a very great degree, as seen in their several histories, the Greeks alone seem to have been the only strangers to them, inasmuch that one may reasonably question, from Homer's making oxen the standard of the value of things, whether they knew the use of money even in his days. They had no letters till Cadmus brought them thither out of Phœnicia, whose alphabet consisting only of sixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewise that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce. As for other sciences, they continued much longer strangers to them; and it was not till some of their great men began to travel into Egypt, and other kingdoms, that they began to have some relish for them. Their religion was little less than a corruption (if we may be allowed the word) of the Egyptian theology, brought thither at first by Cecrops, an Egyptian exile, and founder of the Attic monarchy. Thus Greece soon after was furnished with a number of deities, suited to the taste of their brutal votaries, and with a sanction and precedent for every unsocial and unnatural vice. To this desperate and universal degeneracy of the Grecian nation, we may venture to ascribe, in some measure, all the fabulous accounts which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of those famous heroes, who bellowed so much pains and time to reform and abolish it. Of this number were Minos, Hercules, Theseus, and many more, some of whom cleared the seas, others the land, of that pestilent race: and others, lastly, by wholesome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts and sciences, laid the happy foundation for that politeness and grandeur for which they were so justly famed in after ages. Greece (at present called Rumelia by the Turks) is generally considered a temperate, healthful country, and fruitful soil; but has had most of the cities it contained destroyed by the barbarous Turks, and a deluge of ignorance introduced into the once admired seats of learning and politeness. Greece, or Rumelia, abounds with fine corn, charming wine, delicious fruits, and great herds of cattle, with fowls and venison in great plenty. The Christian religion was planted in this country, soon after the death of Our Saviour, by St. Paul and Timothy; and it flourished here, for many ages, with more purity than in the western church, producing many champions for the faith, and venerable fathers, whose writings convey to us the doctrine and discipline of the church very near in its native purity. But since the Turks have been masters of this country, and made the people slaves, the state of their religion has very much declined. The Greeks are in their manners much like the Turks: they are covetous, perfidious, treacherous, revengeful to the highest degree, very superstitious, and great hypocrites; and, indeed, are so despised by the Turks, that they value not a Greek who even turns Mahometan. The ancient language of Greece is still known to us, being preserved in the writings of their famous philosophers, historians, orators, and poets. But the modern Greek is so far changed by the mixture of foreign languages, that it differs extremely from the ancient, which is but little understood by the present inhabitants.

H.

HAMATH probably adjoined to Rehob north; and, from a clause in the book of Numbers, it seems plainly denoted that Rehob was that part of Canaan as joined next to the country or kingdom of Hamath. It is generally thought that the city of

Hamath was the same called by the Greeks Epiphania, the situation of which agrees very well with what is here observed. So that it may be inferred, that the kingdom of Hamath extended itself from the land of Canaan, or more particularly from the kingdom of Rehob, southward, to the city Epiphania northward; and from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, west, to the kingdom of Damascus (or Syria more particularly called) east. This kingdom is frequently denoted in Scripture by the land of Hamath, and herein lay Riblah; 2 Kings xxiii. 33. and as the extent of the land of Israel is frequently denoted by this expression, "from Dan unto Beer-sheba," and Numb. xiii. 21. "from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob," so, 1 Kings viii. 65, it is denoted by this expression, "from the entering in of Hamath, unto the river of Egypt:" and in like manner, in another place, "from the entering in of Hamath, unto the sea of the plain."

Hareth. HARETH Forest, whither David retired, was evidently within the tribe of Judah, by the words of the prophet, 1 Sam. xxii. 5.

Hebron. HEBRON, or Chebron, was a very ancient city. Some think it was built 90 years after the flood, and that it claimed precedency even of Memphis. It was seated in the hilly country, in the south part of Canaan, and is famous in Scripture on many accounts, but now is almost in ruins. Near the ruined old city stands a village, called Elkahil, in which is still an handsome church, built by Helena, over the cave where the old patriarchs were buried. It is, indeed, turned into a mosque, and held in great esteem by the Turks as well as Christians. Hebron, or Elkahil, inconsiderable as it is, is still the capital of a district, called "The territory of the friends of God," consisting of about twenty-five other villages.

Helam. HELAM, the place where the Israelites and Syrians engaged in battle, and the latter received a mighty overthrow, is thought to have been the same with Almatha, mentioned by Ptolemy in the reign of Trachonitis.

Heliopolis. HELIOPOLIS, i. e. the city of the Sun, was a name given to several Greek cities, and, amongst the rest, to Corinth.

Hermon. HERMON Mount. There are two of the name mentioned in Scripture. First, the north-east part of Lebanon, adjoining to the Holy Land, is distinguished by the name of Mount Hermon, which is consequently mentioned as the north boundary of the country beyond Jordan, particularly the kingdom of Og, or of the half tribe of Manasseh, east of Jordan. Second, Hermon lies within the land of Canaan, west of the river Jordan, not far from mount Tabor. This Hermon is, like Libanus, capped with snow, but for nothing so remarkable as for the abundant dews which fall upon and about it. A traveller of note observes, that "he was sufficiently instructed by experience what the holy Psalmist means by the dew of Hermon, as the tents were as wet with it as if it had rained all night."

Herodion. HERODION. Herod the Great built a stately palace about seven miles from Jerusalem, in the place where he had formerly defeated the Parthians and the Jews of the Asmonean party, when he fled from that city on Antigonus becoming master of it. This, from his own name, he called Herodion. It stood in a very pleasant and strong situation, on the top of a hill, from whence was a prospect of all the country round. From this palace the hill declined all round with an equal and uniform descent, which made a beautiful shew; and at the foot of it were soon built such a number of houses, as amounted to the proportion of a considerable city.

Heishbon. HESHBON, the capital of the kingdom of Sihon, appertained to the tribe of Reuben, but stood in the confines of that of Gad, and was remarkable for its excellent fish-pools. After the carrying away of

the ten tribes, it was re-possessed by the Moabites, whence, in the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah against Moab, we find frequent mention of it. It has been a Levitical city. It continued a great and noble city till the days of Eusebius and Jerome, being by the Greeks called Esbus.

HYRCANIA, a province of Persia, was bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the west by Media, on the south by Parthia, and on the east by Margiana, now called Mazandran. The capital was called Hyrcania, as well as the province, and is by the moderns denominated Hyrcan. Ancient writers agree in representing Hyrcania as a country abounding in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kinds of fruit, but here and there interspersed with meadows and pasture lands, and in some places with the less pleasant prospect of thick woods, abounding with wild beasts almost of every kind. As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity, who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the particulars they represent.

J.

JABESH-GILEAD. That this place lay in Gilead, is imported by the name. It joined to the country of the Ammonites. It was still a town in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, six miles from Pella, on a hill, in the way to Gerasa. Its inhabitants are remarked in Scripture for their grateful remembrance of Saul's having raised the siege thereof by the Ammonites.

JAMNIA, in Judea, stands a few miles from Joppa on the same coast. It is famed in the book of the Maccabees, and placed at about 290 furlongs from Jerusalem, and was an episcopal see, under that of Cesarea; but it is now in so ruinous a state, that scarce any thing remains of it worth farther notice.

JERICHO, in Canaan, about six miles west from the river of Jordan, and 23 almost east of Jerusalem, was the first city that was invaded by the Israelites, after their passage over Jordan, and, by the miraculous fall of its walls, taken, set on fire, and levelled with the ground. The tree from which flowed the famed Balm of Gilead, and other odoriferous trees likewise, grew in its vicinity, from the fragrantcy of which it is supposed to be named Jericho, which, in the original, signifies *odour*. Here Elisha sweetened the waters of the spring that supplied it and the neighbouring countries. Here Herod built a sumptuous palace. It was the dwelling-place of Zaccheus, and honoured with Christ's own presence and miracles. It yielded to none in all Judea but Jerusalem, in the times of the last kings thereof. Besides the palace aforesaid, it was adorned with an hippodrome, an amphitheatre, and other magnificent buildings. But at present, according to modern travellers, it is only a poor village of the Arabs.

JERUSALEM. This famous city has been so amply described by our author, together with the various revolutions it underwent, from its foundation to its destruction, in the second year of the emperor Vespasian, that a recapitulation of them would be both tedious and unnecessary. We therefore proceed to observe, as to its more modern state, that, in A. D. 136, the emperor Adrian, having changed the name of Jerusalem into *Ælia Capitolina*, after a name (*Ælius*) of his own family, erected a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus upon the spot where the Jewish temple formerly stood, and planted a Roman colony in the city; whereupon the Jews broke out into a rebellion, took Jerusalem, and massacred all the Romans settled there. But Severus (governor of Britain) being sent against the rebels, retook the city, reduced it to ashes, and plowed up the ground whereon the temple had stood. The emperor and senate of Rome published an edict, forbidding all Jews for ever, upon pain of death, to set foot in Jerusalem, or

or any place where it might be so much as seen. Even those Jews that embraced Christianity were also prohibited. This quite delivered the church from the servitude of the law; for, till then, the bishops of Jerusalem had often been chosen from among the circumcised Christians, who joined the observance of the law to that of the gospel. Adrian, however, next year, ordered Jerusalem, by the said name of *Ælia*, to be rebuilt, and peopled it, partly by a Roman colony, and partly by such of the neighbouring people as were not Jews. Hereby the church at Jerusalem became to be composed only of converted Gentiles, or Christians proper, St. Mark being appointed the bishop of the place. Constantine the Great afterwards demolished the heathen temples built by Adrian here; and he and his mother Helena (of British extraction) built sumptuous churches in their stead, and other magnificent structures. A. D. 614, the city was taken by the Persians, and continued in their hands, and those of the Saracens and Mahometans, till the reign of Charlemagne, to whom it was yielded by the king of Persia. After his death it was retaken, and held by those infidels till the year 1099, when Godfrey of Bouillon took it from them, and was made its king. A. D. 1187, Saladin, the famed king of Syria and Egypt, made himself master of it, and of all the Holy Land. Last of all it fell into the hands of the Turks, and so it yet continues.

Jerusalem, in its present state, is about three miles in circumference, and lies in 31 deg. 50 min. north lat. and 36 deg. east long. being situated on a rocky mountain. *Dr. Banks, in his excellent System of Geography*, says, "The hills which stand about Jerusalem make it appear to be situated, as it were, in an amphitheatre, whose area inclineth to the eastward. We have no where, as I know of, any distinct view of it: that from the Mount of Olives, which is the least, and, perhaps, the farthest, is, notwithstanding, at so small a distance, that when Our Saviour was there, he might be said, almost in a literal sense, *to have wept over it*. There are very few remains of the city, either as it was in Our Saviour's time, or as it was afterwards rebuilt by Adrian, scarce one stone being left upon another. Even the very situation is altered; for Mount Sion, the most eminent part of the Old Jerusalem, is now excluded, and its ditches filled up; whilst the places adjoining to Mount Calvary, where Christ is said to have suffered without the gate, are now almost in the centre of the city." With respect to its present state, the Turks call it *Cudsembarie*. It is thinly inhabited: the walls are weak, and without bastions; the ditch inconsiderable. The gates are six in number, viz. Damascus, St. Stephen's, Herod's, Sterquilina, Bethlehem, and Mount Sion Gate; beside the Golden Gate, which is shut up, on account of a prophecy which the Turks have among them, that by that gate the Christians are to take Jerusalem. The streets are narrow, and the houses mean. Pilgrims and travellers, who flock from all parts, either through devotion or out of curiosity, are the principal support of the city. A Turkish *bassá* resides here, to keep good order, collect the Grand Seignior's revenues, and protect the pilgrims from the insults of the Arabs. No European Christian is permitted to enter the city till the requisites duties are discharged; nor can a stranger safely stay here, without being upon good terms with the Latin fathers. The pilgrims principal object is the church of the Holy Sepulchre, situated upon Mount Calvary. It is 100 paces in length, and 60 in breadth. The workmen were obliged to reduce the hill to a plain area, in order to lay the foundation: but great precaution was used not to alter any part of it where our Saviour's Passion was concerned. The scene of the Crucifixion is left entire, being about 12 yards square, and stands at this day so much higher than the floor of the church, that it is ascended to by 21 steps. The Holy Sepulchre, which was originally a cave hewn out in the bottom of the rock, may be now compared to a grotto standing above ground, and having the rock cut away, and levelled all round. The walls of the church of the Holy Sepulchre are of stone, and the roof of ce-

dar. The east end encloses Mount Calvary, and the west the Holy Sepulchre: the former is covered with a superb cupola, supported by 16 large columns, and open at top. Over the altar there is another fine dome: the nave constitutes the choir; and the sides of the church contain the most remarkable places where the circumstances of Our Saviour's Passion were transacted, together with the tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin, the two first Christian kings of Jerusalem. In the church of the Crucifixion the hole is shewn where it is said the cross was fixed. The altar has three crosses, richly adorned, on it, particularly with four lamps of immense value, which are kept constantly burning. The cloister round the sepulchre is divided into sundry chapels. The Latins, who take care of the church, have apartments on the north-west side; but they are never suffered to go out, the Turks keeping the keys, and furnishing them with provisions through a wicket. Some grand ceremonies are performed at Easter, representing Christ's passion, crucifixion, death, and resurrection. At dusk the pilgrims and monks meet in the chapel of the apparition: the lights are extinguished, and a sermon preached by one of the Latin priests: then each being furnished with a lighted taper, all walk in procession round the church. They stop first at the Pillar of Flagellation, where an hymn is sung, and a sermon preached: thence they proceed to the Chapel of the Prison, to hear another hymn, and another sermon. At the Chapel of the Division of the Garment, to which they go next, an hymn is sung, but no sermon preached. They then proceed to the Chapel of Descention, the altar of which is supported by two pillars; and underneath is a piece of greyish marble, on which they say the soldiers placed Christ when they crowned him with thorns, and mocked him, saying, "Hail, king of the Jews!" Here a sermon is preached, and a fourth hymn is sung. They next enter another chapel, parted from the former only by a curtain, and advancing to the east end, come to the very spot on which Our Redeemer was crucified. This chapel is covered all over with Mosaic work; and in the middle of the pavement are some marble stones of several colours, designed to shew the very place where Our Lord's blood fell, when his hands and feet were pierced: it is adorned with 13 lamps, and a candlestick with 12 branches. An hymn is here sung, and a sermon preached on some text relative to the Passion. Then two friars, who personate Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, come with great solemnity to the cross, and take down the image that resembles Christ, which they put in a winding sheet, carry it to the stone of unction, and sing an hymn over it. A sermon is then preached in Arabic, and thus the ceremonials conclude. On Mount Moriah, in the south part of the city, stands an edifice called Solomon's Temple, which is situated upon the same spot as the ancient temple; but it is uncertain by whom it was erected. The middle part, where the Jewish Sanctum Sanctorum was supposed to have stood, is converted into a Turkish mosque. The priests, and other Christians, are kept miserably poor by the tyranny of the government, and have scarce any subsistence, but what they procure by accommodating strangers with food and lodging. The royal sepulchres, without the walls of Jerusalem, are some of the most elaborate, curious, and magnificent antique remains that imagination can conceive. By whom they were built is uncertain, but they consist of a great number of apartments, most of which are spacious, all cut out of the marble rock. Near Jerusalem is a spot of ground, of 30 yards long, and 50 broad, which is now the burial place of the Armenians. It was formerly the *aceldama*, field of blood, or potter's field, purchased with the price of Judas's treason, as a place of interment for strangers. It is walled round, to prevent the Turks from abusing the bones of the Christians: but one half of it is occupied by a charnel house. The most remarkable places round about Jerusalem, are Mounts Olivet, Calvary, and Gihon; the vallies of Jehoshaphat, Hinnone, and Rephaim; and the towns of Nebo, Gibeon, Gibeah, Gilgal, Bethel, and Jericho.

Joppa.

JOPPA, or Jaffa, as it is at present called, is situated on the Mediterranean coast. It was anciently the principal sea-port town to Jerusalem and all Judea, and the place where the cedars of Lebanon, brought in floats from Tyre for building the temple, were landed. It was pleasantly seated on a rock, in a beautiful plain, and situated in 30 deg. 20 min. north latitude, and 35 deg. 3 min. east longitude. Jonas here embarked for Nineveh: and from the history of his miraculous voyage, the story of Andromeda was fabricated by the heathen poets: for their sea-monster was no other than the Leviathan of the sacred writings, and the whale of the moderns.

—“ Huge Leviathan unwieldy moves,
“ And thro’ the waves a living island roves :
“ In dreadful pastime terribly he sports,
“ And the vast ocean scarce his weight supports :
“ Where’er he turns, the hoary deeps divide;
“ He breaths a tempest, and he spouts a tide.”

BROOME.

We cannot help adding the sublime description given by Job of this tremendous creature, which the ancients so terribly dreaded, and which the moderns have found the means not only to subdue, but to render subservient to many domestic uses.

“ His bulk is charg’d with such a furious soul,
“ That clouds of smoak from his spread nostrils
“ roll
“ As from a furnace; and, when rous’d his ire,
“ Fate issues from his jaws in streams of fire.
“ The rage of tempest, and the roar of seas,
“ This great superior of the ocean please.
“ Strength on his ample shoulders sits in state;
“ His well-join’d limbs are dreadfully complete.
“ His flakes of solid flesh are slow to part :
“ As steel his nerves, as adamant his heart.
“ Large is his front; and, when his burnish’d eyes
“ Lift their broad lids, the morning seems to rise.
“ His pastimes, like a cauldron, boil the flood,
“ And blacken ocean with the rising mud :
“ The billows feel him as he works his way,
“ His hoary footsteps shine along the sea.”

Dr. YOUNG’S Job.

It was in Joppa that St. Peter raised Dorcas to life, and received the messengers of Cornelius. Though it was anciently a very magnificent town, and a great commercial mart, yet the harbour was never commodious, on account of several rocks, which render the passage into it dangerous. It lay for many ages in ruins, but of late hath been much improved, though it still falls beneath its original splendor. The lower ground towards the sea is covered with good houses, chiefly of stone. The principal commodities are Ramah and Jerusalem soap. Rice, and other articles, are brought from Egypt, and exported from hence to various places, which yields the bazaar of Gaza a considerable annual income. The inhabitants are supplied with water from an excellent spring on the west side of the town. The Christians now have no church, except one almost in ruins, and uncovered; but they have several handsome houses appropriated to their use, and for the entertainment of pilgrims. Jaffa at present, on the Mediterranean coast, was the head sea-port town to Jerusalem, and all Judea, where the timber of Lebanon, brought in floats from Tyre for building the temple, was landed; it being near about thirty miles north-west from Jerusalem, very pleasantly situated on a rock, in a beautiful plain. It is said to have been first built by Japhet, and from him takes its name Japho, since moulded into Joppa; and heathen geographers speak of it as very ancient. It was famed, in the time of the Maccabees, for the Jews burning the Syrian fleet before it. Its name is now pronounced and written Jaffa, or Japha; and though it has nothing left of its ancient beauty, but its charming prospect, yet its condition appears much amended since Sir Paul Lucas was here in 1707. At present the lower ground, towards the sea, is covered with good houses, mostly stone; and the town carries on a considerable traffic. Great quan-

ties of rice, and other commodities, are brought from Egypt. Ships of burthen can conveniently ride in the road; and on the west side, near the shore, a charming spring of water supplies the town. The Christians have here no church but one, almost ruined and uncovered; but they have commodious houses to entertain pilgrims.

JORDAN (River), rising from the lake of Phiala, enters the Samachonite lake, whence proceeding, it ^{Jordan} divides the Sea of Tiberias, and thence discharges itself into the Dead Sea. The origin of its name, or names, is somewhat obscure. It being by far the principal stream in those parts, is, by way of eminence, called “The River;” the rest in the country being comparatively mere brooks. It is remarkable, that, in harvest-time, it is most full, and apt to overflow its banks, contrary to the general nature of rivers, which are fullest in winter; whence it may have been that some have imagined a subterranean communication between this and the Nile. The Jordan, from the accounts of modern travellers, seems very different from what it was formerly. Its stream is so strong and rapid, that a man cannot stem it in swimming: the dimensions are by no means large; and the water is turbid, the natural consequence of its rapidity. It is very wholesome, and incorruptible in its nature; was formerly fordable in some places, and may still be so. It seems also to have been formerly crossed in boats and ferries.

K.

KEILAH is reckoned among the cities of Judah; ^{Kelah} and it appears, from several circumstances, that it lay on that part of Judah which adjoined the country of the Philistines.

KIRJATH-JEARIM, very often mentioned in Scrip- ^{Kirjath} ^{arim} ture, is expressly reckoned in Joshua among the cities of the tribe of Judah, and said to lay in the north border of that tribe, not far from Bethshemesh. It had its name from Mount Jearim, on or near which it lay.

L.

LIBANUS, or Lebanon, the most considerable ^{Liban} mountain in Cœlo Syria, or between Syria and Palestine, is of prodigious height, as well as extent. The cedars of Lebanon are frequently mentioned in Scripture, the few of which now standing are near a monastery, called Canobine, about ten hours journey from Tripolis. These cedar trees bear leaves much resembling our juniper, and are green all the year: but in the large ones the top spreads itself into a perfect round; whereas the smaller ascends in form of a pyramid, and like the cypress. They bear the usual fruit, which is a kind of large apple, like that of the pine, only smother, and of a browner colour. Various varieties, and singular benign qualities, are attributed to the wood of this tree.

LYDDA lay north, not far off, but somewhat more inland, from Joppa. It was called Diospolis by the Gentiles: but, from the Christians, in the time of the Holy War, it had the name of St. George’s, principally from a very erroneous opinion that St. George had there suffered martyrdom; and they also made it, on that mistaken account, an episcopal see. ^{Lydda}

M.

MADIAN is the Modiana of Ptolemy, and Mi- ^{Mada} dian, or Madian, of Scripture, and was a city of Arabia, at present little better than an heap of ruins, situate on the east shore of the Sea Al Kolzum, at no great distance from the gulph of Ailah. Most authors agree that the Midianites ought to be looked upon as the descendants of Abraham by Keturah, who was afterwards seen to have coalesced with the Ishmaelites, since Moses names the same merchants, who sold Joseph to Potiphar, in one place Ishmaelites, and in another Midianites.

MAHANAIM

Mahanaim. MAHANAIM (i. e. two camps or hosts) was situate between Mount Gilead and the River Jabbak, not far from the latter. By this were the confines of the tribe of Gad and half tribe of Manasseh, that were on the east of Jordan. It became a place of great strength, and therefore seems to have been chosen by Abner for the royal seat of Ishbosheth during the war between him and David; and for the like reason it seems to have been made choice of for the retiring place of David during the rebellion of Absalom.

Makkedah. MAKKEDAH is reckoned among the cities given to Judah. It stood eight miles to the east of Eleutheropolis.

Maon. MAON (into the wilderness of which David withdrew from that of Ziph) was a neighbouring town to Carmel. Hence it is said of Nabal, (1 Sam. xxv. 2.) "There was a man in Maon, whose possessions were in Carmel;" and Nabal, though he might dwell in Maon, is yet stiled Nabal the Carmelite, from the place where his estate lay.

Marah. MARAH. A certain traveller informs us, that, in passing from Shur towards Mount Sinai, they came into the desert, as it is still called, of Marah, where the Israelites met with those bitter waters, or waters of Marah. And as this circumstance did not happen till after they wandered three days in the wilderness, we may probably fix it at Corondel, where is a small rill of water, which, though diluted by the dews and rains, still continues to be brackish.

Massada. MASSADA, in the tribe of Judah, was a famous fortress, built by Judas Maccabeus, and represented as impregnable. It was situated on an high, craggy rock, inaccessible on all sides but one, and that very steep and difficult. The siege of it by the Romans under Silva, the general of Titus, is one of the most remarkable events in ancient history. Notwithstanding the height and ruggedness of the rock it stood on, yet, when you had gained the top, you saw an agreeable flat, fertile country, so spacious as to supply the town with corn, fruit, &c. Herod the Great, finding it a place of such strength and importance, added new works and fortifications; and as it had no other supply of water than from the clouds, he ordered several capacious cisterns to receive it, and stored it with a prodigious quantity of provisions of all sorts. He likewise built himself a sumptuous palace in it, that, in case any revolt should happen, he might take refuge in a place so well fortified. The Romans called it Collis Achilea.

Media. MEDIA, now the north-east part of Persia, but once the seat of a potent empire, plainly derived its name from Madai, the third son of Japhet; the Medes in Scripture being constantly called Madai. In modern terms it may be said to be the same country where are now the provinces called Aran, Schirevar, and Adzerbayan, with their sub-divisions.

Megiddo. MEGIDDO appertained to the half tribe of Manasseh on the west of Jordan; but the Canaanites continued to dwell therein tributary to the Israelites. Solomon rebuilt it. Here died Ahaziah and Josiah, kings of Judah.

Melitene. MELITENE, or Melitina, in Lesser Armenia, was a Roman castle, with a garrison, which the emperor Trajan made a city, appointing it to be the metropolis of the whole country, whence, in process of time, it became one of the most populous and wealthy cities in the east. It stood on the banks of the Euphrates. The famous thundering legion belonged to this place, being raised and generally quartered here.

Memphis. MEMPHIS is called in Scripture Moph and Noph, which name is supposed to be derived from Ansenophis, according to Sir Isaac Newton, the same person with Menes and Memnon, a prince that either built or fortified it. The chief idol of the Egyptians was here called Apis, which they worshipped.

shipped in the shape of a bull, and always kept one in his temple. The famous city of Cairo is said to have been built out of its ruins, on the eastern side of the Nile.

Michmash. MICHMASH, in Judea, was in the tribe of Benjamin, situated nine miles from Jerusalem, and between it and Gibeon. Eusebius says it was very considerable in his time.

Mygdonia. MYGDONIA, or more properly Macedonia, is thought, by the learned, to be plainly denoted in the first book of Maccabees by the land of Chettim, Alexander being mentioned as coming from thence. Perseus, king of Macedonia, is therein also called king of the Citims. But as this country was anciently inhabited by various nations, so was it, for a long succession of ages, distinguished by different appellations. It was very anciently called Amathia; but afterwards the whole country, which the Greeks called Macedonia, received that denomination, as some say, from king Macedo, descended from Deucalion; or, according to others, by an early change of Mygdonia, the name of one of its provinces, into Macedonia. The accessions of territory which Macedonia received, were made at different times, and on account of different wars. Pliny tells us, that no less than 150 different nations were seated within its territory; and Mela confirms the multitude of different states, by saying, it had about as many nations as cities. Its form was irregular; but its situation excellent, in respect to its being washed on the east by the Ægean Sea, and on the west by the Ionian, which advantages, however, were never cultivated as they might have been; nor were the Macedonians ever powerful at sea, though many noble bays and excellent harbours are to be found in their country. Macedonia abounded with most sorts of trees which were valuable for timber, fruit, or shade. It had anciently many wastes and deserts. In process of time no part of Europe was better peopled, but since it has been in the hands of the Turks, great part lies uninhabited. It is rich in divers mines of gold; abounds with corn, pasture, cattle, venison; and, in some parts, produces wine and oil.

N.

Nabathæa. NABATHÆA. According to St. Jerome, the country of the Nabathæans extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea; so that it comprehended Arabia Deserta, and great part of Arabia Petraea. The manners and customs of these people were much the same as those of Arabia, Ethiopia, &c. &c.

Naim. NAIM, or Nain, according to Eusebius, was a city situated in the plain near Mount Tabor, and within two miles of it. He places it at a small distance from Endor and Scythopolis. There was another city so called in Idumea, where Simon, the son of Gorias, made his retreat after he had strongly fortified it.

Naioth. NAIOTH (to which Samuel retired with David) is situated in Ramah, meaning the district of Ramah, otherwise called Ramathaim Zophim, the birth-place, and usual residence, of the said great prophet.

Neapolis. NEAPOLIS, a city of note in Thrace, on the Ægean Sea, between the river Strymon and the Nestus, the name signifying only New City. One of the quarters of Syracuse was so called.

Neopolis. NEOPOLIS, in Judea. Neopolis, in Armenia Minor, was built by Pompey, in memory of a signal victory over Tigranes the Great, and thence called Neopolis Pompeii.

Nineveh. NINEVEH, or Ninus, in Assyria, (now Curdistan,) is most generally supposed to have been at first built by Nimrod, not long after the Tower of Babel. Its name is generally thought to be taken from Nenes, the son of Nimrod, and to be a compound, Neni-nave,

Neni-nave, i. e. The Dwelling of Ninus. It was seated on the banks of the Tigris, over against where Mæul now stands, and had increased and grown so prodigiously large in the time of Jonas, who prophesied against it, that it was three days journey long, or, as others think, in circumference. It was also so strong as to be esteemed impregnable. However, it was at length taken and destroyed, according to the prophecy of Nahum: and it is remarkable that Lucian, in one of his dialogues, says, that Ninus (the prophane name of Nineveh) "was so utterly destroyed, that there remained no footsteps of it, nor could one tell so much as where once it stood." A new city, it is probable, was quickly built by the Medes, out of the ruins of the old, and called New Nineveh; but this was likewise destroyed by Astyages, the eighth Median king from Arbaces, for its frequent revolts: and to so low a degree was it brought in the time of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, in the middle of the fifth century, that he tells us there was nothing to be seen of it but great heaps of rubbish: and yet we find a third Nineveh destroyed by the Saracens, as it is supposed, some hundred years after. At a small distance from the ruins of Nineveh is a Turkish mosque.

Nisibis.

NISIBIS was once a large, populous, and opulent city; but is at present described as a town in Diarbeker, about 35 miles from the Tigris, and but the shadow of what it once was; though it is still the residence of a Turkish Sangiac. In fine, it is little more than a village; though arches, gates, and the remains of a noble church, are yet to be seen. Its territory is fruitful, and, when cultivated, produces corn, wine, and various fruits, the chief business being agriculture. About two miles to the east is a good river, with a very noble stone bridge: and all the way between the town and it, pieces of old walls, and a large arch, whereby it is supposed the city anciently reached quite to that river. Nisibis stands west from the celebrated Ur of the Chaldees, between it and the Tigris.

Nob.

NOB was a sacerdotal city. By the prophet Nehemiah it is reckoned among the cities of Benjamin. It seems, therefore, to have been added to the priests, and that occasionally, when the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, it being moreover not nominated among those that were assigned to them at first.

Nod.

NOD, the land of, to which fugitive Cain, under an apprehension that every one who found him would slay him, by divine order, retired, and therein built a city, calling it Enoch, after the name of his son. Where this land of Nod (which word signifies fugitive or wandering) was situate, is thought not quite certain. No remains of the name Nod itself, as a land, are now to be found.

O.

Olivet.

OLIVET Mount, or the Mount of Olives, called, by the Jews, in their language, the Mount of Unction, or the Mount of Olives, or Oil. It was also termed the Mountain of Three Lights, because lighted on the west by the fire of the altar, receiving on the east the light of the sun, and producing much oil, the aliment of light. It stands a sabbath day's journey (i. e. eight furlongs, or one mile) east from Jerusalem, commanding an extensive prospect, as being the loftiest eminence in its neighbourhood. It was once famous for fertility, and was thus described by an author of the 7th century. "Few or no trees are there to be found, except the olive and vine, according to the report of Acculfus; but wheat and barley there flourish in a most kindly manner, for the nature of the soil is quite productive." With respect to the Turks, notwithstanding their pretended veneration for this mount and its circumstances, it is more than suspected it is not out of real devotion, but for lucre's sake, and to exact money from the popish pilgrims, and travellers of curiosity, for admission to see them.

OPHIR. The acutest, nicest, and most sagacious writers are much at a loss to find out a certain settlement for Ophir. It is by several supposed to be the place whither Solomon sent ships every three years from Ezim-geba to fetch gold. This opinion some would have supported by several edifices, which seem to have been erected here by foreigners, as they have inscriptions in unknown characters. Besides, some say the inhabitants boast of having books, proving that the Israelites, in Solomon's time, sailed every third year to these ports to fetch gold.

P.

PALESTINE, or Judæa, is situated between 31 deg. 30 min. and 32 deg. 20 min. north lat. and from 34 deg. 50 min. to 37 deg. 15 min. east long. being bounded by the Mediterranean sea on the west, Syria and Phœnicia on the north, Arabia Deserta on the east, and Arabia Petræa on the south. It is therefore near 200 miles in length, and about 80 in breadth towards the middle, but increases or diminishes 12 or 15 miles in other places. The longest day is about 14 hours 15 minutes. The air of Judæa is the most salubrious and pleasant imaginable; neither heat or cold are felt in the extreme, but an agreeable serenity diffuses itself throughout the year, which puts the stranger in mind of the golden age:

"The flowers unsown in fields and meadows
"reign'd,
"And western winds immortal spring main-
"tain'd."

Though the climate of this country is at present the most admirable in the universe, we have no doubt but that, in the early ages of the world, when the pastoral life was the most honourable, and agriculture the most respected employ, it even exceeded its present excellency, by means of the general cultivation of the country. Of the richness and fertility of its soil we have the most authentic testimonies; in particular, that it abounded in corn, wine, oil, honey, pomegranates, dates, figs, citrons, oranges, apples of Paradise, sugar-canes, cotton, hemp, flax, cedars, cypresses, and a great variety of other stately, fragrant, and fruitful trees, balm of Gilead, and other precious drugs, &c. cattle, fowls, fish, game, and other delicacies, as well as necessaries of life. Indeed, whoever considers the very small extent of Judæa, will be sensible that nothing but such astonishing fertility could enable it to maintain such a number of inhabitants as resided in it in the time of king David, since they amounted to 6,000,000. The produce of the land not only sufficed this prodigious multitude, but there was a sufficient superfluity to send to Tyre, and other places, for exportation. Yet the soil was only cultivated six years in seven, as the septennial year was always a time of rest from the affairs of agriculture. It is to be observed, that the whole of the country was cultivated, and that woods, parks, waste grounds, &c. were unknown. It is now unhappily inhabited by some of the most indolent people existing; yet Dr. Shaw informs us, that, with a little cultivation, it would yield as much as it did in the days of king David and king Solomon.

PALMYRA, as called by the Greeks and Romans, Tadmor in the Wilderness in the Scripture, Palmira and Thadamor by Josephus, Tadmor and Tatma by the Arabs and Syrians, stood about fifteen miles east of Damascus. The air is exceeding good, but the soil now barren, (though it formerly had perpetual springs, and yielded fruit and corn,) affording nothing green but a few palm-trees in gardens, and some scattered up and down. Palmyra in the deserts of Arabia, or, as by the Scripture stiled, Tadmor in the Wilderness, is a most awful spectacle. "As you approach (*says Dr. Banks, in his System of Geography*) the first object which presents itself is a ruined castle, on the north side of the city. From it you descry Tadmor,

mor, enclosed on three sides by long ridges of mountains. Southward of it is a vast plain, extending far beyond the sight. The city must have been of large extent, from the space now taken up by its ruins; among which live about thirty or forty miserable families, in huts of dirt, within a spacious court, which once enclosed a magnificent temple. This court hath a stately high wall of large square stone, adorned with pilasters both within and without, and are about sixty on each side. The beautiful cornices have been beaten down by the Turks. Towards the centre are the remains of a temple, shrouding the fragments of a temple of exquisite beauty, as appears by what is still standing of its entrance, viz. two stones thirty-five feet long, carved with vines and clusters of grapes. In the great court are the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars, thirty-seven feet high, with capitals finely carved; and the cornices must have been of equal elegance. Fifty-eight of these pillars are entire. There must have been many more, as it appears they went quite round the court, supporting a most spacious double piazza. The walks on the west side of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, seem to have been grand and spacious; and at each end are two niches for statues at length, with pedestals, borders, supporters, canopies, &c. carved with inimitable art. The space within this once beautiful enclosure is (or rather was) encompassed by another row of pillars of a different order, fifty feet high; sixteen of which are yet standing. The temple was ninety feet long, and about forty broad. Its grand entrance, on the west, appears, by what remains of it, to have been the most magnificent in the world. Over a door-way, in the remaining walls, you trace a spread-eagle: and here are the fragments of cupids, as well as of eagles, most finely imitating nature, on large stones mouldering on the earth. Nothing of the temple stands but the walls, the window-places of which are narrow at top, but richly adorned with sculpture. In the middle is a cupola, all one solid piece. Leaving this court and temple, your eyes are saluted with a great number of pillars of marble, scattered for near a mile. To the north you have a stately obelisk before you, consisting of seven large stones, besides its capital, grandly sculptured. It is more than fifty feet high, and is twelve feet and an half in circumference just above the pedestal; and it is imagined a statue once stood upon it. East and west of this, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, is another obelisk, that seems to have corresponded with the first mentioned; and, according to the fragment of a third, it should seem that there was a continued range of them. On one of them, which is about forty feet high, there is a Greek inscription, commemorating two patriots: and about an hundred paces from it is a large and lofty entrance, leading to a grand piazza, adorned with marble pillars, on most of which there are inscriptions. A little farther onward, to the left, are the remains of a stately pile of remarkable fine marble, twenty-two feet long. On the west side of the piazza are several openings for gates; two of which appear to have been the most superb that ever captivated the human eye, both in point of grandeur of work in general, and the beautiful porphyry pillars with which they were adorned. Eastward of the piazza are a great number of scattered marble pillars, most of which have been deprived of their elegant capitals. A little ruined temple lies mouldering at a short distance, which appears to have been a very curious structure. But of all the venerable remains, none more attract the admiration than the magnificent sepulchres towards the north of the city, extending a mile and more, and which, at a distance, have the appearance of tops of decayed churches, or bastions of ruined fortifications." The magnificent city of Palmyra is mentioned in the Arabic translation of the Chronicles, as subsisting before the days of Solomon. But John of Antioch, surnamed Malala, says, that it was built by Solomon, and on the very spot where his father slew the Philistine chief. He affirms that the city was built in commemoration of that memorable action. We find, in the ninth chapter of the first book of Kings, and the eighth of the second of

Chronicles, that Solomon erected a city in a wilderness, and called it Tadmor: that some time afterwards, the Greeks and Romans distinguished it by the name of Palmyra, even while its first name was still retained by the Syrians: and this is confirmed by St. Jerome, who says, that Tadmor and Palmyra are the Syrian and Greek names of the same place: and the country Arabs, even at this time, call it by the former name. In this circumstance they are remarkably particular, preserving the ancient denomination of places through various revolutions. Thus the Acca of the Old Testament is at this day called by them Acca; and the Greek name Ptolemais, in which that of Acca was for some time immured, is lost through disuse. Not that human judgment can pretend to advance, however, that Palmyra was actually the work of Solomon: an opinion only can be offered, concurrent with that of the present inhabitants, who say, all these things were done by Solomon, the son of David. However, such structures as might have been erected by Solomon we will suppose to have been entirely demolished by Nebuchadnezzar, who, in his march to the siege of Jerusalem, destroyed this city, as we are assured by John of Antioch. It was afterwards beautifully repaired by Adrian; then destroyed by Antiochus, and rebuilt by Aurelian; and at last totally demolished by the ignorant and bigoted Turks, under whose tyranny the whole country lies waste. The greatest figure Palmyra ever made in history was in the reign of Gallienus, under whose shameful indolence the Roman glory in the east became considerably obscured; when Odenathus, joining that emperor's party, collected the poor remains of the discomfited Romans in Syria, whom he led against Sapor, the Persian monarch, put his army to flight, and advanced with his victorious troops to Ctesiphon, the capital of the empire. On his return from this expedition, full of riches and honours, and revered by the Romans, he was unanimously proclaimed Augustus, and co-partner in the empire with Gallienus. Such of the accounts of Odenathus as have reached posterity, serve rather to heighten than gratify the human curiosity. He was a native of Palmyra, and so admirable a politician, that he, for a while, held the balance of power between the empire of Persia and Rome. He drove the Goths out of Asia Minor, where they had committed the most violent ravages: and this was his last great action, in which, it was apprehended, he was treacherously slain by Mæonis, his kinsman. His son, Herodotus, soon afterwards suffered the same fate: nor did Mæonis long survive, being cut to pieces by the soldiery.

The fortune of the beautiful Zenobia, queen of Odenathus, is well worthy the attention of our readers. The vicissitudes which this lady experienced were various and surprising, and her character great and extraordinary; though her memory is tarnished with the suspicion of her having been privy to the deaths of her husband and son. The person of Zenobia was graceful and genteel; her complexion dark brown; her eyes black, and sparkling with uncommon lustre; her teeth beautifully white; her countenance sprightly; her air noble; and her voice clear and powerful. Her strength was unusually great. She inured herself much to fatigue, was fond of riding, and would sometimes march on foot at the head of her troops. In council she was circumspect and prudent; in executing bold and determined. She could be open or reserved, mild or severe, as occasion required. She was generous, but not profuse; and observed inviolably the chastest rules of female honour. No woman was better acquainted with history than this accomplished queen: she was mistress of the Greek and Egyptian tongues, as well as of the Latin, which she translated into the former. She boasted herself descended from Ptolemy, and reckoned Cleopatra among her ancestry. That Zenobia attended her husband in the field there is not the least doubt, since the emperor Aurelian passes the highest encomiums on her military prowess. She assumed, after the death of Odenathus, the reins of government, in the name of her children, and renouncing all alliance with Rome, attacked, and totally routed, the army of Heraclianus,

clianus, the Roman general, who was sent against the Persians, he himself narrowly escaping from falling into her hands. She afterwards, while the exigency of public affairs called the attention of Claudius nearer home, asserted an hereditary right to the dominion of Egypt, as being descended from Ptolemy; and having secured a strong party there in her favour, she sent thither Zabdas, an experienced and gallant officer, who had served under Odenathus; and he, defeating the Egyptian army, possessed himself of the province in the name of Zenobia. The Palmyrenes, however, were afterwards routed, and nearly driven from their new acquisitions; but taking advantage of Probus, the Egyptian præfect, who, in endeavouring to cut off the retreat of the vanquished, discovered his ignorance of the country, they totally defeated his army, and himself was taken prisoner; a disgrace which he could not outlive; but, dying by his own hand, left Zenobia mistress of Egypt. The progress of this heroic queen greatly alarmed Claudius, who being now near the end of the second year of his reign, resolved to turn his forces against her; but was cut off by the plague, at Syrmium in Pannonia. He was succeeded by Aurelian, who was not, however, secured in his power without some trouble, and who, before he thought of relieving the eastern empire, reformed the police at Rome, and reduced the Goths, Vandals, and Germans. These great tasks being completed, he crossed the Bosphorus at Bizantium, and having taken Tyana, in Cappadocia, he proceeded to Antioch, of which he possessed himself by stratagem. By two battles, one fought here, the other at Emesa, Aurelian recovered the eastern provinces, and forced the queen to shelter herself within the walls of her capital. Having taken every necessary precaution to supply his army with provisions, Aurelian proceeded to Palmyra; not, however, without being considerably harassed by the Syrian banditti. Arriving at length before the walls of the city, he laid close siege to it, and was gallantly resisted by the garrison. Being wearied out with military operations, the emperor had recourse to negotiations, and made some offers to Zenobia, which she most haughtily rejected, bidding him remember, that her ancestor Cleopatra preferred death to dishonour. This enraging Aurelian, he re-attacked with redoubled vigour; and the besieged being at length reduced to the last extremity, had no resource but that of applying to their allies, the Persians, for relief; and this resolution being agreed on in council, Zenobia herself undertook the carrying it into execution, and, mounting a dromedary, set out for Persia, but was taken prisoner as she was about to cross the Euphrates. Palmyra now soon surrendered, and the emperor took possession. He spared the inhabitants, but carried off the best part of their riches, leaving behind him a garrison of six hundred archers, who, some years after, were cut off by the inhabitants, most of whom were, by the emperor's command, in consequence of the massacre, put to death, and the city quite ruined. The emperor, at Emesa, set on foot an enquiry into the conduct of Zenobia: and here it was that she sullied her great character, by betraying her best friends, among whom was Longinus, by whose advice it was that she had rejected the terms of peace which the emperor Aurelian had proposed: for this he was ordered to be executed; but his mistress was reserved to grace a Roman triumph. She afterwards married, and had children, at Conche, on the road from Rome to the ancient Tiber, where the emperor assigned her some lands, and the remains of her villa are at this day to be seen. Palmyra was afterwards governed by the Romans: and, from a Latin inscription still extant, we discover that Hierocles was for the fifth time president of the provinces, when Dioclesian here erected some magnificent edifices. In the year of Christ 400 the first Illyrian legion was quartered here: but Procopius gives us reason to imagine that the place was so little regarded as to be sometimes left without a garrison. The Roman history makes no farther mention of Palmyra. According to Benjamin Tudulensis there were 2000 Jews among the inhabitants in the twelfth century. We shall conclude our account of this once grand

and flourishing city, with the following quotation from an author on the subject: "That Palmyra was used as a place of strength, is evident from alterations which have been made in the castle on the hill, and the Temple of the Sun, which must have been intended for defence, and are not more than five or six hundred years old. The most perfect piece of antiquity is a mausoleum, upwards of seventeen hundred years old, with the flooring entire, and an inscription still legible, informing us that it was built by Jambelicus, son of Mocimus, as a burial-place for himself and family, in the year 314." See *Bankes's much admired System of Geography*.

PERSIA. The word Persia is supposed to be only a corruption of the word Parthia, and that the modern Persians derive their name from their progenitors the Parthians, the ancient inhabitants of the country. The word itself implies an horseman; and the Persians and Parthians have always been famed for their skill in that exercise. Persia includes all those countries which were anciently celebrated and known by the names of Media, Parthia, part of Assyria, Aipcania, Colchis, Bactria, Iberia, and Sufiana. It is bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea, which separates it from Russia; and on the north-east by the river Oxus, which divides it from Usbec Tartary. The north-west boundaries are the Daghistan mountains, and the mountains of Ararat, which divide it from Circassian Tartary. India is the eastern boundary; the Indian Ocean, and the Gulphs of Persia and Ormus, the southern; and Arabia and Turkey the western. The prodigious mountains of Ararat and Caucasus have long made a distinguished figure in history: nor hath that long chain of mountains, known by the name of Tauris, which run quite through the empire, been less celebrated. From the distracted state of Persia for many successive years, the political division of the provinces cannot be ascertained; but the most remarkable places in the empire are, Ispahan, the metropolis, and residence of the sophi; Schamachie, Ardehil, Sulthania, Caswin, Rom, Reschd, Derbent, Schiras, and the cities of Ormus and Gombroon, on the Persian Gulph. These last are much on the decline at present, though they were formerly places of great commercial consequence. Most of the European nations, particularly the English, have established factories at Gombroon, by means of which they carry on a trade with the Persians, Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Armenians, Banyans, &c. The soil of Persia is in most parts very fertile, producing various kinds of grain, cattle of all kinds, game, and plenty of the choicest fruits. The Persian language is spoken in common throughout the whole empire, but more correctly in some provinces than others. The Turkish is the polite or court language; and the Arabic is the learned language, in which all the books on sublime subjects are written. The sciences flourished in Persia before they did in Europe; but the modern Persians fall very short of the Europeans in every branch of learning. The grand epocha, by which they date all events, is the Hegira, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca, which took place in the year 622. They reckon twenty-four hours to the day, but do not subdivide it into day and night as we do. As they begin their week on Saturday, Friday is their Sabbath. Their year begins at the vernal equinox. Their solar and lunar years differ in the space of twelve days, because they reckon but twelve moons to their lunar year. The most celebrated and singular antiquities in Persia, are the ruins of Persepolis, formerly a superb city, till it was destroyed by Alexander the Great, to oblige the Grecian courtesan Thais. These ruins are about the distance of thirty English miles from the city of Schiras. They are situated in a fine plain, which is about 120 miles in length, and only six or seven in breadth. This plain is overflowed with water several months in the year, which occasions it to be so exceedingly fertile, particularly in rice, that it is covered with little villages, or hamlets, to the number, as the inhabitants assert, of 880, including those which are situated in the adjacent mountains. The ruins appear like an amphitheatre, and are situated in a kind of

of semicircle, formed by the mountains. The ancient palace of the Persian monarchs, which was formerly called the house of Darius, and which the modern inhabitants term *Chil-minar*, or the Palace of Forty Pillars, is situated at the foot of a mountain, which hath for time immemorial been known by the name of the Royal Mountain. Near the mountains are two ancient sepulchres of Persian monarchs, the fronts of which are ornamented with various figures. Near Derbent there are the ruins of a wall which extend 50 leagues in length; and the wall is said to have reached from the Caspian to the Euxine seas; and on one side of that city are above 6000 grave-stones, most of which have Arabic inscriptions. There is not, perhaps, any kingdom or empire whatever which has undergone greater revolutions than that of Persia, to recount which would be too extensive to be here admitted. We shall therefore only mention the most recent, which was occasioned by the celebrated Kouli Khan, who, in the year 1734, was so exceedingly successful against the Turks and Tartars, as to conquer all the open country of Georgia and Armenia. In 1735 he destroyed great part of the Turkish army at Arpa Kavi. In 1736 the young Shah Abbas (the then emperor) died, when Kouli Khan convened the Persian chiefs and nobles, and told them that they were at liberty to chuse an emperor. They therefore unanimously begged him to accept of the crown, being, indeed, afraid to do otherwise. Having mounted the throne, he ruled the Persians with a rod of iron, destroying many of the royal family, and putting to death all the nobility, except those who were deemed idiots, or whose understanding he despised. He then seized many estates, particularly the church lands; and having concluded a peace with the Turks and Russians, marched into the territories of the Great Mogul, defeated the armies of that monarch, made himself master of Delhi, the capital of Hindostan, took the Great Mogul himself prisoner, put multitudes to the sword, and plundered the empire of jewels, gold, and other valuables, to the amount of 87,500,000l. sterling, a greater treasure than any other monarch in any age or nation ever before possessed. These immense treasures he lodged in his hereditary principality of Chalat; but did not trust the guarding of them either to Turks or Persians, but to 12,000 Georgians, all of whom were Christians. He then subdued the Usbeck Tartars, and brought their country to be tributary to Persia: after which he returned to Isfahan, and severely reprimanded his son for the mal-administration of affairs during his absence. The year 1741 he spent in quelling several insurrections. In all these expeditions he committed unheard of cruelties. Among the rebels his eldest son proved one, for he attempted to murder him, but escaped till the year 1742, when he was brought as a prisoner to his father, and had his eyes put out by order of that monarch. The Turks having, in the year 1744, set up a pretender to the throne of Persia, who gave out that he was a younger son of the late emperor Shah Thomas, Kouli Khan sent one of his sons at the head of an army against him. The pretended prince was defeated and taken prisoner. Kouli Khan being informed of this, in a temporary fit of humanity, gave orders that he might be permitted to escape: nevertheless, he directed that 282 of his followers should be beheaded. In the year 1745 he again marched against the Turks, and defeated them; but in 1746 and 1747, he was entirely employed in quelling domestic broils, and intestine rebellions. He was now generally looked upon to be in a state of insanity. His actions were usually absurd, and always unaccountable: sometimes a gleam of generosity and humanity would seem to direct his intentions, but avarice and the most horrid cruelty at most times predominated. He was, however, on the second of July, 1747, assassinated by five of the principal officers of his guards. This event happened thus: the conspirators entered his tent about one o'clock in the morning, when one of them stumbling over some of the cords that fastened it, Kouli Khan waked, started up, seized his sabre, and with one blow cut off the head of him who was next to him. He then

struck the next on the left shoulder with such force, that the sabre lodged in the spine or back bone, and stuck so fast that, before he could withdraw it, the remaining assassins dispatched him, and cut off his head, which they took with them, and having buried their companions, they retired. When the people heard of his death they were greatly rejoiced. They immediately put to death his blind son, and his grandson, and even all his women, lest any of them should be pregnant by him; so much did they detest the breed of his cruel and bloody tyrant, who seems to have thrown Nero, and all the inhuman monsters of antiquity, at a distance. Since the death of Kouli Khan, all has been, and still is, anarchy and confusion in that unhappy country. Several of his family, as well as others, have been, and are, contending for the empire; but as their various successes, and the late revolutions, are not known in Europe, at least not properly authenticated, we must conclude our historical observations on the Persian empire.

PELLA, anciently Bunemas, or Bunomia, in Macedonia, was seated at the mouth of the river Actius, and was the birth place of Philip, and his son Alexander the Great, which Philip was there educated. He therefore enlarged it, and made it the capital of Macedonia. It had in its neighbourhood the tomb of Euripides, the celebrated tragic poet. It now lies in ruins, and is, by the Greeks, called *Palatisia*; i. e. the Little Palace. Fine marbles are daily dug out of its ruins. There were other places of the same name. Pella.

PELUSIUM. Ancient Pelusium is now called the village Belbais, and situated on the Pelusia branch of the Nile, for which reason Damietta is often taken for Pelusium. This place is said to have been surrounded with triple walls. Pelusium.

PENIEL, or Penuel, (signifying, The light of God,) so called by Jacob, on receiving the blessing after his wrestling with the angel, was a place near the brook Jaddok. It became afterwards a city of note; for we find Gideon pulled down one of its towers because they had denied him bread. It was rebuilt by Jeroboam, who likewise erected three others. It stood by the Jordan, and belonged to the tribe of Gad. Strabo mentions a city adjoining to Tripolis, which was called by the same name, at one end of Mount Libanus. Peniel.

PERGAMUS, or Pergamos, a city of the greatest note in Asia Minor, but which, in time, became the metropolis of a separate kingdom, said to be founded about the year of Rome 47, and made a considerable figure, was seated on a spacious plain on the banks of the Caicus. It was the royal seat of the Attalic kings, and of Eumenes, and enriched with a library of 200,000 volumes; for the transcribing of which parchment was here first invented; and by the Latins thence called *Charta Pergamena*, or Pergamenum. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave occasion to this useful contrivance, by prohibiting the exportation of the Papyrus, in order to defeat the design of Eumenes, which was to cause all the valuable books then extant to be carefully transcribed, and thereby make a collection that might vie with Alexander's famed library at Alexandria. Here were likewise invented those costly hangings, by us called tapestry, by the Romans named *Aulæa*, from *Aula*, a hall, because the hall of Attalus, who invented them, was the first room adorned with this furniture. Galen, the famed botanist and physician, was born in this city; and here Esculapius is said to have practised physic. To speak of it at present, Pergamos is not a very considerable town (in comparison) of Phrygia, in Asia Minor; but the plain about it is so well watered by the Pitanus, as well as the Caicus, which fall into the Hermus, that it is one of the most fertile in this country, especially in corn. At a small distance is another river, smaller, and more rapid, called, by the ancients, Selenus, which falls into the Caicus a little below the town; on the other side whereof is a stately mosque, formerly a Christian church. The

ancient cathedral was dedicated to St. John; but nothing is now left of it, except some of the walls. The Christians here now are but ten or twelve miserable families, who are allowed a church; but the Turks are said to be between 2 and 3000 souls. On the east side stands the ruins of an ancient palace; and many other antiquities are here and there seen, such as a parcel of fine marble columns; a noble bas-relief of a man on horseback, curiously carved; the remains of an aqueduct, of which six arches yet stand over a brook, and farther south six others, with spacious vaults under them.

Petra.

PETRA, the capital of Arabia Petrea, seems to have been denominated, by the Hebrews, Selah, (2 Kings, xiv. 7.) both which words are of the same import, viz. Rock, in Greek and Hebrew; Petra being but a translation of Selah. St. Jerome intimates, that, among the Syrians, it went by the name of Rekem, and that the latter was the same town in the text just quoted, stiled Joktheel. Petra was the chief fortress of the Idumæans, Edomites, or Nabatheans, and derived its name from its rocky situation. It is agreed, that it was accessible only by one narrow path, which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. It was seated in a plain full of gardens, but surrounded with rocks, according to Strabo. Pliny says nearly the same, and that the Nabatheans inhabited the city of Petra, situated in a plain watered by a river, and encompassed by inaccessible mountains. A great diversity of opinions in this particular prevails among the moderns; but we shall only observe, that it is, by the approved judicious, allowed most probable that Errakim, or Arrakeh, a town in a north direction from Hagra, near Caracha, seems to correspond best with the Petra of the ancients. There were several other places which had the name of Petra; and particularly one in the third Palestine; but then, as Jerome and Eusebius extend Palestine as far as the Red Sea to Elath, it comprehended Idumæa and Arabia Petrea.

Phaselus.

PHASELUS was a tower in Jerusalem, of very great circumference.

Phiala.

PHIALA Lake, situated not far from the Samachonite Lake, in the Holy Land, is now known to be the true source of the Jordan. That it was so was long disputed; but the doubt was decided by Philip the Tetrarch, who casting straw or chaff into it, they came out at Panion. The name, which signifies a *phial*, was common to other waters of the same kind. It is situated in the midst of a most delightful country, which is also so well adapted for the carrying on of business, that marts or fairs are held there all the summer by the neighbouring people.

Philippi.

PHILIPPI properly belongs to Thrace, but is by most geographers placed in Macedon, pursuant to the division ever since the time of Philip, the father of Alexander, who, having reduced the country between the Strymon (the ancient boundary of Macedon) and the Nessus, or Nestus, added it to his hereditary kingdom, whence that tract was ever after looked on as a part of Macedon. It afterwards became a Roman colony. It was situated on a rising ground, abounding with springs; having on the north side several hills, covered with woods; on the south a marsh, which reached to the Ægean Sea; on the east the streights of Symbdon; and on the west a large plain extending to the Strymon. On this plain, the probable boundary between Macedon and Thrace, was the memorable battle between Brutus and Cassius, and Anthony and Octavianus, afterwards Augustus. St. Paul preached in this city, converted many, and wrote to them from Rome the epistle we have in the New Testament by such title. To speak of it in its present state, it is situated near the borders of Romania, about 190 miles from Constantinople. The Greeks, we are told, still call it Philippige (Land of Philip.) The first thing apparent to travellers is the castle on a mountain, very large, and the walls almost entire. On the fe-

veral hills, which surround this mountain, stand divers fortresses communicating with the castle, being encompassed with large walls, which extend into the plain. Within the place are several heaps of free-stones and pieces of marble, but no footsteps of buildings. There are a great number of edifices half demolished. It is natural to suppose here were stately temples of white marble, sumptuous palaces, and magnificent monuments; the broken remains of all which afford beholders a grand idea of ancient architecture. This town is still an archbishop's see; but it retains nothing of its ancient splendor, and is very thin peopled.

PTOLEMAIS. Ptolemy makes Ptolemais, and Barca, ^{Ptolemais} in Cyrenia, two different cities, placing the former in the island, the latter on the coast. This Ptolemais is now commonly called Tolmeta.

R.

RABBATH, or RABBAH, (a word importing great ^{Rabbah} and populous,) the metropolis of the Ammonites, to distinguish it from the city of Moab, which bore the same name or epithet, was called Rabbah of the children of Ammon. This capital seems to have been distinguished into two parts, Rabbah properly so called, and the City of Waters. Whence these waters were derived to it, whether from the Jabbok, or from exuberant springs in or about it, is not determined. We have some authority to say, it was the most delightful part of the city, and that the king's house stood there, from whence this part may have been stiled the Royal City. This part (before which fell the brave Uriah) Joab took, and then sent to David, who came accordingly, with all his forces, and took the other part. Rabbah was also famous for being the place where the great iron bedstead of Og, king of Bashan, was seen. In process of time, this city was called Philadelphia, from Ptolemy Philadelphus, who sumptuously rebuilt it, and for ages was a city of eminence.

RAGABA was a fortress in the territory of the Gerazens, beyond Jordan. ^{Ragaba}

RAPHIA, a city, is placed by Strabo and Livy in ^{Raphia} Phœnicia, by Ptolemy in Samaria, and by Pliny in Idumæa. But as it stood near Gaza, between it and Rhinocolura, it is by other geographers counted amongst those of Palestine. It is particularly famous for the decisive battle between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Euergetes, wherein the former was defeated, forced to withdraw to Antioch, and quit all his conquests.

REPHAIM. The Valley of Rephaim, from a text ^{Rephaim} in Joshua, appears to lie near Jerusalem, in the confines at least of Judah and Benjamin. Travellers inform us, that the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem lies through this valley, famous for being the theatre of several victories obtained by David over the Philistines. As to the Rephaims, considered as a nation, race, or family, they are mostly placed in Bashan, where reigned Og, the declared last of their race. They were, as the name manifests, men of gigantic stature, that of Og himself being represented by the size of his bedstead, &c. In the book of Genesis, the Rephaims are reckoned as one of the ten nations whose land was promised to the seed of Abraham.

RHINOCOLURA was situate near the mouth of the ^{Rhincolura} Bafan, (supposed that called in scripture, River of the Wilderness,) and placed, by ancient geographers, sometimes in Syria and sometimes in Egypt, to which last kingdom it once belonged. It is now, we are told, called Pharamica, and was strongly fortified during the holy war, to prevent the Turkish auxiliaries coming out of Egypt into Palestine, since which time it is gone to decay, and is an inconsiderable place.

SABA

S.

SABA in Arabia Felix. The Sabæi seem to have possessed a considerable territory in the S. and best part of this peninsula. It was celebrated amongst the ancients for the vast quantity of frankincense it produced. Saba, its metropolis, according to ancient geographers, stood upon an hill at no considerable distance from the Red Sea, being a large, opulent and strong city. It was defended by a castle, and, as has been supposed by many learned men, together with the Arab nation in general, the residence of the queen of Sheba. The Arabs assert both the town and district to have been so denominated from Saba, the son of Jexhab, and grandson of Joktan, whose name imports *to lead into captivity*, because he was the first who reduced men to a state of servitude. The aforesaid Sheba is said, besides this city of her name, to have built that famous mound which formed the vast reservoir about it, by means whereof, it receiving all the waters that came down from the mountains, the kings of Yaman did not only supply the inhabitants of Saba and their lands with water, but likewise kept the territories they had subdued in greater awe, for by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly distress them. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by the Sabæans esteemed so strong, that they were under no apprehension of its ever failing. Each family had a portion of the water distributed by the aqueducts. But at length a mighty flood broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation in the Koran, styled, "The inundation of Al-Aren," occasioned so terrible a destruction, that thenceforth it became proverbial, thus to express a total dispersion, "They were gone and scattered like Sheba." It is the most received opinion that this catastrophe happened about the time of Alexander the Great.

SAMARIA (or Sebaste) was situated in the tribe of Ephraim, 45 miles N. of Jerusalem. It was the capital city of the kingdom, and royal seat of the kings of Israel, till a period was put to that kingdom. Hence Samaria often in the Old Testament denotes such whole kingdom. Samaria, when under king Ahab, was twice besieged by Benhadad, king of Syria, and other confederate princes, with an immense army, and, in the course of the latter siege, reduced to the direst extremity: the army, however, at length, through a judicial terror, raised the siege with the utmost precipitation. In the year before Christ 721 Salamanazar, king of Assyria, took the city after three years, and carried away ten tribes of Israel (or most of them) into captivity, and so put an end to that kingdom after it had stood 254 years divided from that of Judah. The enemy committed the most horrid cruelties on their captives, so that Samaria was reduced almost to an heap of rubbish, and all the land laid waste. This melancholy and fatal end of that kingdom happened in the 6th year of Hezekiah and 9th of Hosea. But Samaria must have been soon repaired, for colonies were thereupon sent either by Salamanazar, or his successor, to re-people the land of Israel, chiefly from Cutha, whence the new inhabitants were called Cutheans. From some religious and other causes it seems a mutual hatred subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, the former abominating even the name of the latter, and those on their part always disclaiming any kindred with them in time of adversity, though forward enough to claim it in time of prosperity. After divers revolutions it was at length taken by Aristobulus, and its region, together with Galilee, and again restored to Judea. Samaria was partly rebuilt by Gabinius, and new called Sebaste by Herod, who put the finishing stroke to it. It was made the metropolis of Palestine Secunda under the Romans, and an archbishopric under the Christians. Herod Agrippa obtained it of the emperor Caligula, and siding with the Romans against the Jews under Vespasian, they

at that time avoided the common calamity of the country. But afterwards, taking other measures, they were, together with the rest of the Jews, extirpated out of Palestine by Adrian, and the city has since gone to decay. The melancholy fragments of this once famous city stand upon a long mound of an oval figure, having first a fruitful valley, and then a rising hill running about it. The Turks have erected a mosque here, into which they let any Christian for a small piece of money.

SAMOSATA, once the capital of Comagena Proper, was situated on the Euphrates, near the confines of Armenia Major. It was the residence of Antiochus Asiaticus, after Pompey had confined his kingdom to this small province, and stripped him of the rest of Syria. It was the native place of the witty Lucian. It is now called Scempsal, but is only a poor village, surrounded with an heap of ruins of the ancient city.

SCYTHOPOLIS. See BETHISAN.

SELEUCIA. There were nine cities of this name built by Seleucus, but distinguished by some adjunct; some of the most eminent of which follow. Seleucia on the Tigris, so called from Seleucus Nicanor, its founder, who made it the metropolis of his empire beyond the Euphrates. Seleucia, surnamed Trachonitis, or Aspera, (an appellation well agreeing with the mountains and rocky country of Cilicia, on which it stood,) about twelve miles from the sea, on the banks of the Calicednus. Its bishopric became subject to the patriarch of Constantinople about the ninth century. Its modern name is Selechi. Seleucia, surnamed Pieria, on the north side of the Orontes, now reduced to a poor village called Seluki Jelber. Seleucia Pisidia, called Seleucia ad Taurum, because it stood on some part of that ridge of mountains; and Seleucia Ferrea, perhaps from iron mines or manufactures, is now in ruins.

SEPPHORIS, a city of Galilee. It stood in the tribe of Zebulun, and was one of the first cities in Galilee on the road from Ptolemais. It became in time the metropolis of that province, when the emperor gave it to young Agrippa. The younger Varus, the Roman general, taking it, sold the inhabitants by auction, set fire to the city, and reduced it to ashes. Herod Antipater having the territory of Galilee for his share of the government, rebuilt it, and surrounded it with strong walls, so that it became one of the best cities in the canton.

SHILOH in Canaan, where was set up the tabernacle, in which was kept the ark, and where the ark remained till just before the death of Eli, was situated in the tribe of Ephraim. After the Philistines took the ark, Shiloh fell so to decay, that Jeremiah, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, says, it would be brought into the same ruinous condition with Shiloh. And Jerome says there was nothing left of it in his time but the foundation of the altar of burnt sacrifices.

SICHEM, Sechem, or Shechem. The proper and original name seems to have been Shalem, which in time grew out of use amongst the Israelites, they calling it Shechem and Sicheim, from Shechem, the son of Hamor. It stood ten miles E. from Hyrcania, was several times ruined and rebuilt, had been one of the cities of refuge given to the Levites, and was made the metropolis of Samaria, after the demolishing the city of that name.

SIDON is properly to be styled the metropolis of Phœnicia. It borrowed its name from Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, by whom it is said to have been built; though it is not universally agreed, that the name was derived from the said Sidon. Sidon is said to have been the greatest of the maritime cities in general, having long enjoyed an enriching trade, which caused such voluptuousness in the inhabitants, that to live at ease and pleasure is denoted in Judges

Judges xviii. 7, by living after their manner. The men being shipwrights were very famous for having timber (See 1 Kings v. 6.) and therefore Solomon had thence his principal workmen to build the temple. They are allowed also to have been excellent artificers in other trades, and said to have been the first makers of chrystal glaſs. It was taken by the Saracens in 936, and recovered, repaired, and fortified by the Christians in 1103, and was held by the Teutonic knights, and had a fort guarded by the knight templars, ſince which the Turks, having made themſelves maſters of it, have let it run into decay. It is now named Said or Sayd, and is ſituated in a fertile and delightful ſoil, though but a ſmall town. The great moſque is handſome as well as large, and the public bagnio is in good condition. The haven is large but unſafe, and the ſhips are forced to ride under a ſmall ridge of rocks about a mile from ſhore on the northern ſide. Sidon is reckoned to contain about 6000 inhabitants. The Turks have 14 moſques, Roman Catholics, and Greeks, each a church, and the Maronites a chapel. They carry on a conſiderable trade. Proviſions are very plenteous and cheap, and the air is ſo clear as to attract wild beaſts and birds in great numbers into the country adjacent. Sidon, by a grant of the pope, gave title to an archbiſhop.

Siloah.

SILLOAH, or Siloam, is a fountain in the valley of Jehoshaphat, from which all the gardens of it are watered. The Turks hold this water ſo ſacred, that numbers of them almoſt every day waſh therein. Its waters are now ſaid to be an immediate cure for fevers. Over againſt this fountain, on the other ſide of the valley, is the place called Siloe, where Solomon is ſaid to have kept his ſtrange wives.

Sin.

SIN, wilderneſs of. This wilderneſs, we are told in Exodus, lay between Elim and Sinai. Here it was that heaven firſt ſent the Iſraelites manna.

Sinai.

SINAI, wilderneſs and mount. There are many windings and difficult ways between the deſerts of Sin and Sinai. The latter is a beautiful plain more than one league broad, near three long, lying open to the north-weſt, but cloſed up to the ſouth by ſome of the lower eminences of the mount. In this direction likewiſe the higher parts of it make ſuch encroachments upon the plain, that they divide it into two parts, each of them capacious enough for the Iſraelites whole encampment. There are now convents upon this ſpot, and ſuch ludicrous and entuſiaſtic ſtories related concerning religious bigots, as cannot be deſcribed without offending a ſerious and intelligent reader.

Sodom.

SODOM ſeems to have been the chief of the five cities, and the delightful plain or valley in which it ſtood allured Lot to pitch his tent near it, and afterwards to dwell in it, though ſo deteſtably infamous for that moſt odious and ſhocking crime againſt nature, from which this city derived its name.

Straton's Tower.

STRATON'S Tower. See Cæſarea.

Succoth.

SUCCOTH was the name of two places. That in Exodus was the place of the Iſraelites firſt encampment after their departure from Rameſes. But little of the geography of this, and ſome other places mentioned in the journal of the Iſraelites, is at this time known. This Succoth muſt not be confounded with that ſituated near the river Jordan, between that and the Jabbok, which Jacob called by that name when he came out of Meſopotamia; tho' the former may have been ſo called in imitation of the latter, on account of the booths or tents which the people ſet up there.

Suſa.

SUSA. The Scripture Shuſan (now called Schouſter) was the metropolis of the Suſiana province, built on the banks of the river Eulæus (by Daniel called Ulai) by Memnon, as ſome ſay, who was ſlain by the Theſſalians in the Trojan war. Strabo and Pausanias compare its walls even with thoſe of Ba-

bylon. It is called Memnonica, by Herodotus and others, from Memnon its founder. In Scripture it is conſtantly named the Palace; but beſides the king's palace, there was doubtleſs a city, as is plain from all the prophane writers. The wealth and magnificence of this city may be gathered from the vaſt wealth found in it by Alexander the Great, when it was ſurrendered to him ſome little time after the battle of Arbela, or rather Gaugamela, twenty days after his departure from Babylon, which had before been delivered up to him. Here Ahaſuerus kept his great feaſt 185 days. It is ſaid this city now lies in ruins by the name of Schouſter.

T.

TARICHEA was a town of Galilee, ſituate on an eminence by the lake of Genezareth, over againſt Gamala. It having been beſieged by Titus both by land and water, made a deſperate defence, till a diſſention happened within, which coming to the ears of the Roman general, it was taken by ſtorm.

TARSHISH, ſon of Javan, ſettled in the eaſt part of the ſouth track of Aſia Minor is very probable; for the name of Tarſus, the chief town of Cilicia, is thought to carry ſome probable marks of its being firſt founded by Tarſhiſh himſelf, or ſome of his deſcendants. It is affirmed by an hiſtorian of credit, that the city was ſo called from Tarſhiſh, and that Cilicia was originally known by the name of Tarſhiſh. Indeed, it is ſcarcely doubted that this was the Tarſhiſh ſo often mentioned by the prophets on account of its trading with Tyre.

TARSUS, in Cilicia as aforeſaid, ſeems to have borrowed its name from Tarſhiſh. It was at firſt the metropolis of Cilicia, and after Conſtantine's diſſiſion of Cilicia Prima. It was the native city of St. Paul (though an Hebrew of the Hebrews, or a Jew both by father and mother's ſide,) and, according to Strabo in former times, not inferior, for the ſtudy of philoſophy and polite literature, either to Athens or Alexandria. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens according to the Parthian Law, which the apoſtle thought proper to claim and uſe upon ſeveral occaſions, as recorded in the Acts. The Tarſians, to ingratiate themſelves with Julius Cæſar, changed the city's name into Juliopolis; but the old name ſurvived the new; and it is to this day by the Greeks called Terſia, or Teraſſa, by the Turks Tarſow, and ſometimes Hernia. It is ſo reduced that the remains hardly merit notice.

TAURUS is the greateſt mountain of Aſia, and heretofore thought the greateſt in the world. It runs from weſt to eaſt under ſeveral names, through divers large kingdoms and countries even to India, whereby all Aſia is divided into two parts, of which that on the north ſide is called *Aſia intra Taurum*, and that on the ſouth *Aſia extra Taurum*. It alſo paſſes between Armenia and Meſopotamia, and ſends forth many branches under divers particular names towards north and ſouth.

THABOR, Mount, of which name there was a city upon it, called Itabyrion, or Itabyr, and Atabyrion, in the plain of Eldraelon, in Judæa, not far diſtant from Nazareth. In the 7th century it is deſcribed to have been of wonderful regularity, verdant and florid. A modern traveller thus deſcribes it. "It has a plain area at top moſt fertile and delicious, of an oval figure. This area is enclosed with trees on all parts, except to the ſouth. It was anciently environed with walls, trenches, and other fortifications, of which it exhibits many remains at this day."

TIBERIAS. See Genezareth. Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee (Antipas) building a city on the north bank of Genezareth, and calling it Tiberias, in honour of Tiberius, the lake thence took this name alſo. The city was built on a ſpot full of ſepulchres:

pulchres: but the great privileges granted by Herod to people for becoming inhabitants, which overcame their scruple of conscience as to pollution by dead bodies, &c. made it quickly become one of the principal cities of these parts. It is said to have had in it 13 synagogues and an academy; that here was the last session of the Sanhedrim, or chief council of the Jews; and here the Talmud, or body of the Jewish civil and canon law, was collected.

TIMNAH. TIMNAH was first assigned to the tribe of Judah, but afterwards to that of Dan. In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, a great town, named Thamnah, lay in the borders of Diapolis, towards Jerusalem, which is supposed to have been the same with that formerly called Timnah.

TIRZAH. TIRZAH is mentioned frequently in sacred history, as being long the regal city of the kings of Israel. From an expression in the Canticles, it appears to have been beautiful and pleasant to live in; but its situation is not certainly determined.

TRACHONITIS. TRACHONITIS, a region of Judea, which seems to have derived its name from two famous mountains, which Strabo calls Trachones. The greatest part of it had such ridges of rocks and mountains, especially on the sides of Arabia and Iturea, that some of them had caverns large enough to lodge 1000 men. It, together with Iturea, made one tetrarchy in the time of Our Saviour. Luke iii. 1.

TRIPOLIS. TRIPOLIS, in Phœnicia, called Ruad by the Turks, and Tripolis in Syria, to distinguish it from others, stands on the Levant Sea, the same coast with Jamnia and Joppa, above Sidon. It had its name from its forming three cities, each one furlong distant from the other; one whereof belonged to the Aradians, or ancient kingdom of Arad; the second to the Sidonians; and the third to the Tyrians. It is still divided into the upper and lower city, and is in a flourishing condition, being large, populous, and strong, adorned with mulberry-tree plantations for silk-worms, from which is drawn considerable profit. The walls are strong, and fortified with several towers. The castle is the residence of the beglerbeg, and garrisoned by two hundred janissaries. It is a strong fortress, situated on an eminence, and well stored with cannon. On account of its importance, it is deemed the metropolis of Phœnicia. The haven is rather an open sea than an enclosed harbour, unless that it is partly defended by two small islands about two leagues from it. There are six square towers, or castles, along the shore, well fortified with artillery. The town contains about 8000 houses, and 60,000 inhabitants, who consist of Turks, Jews, and Christians. The river hath a good stone bridge over it for the convenience of passengers, and the stream turns several mills. The air is extremely clear and healthy, the country about very rich and fruitful, and the town supplied with every thing desirable. Among the handsome buildings is a great mosque, once a Christian church, a large and stately edifice. The Christians have some monasteries and handsome chapels, and the Jesuits an handsome college. This city was famous in the holy war, being one of the four capital cities the Christians had in these parts.

TROGLODYTES. In their manner of life the greatest part of them nearly resembled the Libyan Nomades. They were divided into tribes, but all under one head. A part of them fought with clubs, carrying before them round shields, made of raw ox hides. Many, however, used bows and arrows.

TYRE. TYRE, on the coast of Phœnicia Proper, was anciently named Sor. It is commonly called the Daughter of Sidon, and stood also upon the sea, 200 furlongs to the south of Sidon. It had two havens, one looking towards Sidon, the other towards Egypt; from whence it is plain that Tyre on the Island, and Old Tyre on the Main, were considered as but one city after the isthmus was thrown up between them, and possibly there might have been buildings conti-

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guous to each other. This famous emporium was never of very great extent, for which reason they built so very lofty, and with more stories, it is said, than the houses at Rome. The buildings, in general, were spacious and magnificent; and above the rest appeared the temples built by king Hiram to Jupiter, Hercules, and Astarte. It is now called Sur, and is a mere babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there not being one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour in vaults, and subsist chiefly by fishing. King Hiram is famed, in sacred history, for maintaining a strict friendship and alliance with king David, presenting him with cedars, and sending him skilful workmen to build a palace. He entertained the same affection for his son and successor, Solomon, which occasioned an interchange of letters of amity. Tyre was besieged 13 years together by Nebuchadnezzar, who at length subdued it, when he put all the inhabitants he could find to the sword, and destroyed the ancient city. But many of the people had, in time, prudently retired, with the chief of their effects, to an island at some distance from the shore, where they built New Tyre, or Tyre on the Island. The city, however, at length, submitted to Nebuchadnezzar, who appointed Baal subordinate king thereof, under his own supreme authority. In the reign of Azelmic, Tyre was besieged by Alexander the Great, and taken by storm, after holding out seven months. After destroying the place, and murdering the inhabitants, he was very sorry for his rashness; and, like other men of the same precipitate disposition, who became wise too late, determined to add one evil to another; in consequence of which resolution he seized most of the artificers in the neighbouring countries, and having compelled them to rebuild the city, he obliged them to reside in it, lest he should have a great city without any inhabitants. Such was the conduct of many of the great heroes of antiquity, who fought for fighting sake, did injuries instead of redressing them, and quarrelled with every body to avoid being idle. Mr. Pope very justly observes,

Heroes are much the same, it is agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede:
The whole strange purpose of their lives to find,
Or make, an enemy of all mankind:
Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
Yet never sees an inch beyond his nose.

Having thus rebuilt and re-peopled this ancient city, Alexander thought proper to stile himself the Founder of Tyre, in order, it may be supposed, to prevent the people from recollecting that he had been the destroyer of Tyre. The city, in time, recovered its beauty and opulence, became confederate with the Romans, and was invested with the privileges of a Roman city on account of its great fidelity. In the times of primitive Christianity, it was made the metropolitan see for the province of Phœnicia. In 636 it was conquered by the Saracens, but in 1124 recovered by the Christians. In 1280 it was finally subdued by the Turks, in whose hands it has continued ever since. Those infidels took it soon after the reduction of Acra, or Acre, where they committed such unheard-of cruelties, that the Tyrians, terrified with the report thereof, betook themselves to their ships at midnight, and abandoned the city to their fury. They entered it the next day, and reduced it to the deplorable situation of which the dismal ruins are still a monument. We must not omit to observe, that the Tyrians were particularly celebrated for dying purple, which was first found out by them from an accident, viz. a dog's lips being finely tinged by eating of the fish called conchilis. This fish is a buccinum, a name given by the ancients to all fishes whose shells bear any resemblance to an hunting horn; and it appears from Pliny, that the famed Tyrian purple was obtained from it. This dye was so much valued in the time of the Roman emperors, on account of its being the imperial colour, that only one pound of it cost a thousand Roman denarii, or above thirty pounds sterling.

V.

Vienné.

VIENNE, capital of the province of Viennois, about 7 leagues from Lyons, at the foot of a mountain on the Rhine, has been a large, famous city, but now is not above a fourth of what it was, having its two old fortresses demolished. The Allobroges are said to have founded it; and it became a colony of the Romans, who adorned it with a palace, amphitheatre, and other magnificent works, the ruins whereof are yet seen. It was some time the capital of Burgundy. The cathedral is a stately pile, as are some other churches and public buildings. The inhabitants are expert in manufactures, particularly of plates of iron and steel, paper, &c. by mills and engines.

Ur.

UR, of the Chaldees, where Abraham was born, and whence he removed, at the Divine call, to Charan, and so to Canaan. The word Ur signifies *fire*. The most probable opinion therefore is, that the city might be so denominated from its inhabitants being worshippers of the sun, and of fire, its emblem, and for having temples wherein the sacred fire was kept always burning. The Chaldees were famed for it, and carried it, in great pomp, at the head of their armies when they went to battle.

Z.

Zebulon.

ZEBULON, his lot, or the land of his tribe. Jacob, in his prophetic blessing of his son Zebulon, says, that he shall dwell at the haven of the

sea, and he shall be for an haven of ships, and his border shall be unto Sidon. And so it happened, that tribe's possession being from the Mediterranean, on the west, to the lake of Genezareth, on the east, side.

ZIPH, Wilderness of. We find in Joshua a city, called Ziph, mentioned together with Carmel and Maon. We have also, in the history of David, mention made of Carmel and Maon as adjoining to Ziph. So that it is not to be doubted, but in the wilderness where was David, and where was the hill Afchelah, is to be understood Ziph near Carmel and Maon. This is placed, by Jerome, eight miles east from Hebron.

ZOAR. The Syriac version reads Zoan. It was probably the most ancient royal seat of the Pharaoh's; for the miracles wrought by Moses and Aaron before one of them, are expressly said, in the Psalms, to be done in the field of Zoan. Zoar.

ZOBAB. That the country of Zobah pertained to the Syrians, is evident from 2 Sam. x. 6. where we read expressly of the Syrians of Zobah; and, from their being hired by the Ammonites, it appears that Zobah lay in the parts adjoining to the Ammonites. The kingdom of Damascus is looked upon by the learned to have arisen out of that of Zobah, or to be no other than one and the same kingdom, which formerly had Zobah, and afterwards Damascus, for its capital city, as the seat of its kings. To the south of Zobah lay the land of Ishob. Zobah.



A

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OF THE

PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS AND OCCURRENCES

RELATED IN THE

WORKS

OF

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